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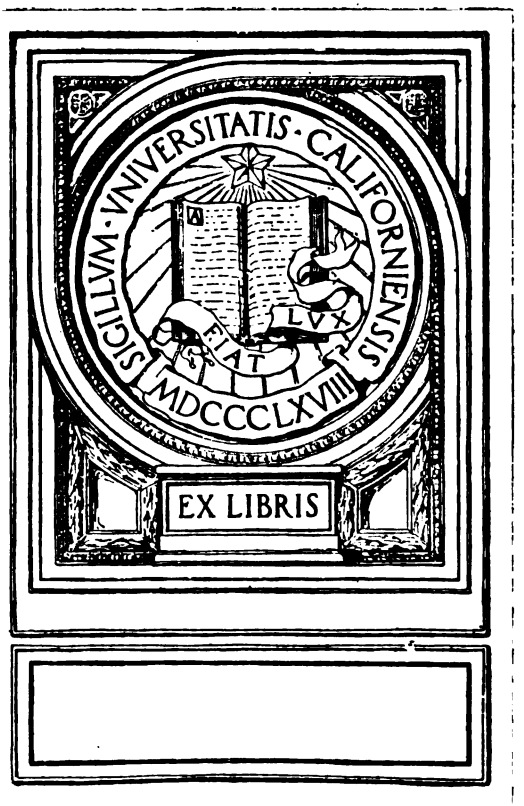
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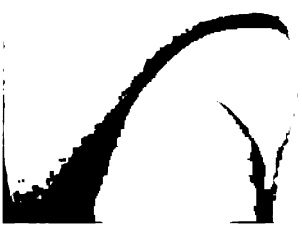

T.

THE WORKS
OF
HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

THE WORKS

OF

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA.

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CHAPTER

ALVARADO'S RULE—THE GRAHAM AFFAIR.

1840–1842.

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WE have now reached a period in the annals of California when the doings of foreigners become a more important element than those of natives or Mexicans, though the territorial ownership of the latter was not yet disputed. Indeed, matters pertaining directly or indirectly to the subject of foreign relations fill two thirds of the space in this volume, which brings the country's history in all its phases down to 1845. Though the preceding volume brought political annals down to 1840, the chronological limits assigned to this volume are 1836–45, since several chapters are devoted to developments of earlier date than 1840, one on the Russian establishment reaching back to 1831. This overlapping, as already explained,

is unavoidable, except by the sacrifice of symmetrical subject-grouping; and in this instance it will prove obviously a convenience to the reader by throwing together a large amount of matter pertaining to foreign affairs, and preliminary to a narrative of the so-called conquest of 1846–8, to be given in another volume. The Pioneer Register is continued in this volume, to be completed in the next.

The arrest and exile of Isaac Graham and his companions in 1840 belong properly to the subject of foreign relations, to be treated separately for this as for preceding periods; but as the narrative is much too long to be included in the chapter on that general subject for 1836–40, and as the topic is one of the most prominent in the annals of the year, I prefer to present it here in a separate chapter, the last of seven devoted to the political history of the half-decade, before proceeding to consider general institutionary matters of the same period.

The Graham affair is one which presents unusual difficulties to the historian. It is now, and probably will ever be, impossible to give a version that can be regarded as accurate in every particular. Much false testimony is before me on both sides respecting certain phases of the matter; while on other phases the record, if accurate, is unsatisfactory. The version best known to the world is the partisan one published by Farnham, Wilkes, Hastings, and others who have followed those writers—a version grossly exaggerated, to say the least, against the Californians and in behalf of the American settlers. A statement much more moderate and just in tone, if somewhat less detailed in matter, is that of Alfred Robinson, reproduced in substance by Tuthill. The narrative of Duflot de Mofras is favorable to the Californians, and has been followed by Gleeson and one or two other writers. My material from the archives and other original sources is plentiful, and I am in a position to correct

many erroneous statements made by others, and to throw new light on the subject generally, even if I cannot clear away all uncertainty respecting it.

The number of foreign residents was considerably increased in these years, and many of the new-comers were men of a turbulent and undesirable class, being for the most part deserters from vessels on the coast. During the troubles of 1836–8, the government had been unable to enforce the restrictions required by the laws; indeed, Governor Alvarado could not consistently oppress a class of men who had done so much to put him in power, even if he could afford to make enemies of any in those troublous times. Many who exercised a sort of leadership over the foreigners were not satisfied with the results of the revolution, or with their failure to make of California another Texas; while Texan history served also on the other hand as a warning to the Californian authorities. The foreigners, lawless and boisterous by nature and education, regarding all Spaniards as of an inferior and despicable race, took advantage of existing circumstances to become not only independent in their actions and annoyingly familiar in manner,[1] but loud, boast-

[1] 'I was insulted,' said Alvarado to Alfred Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 179–84, 'at every turn by the drunken followers of Graham; and when walking in the garden, they would come to its wall and call to me in terms of the greatest familiarity: "Ho! Bautista, come here, I want to speak to you;" Bautista here, Bautista there, and Bautista everywhere.' Any one familiar with the spirit of English and American sojourners in a foreign land, and with their opinions of all that is Spanish since the days of Sir Francis Drake, may easily imagine the airs put on by these fellows. Farnham, *Life in Cal.*, 66, etc., writes as follows: 'Alvarado became suspicious of the foreigners who had aided him in the revolution, and sought every means of annoying them. They might depose him as they had done Echeandía. And if vengeance were always a certain consequent of injustice, he reasoned well. The vagabond had promised, in the day of his need, to bestow lands on those who had saved his neck and raised him to power. This he found it convenient to forget. Like Spaniards of all ages and countries, after having been well served by his friends, he rewarded them with the most heartless ingratitude.' 'Another cause of the general feeling against the Americans and Britons in California was the fact that the señoritas, the dear ladies, in the plentitude of their taste and sympathy for foreigners, preferred them as husbands. Hence José Castro was heard to declare a little before the arrest, that such indignities could not be borne by Castilian blood; "for a Californian cavaliero cannot woo a señorita if opposed in his suit by an American sailor, and these heretics must be cleared from the land." Such were the causes operating to arouse the wrath and ripen the patriotism of the Californians. The vengeance of baffled gal-

ful, and even threatening in their talk. These circumstances were non-interference in the matter of passports, the aid some of them had rendered to Alvarado, their increasing number and that of their natural allies the trappers of the interior, the well-known dissensions between the Californian leaders, the danger of new revolts in the south, and the threatening attitude of the Indians in different parts of the department; and the same circumstances which made the foreigners bold and impudent rendered the Californians timid. Alvarado knew that the southern opposition to his rule was not extinct. He was beginning to regard Vallejo as a new and formidable foe in the north; and the latter had constantly insisted that danger, exaggerated perhaps in the interest of his military schemes, was impending from foreign encroachments. The governor and others knew that the presence of these lawless, uncontrollable strangers was not desirable. It was feared, and with much reason, that they would either seize upon a favorable opportunity to take possession of the country with aid from outside, or that they might at least enable some one of the hostile factions to overthrow the administration and plunge the country again into civil strife. The fear was real and wide-spread; but under such circumstances it is not unlikely that undue importance was attached to particular rumors, nor impossible that in certain quarters pretexts were even sought for ending the suspense by bringing the matter to an early issue.

lantry bit at the ear of Capt. José Castro; the fear of being brought to justice by Graham tugged at the liver of Alvarado; and love the keenest, and hate the bitterest, in a soul the smallest that was ever entitled to the breath of life, burnished the little black eyes and inflamed the little thin nose of one Corporal Pinto. These were the worthies who projected the onslaught on the foreigners. Their plan of operations was the shrewdest one ever concocted in California.' I give more space to Farnham's ravings than they would otherwise deserve, because he was in Cal. at the time, and had better opportunities to learn the truth respecting the Graham affair than about other matters which he attempts to treat. His views are echoed by Wilkes, *Narrative*, v. 180, etc., by Hastings, *Emigrant Guide*, 118, etc., and by some others. There is, however, nothing to show any oppression or treachery in the treatment, or any general spirit of hatred or jealousy in the feelings of Californians toward foreigners in these years. There was fear, and it was well founded.

At the end of March or early in April 1840 Padre Suarez del Real of San Cárlos warned Alvarado in a letter of an intended uprising of American residents, subsequently stating that the plot was revealed at the confessional by a foreigner supposed to be at the point of death, and claiming for that reason exemption from being obliged to make a legal declaration on the subject.[2] On April 4th the subject came up before the junta. Gonzalez remarked that expressions used by certain foreigners in places of public resort seemed to show that a plot was to be feared; whereupon the governor stated that he had knowledge of such a plot, and that while his information was of such a nature that it could not be made public, the conspirators were under surveillance, and their plans would not be permitted to succeed.[3] Soon William R. Garner confirmed the existence of revolutionary schemes, in which he himself had been involved apparently, and denounced Isaac Graham as chief of the conspirators. It is not clear whether Garner gave his testimony voluntarily to favor Alvarado and Castro, to prevent an outbreak, or to gratify some personal dislike, or was induced to confess by stratagem or threats on the part of Castro. There are indications that he was entrapped by a trick into making a partial revelation, and that he made an effort to warn the foreigners. There is little or no foundation for the extravagant charges made against him by the latter in their anger.[4]

[2] The padre's letter was sent by Alvarado to the min. of the int., with a communication of April 22d. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 67. According to Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 63–4; Torre, *Remin.*, MS., 87–9; and Meadows, *Graham Affair*, MS., 9–12, the dying man was generally believed to be one Tomás—probably Tomlinson, called 'Tom the Napper,' according to Meadows—whose wife was Jesus Bernal. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 123–4, and others mention the confession without giving names. In *Mexico, Mem. de Guerra*, 1841, p. 38, it is said that the plot of a *puñado de advenedizos* to raise the standard of revolt 'contra la integridad del territorio nacional' was discovered by a happy accident, the conspirators being brought to trial that they might 'suffer the punishment merited by their foolish temerity.' Mrs Ord states that she heard of the plot from her husband Jimeno before the arrests were made.

[3] April 4th, session of the junta. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 64–5.

[4] In all the contemporary documents Garner's confession is alluded to as the chief support of the charges, but no explanation is given of the manner in which the confession was obtained: nor is the testimony extant except in its

While the alleged conspiracy rested mainly on the statements of Padre Real and Garner, both probably somewhat general in their nature, there were other rumors and theories afloat, some of which have survived. The best known is that which represents the trouble as having originated from a horse-race. Graham had a fine horse, with which he was wont to win the Californians' money; and not only did this excite

general purport. Estévan de la Torre, *Remin.*, MS., 87–9, tells us that Castro, with the aid of Felipe Butron, attempted to enlist Garner in a scheme he pretended to have formed against Alvarado, with a view to declare California independent. Garner fell into the trap, and admitted that he, with Graham and others, had already formed a similar plan, and would gladly coöperate with Castro. This is confirmed by Florencio Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 64–5. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 408–9, thinks Garner's testimony was elicited by threats of shooting him. Alvarado, Vallejo, and other Californians in their later statements imply that Garner gave his testimony voluntarily to prevent trouble, being friendly to the Californian leaders, and being by them regarded as a reliable man. Farnham, Wilkes, and Hastings, followed by Robinson, *Cal. Gold Region*, 61–2, and others, represent that Garner was simply a tool paid to perjure himself. In Graham's statement presented by Farnham he says: 'José Castro, Bicenta Contrine (?), Ankel Castro, and a runaway Botany Bay English convict by the name of Garner, a vile fellow, and an enemy of mine because the foreigners would not elect him their captain, passed and repassed my house several times, and conversed together in low tones. I stopped José Castro and asked him what was the matter. He replied that he was going to march against Viego (Vallejo) at S. Francisco, to depose him from the command. His two companions made the same assertion. I knew that Alvarado was afraid of Viego, and that Castro was ambitious for his place; and for these reasons I partly concluded that they spoke the truth. Later in the day the vagabond Garner called at my house, and having drunk freely of whiskey, became rather boisterous, and said significantly that the time of some people would be short; that José Castro had orders from the governor to drive the foreigners out of Cal., or to dispose of them in some other way. He boasted that he himself should have a pleasant participation in the business. I had heard the same threat before, but it resulted in nothing. Believing, therefore, that Garner's words proceeded from the whiskey he had drunk rather than the truth, I left him in the yard and went to bed.' It was that night that he was arrested. *Farnham's Life*, 70–1. Writing of the later trial, Farnham, *Id.*, p. 90, says: 'A Botany Bay convict by the name of Garner was called in evidence on behalf of the government. His testimony removed all lingering doubts. He established the unqualified guilt of all. Graham, in particular, who had been preferred over him as commander of the foreign riflemen in Alvarado's revolution, and whom he had previously attempted to kill, he declared to have formed a scheme of ambition, which, had it not been discovered, would have dug the grave of every Spaniard in California! This man's testimony was written out and signed by his murderous hand. It may be in time a blister on his perjured soul.' It is certain that Garner gave no such formal testimony at the trial, and that Farnham's statement is a falsehood. Graham's account of Garner's coming to his house and talking as he did, since he was by no means a fool, would indicate a desire on his part to give a warning; and Meadows states that Garner did visit Graham, acting mysteriously, declaring that he could not tell the reason of his visit and actions, but at last saying, 'If you hear of my falling from my horse between here and S. Juan, look out for yourselves.'

ill feeling against him, but, as Robinson tells us, a contract for a new contest with a high-mettled racer from San Diego, a document signed by Graham and another American, was "construed into a plan for overturning the government."[5] Another motive ascribed to Alvarado in his course against the foreigners was a desire to rid himself of Graham's familiarities, interference, and importunities already alluded to, though by those who take this view the importunities are classified as 'demands for justice.' Sure it is that Graham, whether a conspirator or not, and notwithstanding the eulogies that have been heaped upon him, was a rough and disagreeable fellow, on getting rid of whom California or any other community might well congratulate itself. He was a leading spirit among a crowd of turbulent and reckless men, himself as wild and unprincipled as the worst, with no good qualities save personal bravery and perhaps a measure of the trappers' prodigal generosity.[6]

[5] 'As ridiculous as this may appear to the reader, nevertheless it is a fact to which I can testify from information I received on the spot shortly after its occurrence.' *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 180. Farnham says, 'Graham's annual challenge for the spring races in 1840 was easily construed into a disguised attempt to gather his friends for the purpose of overthrowing Alvarado's government.' *Life in Cal.*, 67–8.

[6] This, however, is the way Farnham puts it: 'A bold, open-handed man, never concealing for an instant either his love or hatred, but with the frankness and generosity of those great souls, rough-hewn but majestically honest, who belong to the valley states, he told the governor his sins from time to time, and demanded in the authoritative tone of an elder and affectionate brother, that he should redeem his pledges. The good old man did not remember that a Spaniard would have lost his nationality had he done so. A Spaniard tell the truth! A Spaniard ever grateful for services rendered him! He should have knocked at the tombs of Columbus and Cortés, and every other man who ever served that contemptible race. He asked for justice, and received—what we shall presently see.' To show Graham's opinion of a Spaniard, Wood, *Wandering Sketches*, 228–30, asked him in 1844 if he was going to a party given by Gov. Micheltorena. 'What, I! no, indeed! a corral is not big enough to hold me and one of them.' Weeks, *Remin.*, MS., 103–7, says Graham was the worst of the foreigners, and the cause of all the troubles by his boastful, quarrelsome spirit. 'He thought he could play hell and turn up jack.' Came to California with the reputation of bully and assassin. *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 160. An American, later a prominent citizen of California, says of Graham in New Mexico that he 'was noted for being a bummer, a blow-hard, and a notorious liar, without an atom of honesty in his composition.' He had to leave Tennessee for crimes committed there. *Graham and Sutter*, MS., 1–2. I have before me an undated document (of 1845 or 1846) signed by 20 citizens, only one of Spanish blood, denouncing

There are two other theories respecting the origin of the movement that merit passing notice. One is that favored by Dr Marsh, one of the foreigners arrested, namely, that Castro, desiring Vallejo's place, believed that in the existing state of feeling on the Texan reverses, to exile the foreigners would be the surest way to gain favor in Mexico and thereby gain his point. Alvarado was easily persuaded to favor the scheme.[7] The other theory is that the leading members of the foreign colony, including Spence, Larkin, and others who had been long in the country, were among the chief promoters of the movement. It is charged by Morris and others that these men acted with a view to get rid of Graham and others as business rivals, to gratify certain personal prejudices, and to discourage further increase in the foreign population. I impute no such motives to those men, but suppose rather that they approved Alvarado's policy more or less fully as best for the country. There are indications that Spence favored the movement, that Larkin made but slight effort at least to prevent it, and that it was not opposed to any considerable extent by the better class of foreigners.[8]

Graham as a breaker of the peace, corrupter of morals, quarrelsome, revolutionary, duellist, assassin, and adulterer. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 276.

[7] *Marsh's Letter to Com. Jones*, MS., p. 10–13. There are several vague allusions by different witnesses to a connection between this affair and the quarrel with Vallejo. The latter says, however, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 127–8, that although some people tried to make out that the affair was designed as a blow against him, he never attached much importance to that version. Vallejo claims that, having been absent on an Indian campaign, he did not know much about the affair until it was all over; but we shall see that he knew more of it than he is disposed to admit.

[8] In 1847 Larkin was severely criticised by foes in eastern papers for his conduct throughout this affair, and he obtained from Ex-gov. Alvarado a formal statement that he (Larkin) had not known of the arrest in advance, that he tried as a private individual unsuccessfully to learn Alvarado's motives, and that he did much to aid the prisoners both before and after their exile. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., v. 92–3. All this is true enough. Larkin's conduct in the affair was prudent and praiseworthy; yet he could not be persuaded to adopt the extreme partisan view, and I have no doubt fully approved Alvarado's action at the time, so far as most of the exiles were concerned. *Morris' Diary of a Crazy Man, or an Account of the Graham Affair of 1840*, MS. Albert F. Morris was an Englishman, and one of the prisoners sent to S. Blas, of whom I shall have more to say later. His MS. diary, or autobiography, was in my possession for a time about 1870—I have lost the memorandum

Whether Graham and his companions were really engaged in any definite plots of revolt in 1840 must remain a matter of doubt. Evidence of such plots at the time in a legal sense was weak; and now the evidence before us—though somewhat resembling that in favor of him who had ten witnesses that had not seen him steal a sheep against one who did see the act—is on its face strong against the existence of any such plots. The accused protested to a man their innocence, and naturally did not recant in later years when seeking damages. Other foreigners, and most Californians, state that they knew nothing of any conspiracy; and writers, almost without exception, have declared the charges unfounded.[9] Had

showing under what circumstances—and this is a résumé, with many literal quotations made by Walter M. Fisher at that time in 42 closely written pages. It is a narrative of great originality, interest, and importance. The author adopts the sobriquet of 'crazy man' from the fact that he was accused of insanity by somebody not named, against whom he is very bitter. He seems to have been an eccentric character, but a man of considerable abilty. He is severe against the older foreign residents, whom he denounces as traitors and apostates, more Spanish than the Spaniards, gambling and 'fandangoing' with the Californians to gain their favor, and plotting for the expulsion of late comers, whose influence with the natives they feared. He avoids giving names, but points clearly at Larkin among others. Hartnell was another object of his wrath, and apparently one of the two who had testified in court to his insanity. He claims to have had proofs that the arrest of himself and companions was ordered by Alvarado at the persuasion of these foreigners. He states that other foreigners aided personally in the arrests, and that still others had themselves arrested as a mere form to avoid the possible vengeance of the victims. John Chamberlain, *Memoirs*, MS., 5–14, also says Larkin, Spence, and Garner were in the plot with Alvarado and Castro. Wiggins, *Remin.*, MS., 5–6, alludes to a clique of traders in Monterey who were jealous of Graham and others, and wished to drive them from the country. A notice in the Mexican papers, dated June 20, 1840, and which I find in *Niles' Reg.*, lviii. 371, has the following: 'According to letters which we have before us from Estévan Munras and David E. Spence, the former a Spaniard and the latter a Scotchman, both respectable and faithful subjects residing near the port of Monterey, we learn that the Yankees, after holding several meetings at Natividad, where is a distillery, determined to take possession of that beautiful and fertile country which the New Orleans promoters of the Texan insurrection have justly styled the paradise of America.' On Jan. 13, 1841, F. D. Atherton writes from Valparaiso to Larkin: 'How much was Alvarado influenced by Spence in the affair? A good deal, I am afraid.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 118. In later years Larkin pronounced the affair an outrage; but at the time he made no protests.

[9] Of the men who were sent away we have definite narratives from only Graham (in Farnham's work), Morris, and Meadows. Of those arrested but not sent away there are formal statements from John Marsh, John Chamberlain, James Weeks, Job Dye, Charles Brown, Henry Bee, and an anonymous writer in the *Sta Cruz Sentinel* of Feb.–April 1869. There is also quite a mass of indirect testimony from these men through different sources. None

there been a veritable project of revolt formed and discussed by half a dozen men, as charged by Garner, I see no reason to suppose that the evidence would present any other than its present aspect; yet I express no opinion on this particular point. In a general way, I do not deem it likely that the successful revolt at Sonoma in 1846 was the first one plotted in Californian by foreigners; and I have no doubt that Graham and the crowd that frequented his distillery only awaited an opportunity to control the country. At any rate, they formed a turbulent and undesirable element of the population, and they were feared with reason by the Californians. Alvarado believed they were plotting mischief, and determined to get rid of them. And now, after saying so much

admit any knowledge of a conspiracy. Wm H. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 32–8, one of those arrested at S. F., gives a good general account of the affair. He thinks there was no definitely arranged plot, but that Alvarado was influenced partly by fears and current rumors, and also by orders from Mexico requiring strict precautions. He erroneously represents the Americans as having been the only ones arrested, except in a few cases by mistake, and falls into many errors in details.

Farnham and Alfred Robinson were in California at the time, and express the opinion that there was no plot. Capt. Gifford of the *Una* wrote from Vera Cruz to the same effect in 1840, getting his information probably from Farnham. *Niles' Reg.*, lviii. 371. Several versions went by the *Don Quixote* to the Hawaiian Islands, and were published in the *Honolulu Polynesian* of June 20, 1840. One says: 'Government had been informed that about 20 foreigners had the intention of taking the country, and by questioning some who were known to have been at variance with some others for a considerable time, trying to force them out of the country, they succeeded in proving the facts sought after in a manner satisfactory to themselves, and to the astonishment of the people, both foreigners and natives.' Another has it that 'Garner took advantage of a moment when Graham was incensed at the conduct of Alvarado, to consummate his revenge by working upon the injured feelings of Graham until he wrung from him sufficient to cause his subsequent danger and imprisonment.' And finally the editor says: 'We learn verbally that many of the men imprisoned were of a bad character and extremely obnoxious to the native inhabitants, and that this violence was committed to get them out of the country.' Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 304–6, believes that there was a plan to declare Cal. independent in the interest of the U. S. He is followed by Gleeson, *Hist. Cath. Church*, ii. 150. Of the Californians, Osio, Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 2–13, Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 53–7, 74–7, and Pinto, *Apunt.*, MS., 51–2, 64, are sure that there was a conspiracy, Pinto affirming that it was confessed to him and his relatives in later years by several different persons. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 122–42, is doubtful about the plot, though at the time he had no such doubts. Pio Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 87, Juan Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 99, Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 36, and Galindo, *Apuntes*, MS., 44–5, do not believe that the danger existed beyond the imagination of Alvarado and Castro.

about why it was done, it is time to tell what was done, and when and how.

It was on the 4th of April that the danger was discussed in a meeting of the junta.[10] Next day the governor apprised Vallejo that a plot had been formed by the foreigners, largely reënforced of late by deserters from vessels on the coast, to commit murders, robberies, and other horrible crimes. The leaders were not yet known, but prompt action being necessary, he had, after consulting the junta, directed Castro to raise a force and arrest all foreigners from Monterey to San Francisco who had entered the country unlawfully, except such as were married to native women, or had some well-known and honorable occupation. Similar arrests were to be made in the south. Civil authorities had been ordered and military requested to aid in carrying out this measure of self-protection. Castro had been directed to act in concert with Vallejo, who was requested to coöperate in making the arrests; to charter a vessel at San Francisco, on which the prisoners might be shipped away to be put at the disposal of the general government; to furnish a military guard for the voyage; and to come in person to the capital, if possible.[11] A copy of this communication was sent on the 7th to various officials north and south, with a postscript stating that new information had been obtained before the conspirators had been able to unite, and that two parties of them had been attacked by Castro, who with the loss of a single man had captured those under the chief conspirator, Isaac Graham, *ca-*

[10] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 64–5. The nature of the discussion has already been given.

[11] April 5, 1840, A. to V., in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiv. 52; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 139–40. Aguirre's vessel was suggested; stores were to be obtained from the missions; and Castro would tell many things that could not be put on paper. April 6th, Castro to Covarrubias, directing him to go to S. José, and make arrangements with the justice of the peace for the arrest of all foreigners. Has sent a similar notice to Natividad. *Dept. St. Pap., St. José*, MS., v. 32.

pitan de rifleros.[12] Similar information was imparted to the junta.[13]

Thus Garner's revelation must have been made April 5th or 6th, and the arrest of Graham and his companions at Natividad was made early in the morning of the 7th. By the 11th thirty-nine foreigners had been secured,[14] though the work was not yet complete. The measure was planned and executed with more skill and promptness than it was customary to use in California. Meanwhile Vallejo, willing to forget his grievances for a time, or hoping that the danger so often predicted by himself would bring Alvarado to his senses, engaged heartily in the movement, and did all that was asked of him, issuing orders, forwarding arms, and finally—after taking steps to watch the trappers and other foreigners on the Sacramento, whom he suspected of complicity in the plot—going in person to the capital.[15] He also ordered José Antonio Aguirre to put at the disposition of the government his bark the *Jóven Guipuzcoana*, or Maid of Guipuzcoa, then lying at anchor at Yerba Buena, which was at once made ready for a voyage under Captain John Snook.[16]

[12] April 7th, gov. to comandantes and prefects. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 10, 52–6; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 9–10; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., ii. 18–22; the last copy without the postscript. The single man lost must always remain a mystery.

[13] April 9th. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 64–5. No mention is made, however, of the loss of a man.

[14] April 11th, Com. Flores at Monterey to the com. gen. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 108. Prefect to justice at Sta Cruz. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 29.

[15] April 9th, V. at Sonoma to Alvarado, Castro, and com. at S. José. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 107, 269; xiv. 18; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 2–7. The spirit of his communications shows no doubt of the reality of the danger and no disapproval of A.'s policy. It would seem that a party was sent under Lázaro Peña to arrest certain foreigners north of the bay, but there is no other evidence that any arrests were made in that region. There was trouble with the soldiers and Indians at Sonoma that delayed V.'s departure until April 16th, at least. He reached Monterey before April 25th.

[16] April 11th, V. to Aguirre. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 110; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 4. April 16th, order to capt. of the port at S. F. to procure a crew for the bark. She was intended to sail for Acapulco. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 113. The sum paid for the charter of the vessel according to documents of later date was either $4,000 or $7,000, it is not clear which. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 61, 67–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 48, 54. The vessel was formerly the *Roger Williams* of 200 tons, which under Capt. J. Stevens arrived at Sta B. from Boston Feb. 8th of this same year. In March she was

Nothing appears in the records of the time—I shall present information from other sources a little later—respecting proceedings at Monterey in connection with the prisoners from the time of the first arrest on April 7th to the 22d, when Alvarado dated his report to the minister of the interior, and his instructions to Castro, who with an escort of fifteen or twenty men was to guard the prisoners on the voyage to San Blas.[17] On the 23d the governor informed the junta that his efforts to insure the public peace had been successful and the foreigners had been embarked. The *Guipuzcoana* sailed from Monterey on April 24th, through the date of Vallejo's despatches to the minister of war is April 25th.[18] A few days later Alvarado

sold to Aguirre, and put under the Mexican flag, her name being changed. Aguirre had to go to S. Blas to obtain a legal register. Documents of sale and change of flag in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 41, 69, 73, 77, 80. Some of the *Roger Williams'* own men seem to have been among the exiles. The editor of the *Sta Cruz Sentinel*, April 17, 1869, says the vessel finally settled on the mud flats of the Sacramento, and was torn to pieces by Chinamen in 1864.

[17] April 22, 1840, A. to min. of int. The report is but a brief statement that a private letter announced a conspiracy; Prefect Castro was ordered to use energetic measures; a force of trusted citizens was organized; all foreigners who had entered Cal. illegally and were not married had been arrested to the number of 60; an accomplice revealed the plot to Castro; the judge of 1st instance investigated the matter; 45 of the prisoners were embarked; and Castro with a force would guard them, and report details to the govt. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 67–8. Castro's instructions required him to touch at Sta Bárbara, take on board the prisoners there, and sail at once for S. Blas, where the prisoners were to be landed and taken with the aid of the authorities to Tepic, whence Castro was to proceed to Mexico and report fully, losing no time in getting ready to return. He was also to report on the general condition of the country, and work with Castillero to obtain the military aid so much needed. *Alvarado, Instrucciones al Prefecto Castro para su viaje á Mexico con los prisioneros extrangeros, 1840*, MS. April 22d, Capt. J. M. Covarrubias and Alf. Victor Linares, with a sergt and 11 men from the Monterey company of auxiliaries, were ordered to accompany Castro. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxiii. 2; but Pinto, *Apunt.*, MS., 53, says that the officers that went were Covarrubias, Lieut. Francisco Soto, Alf. Rafael Pinto (the writer), Joaquin de la Torre, and Sergt Jesus Soto, with 20 men. April 22d, $1,900 ordered paid to Castro as comisionado to Mexico. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 52. April 24th, passport from Vallejo to Castro. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 117.

[18] April 23d, A. to the junta. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 65. *Vallejo, Informes al Ministro de Guerra sobre la sublevacion de Graham y otros extrangeros, 25 de Abril, 1840*, MS. These despatches add nothing in detail to Alvarado's report, but are largely devoted to a repetition of his oft-repeated demands for aid, using the late trouble as a strong argument. He draws on his imagination somewhat in stating that the chief aim of the late conspiracy was to get possion of S. F. as a key to the whole country. He compliments Castro and his men for their valuable services, and asks to be relieved of his office that

issued a printed proclamation, in which he informed his fellow-citizens how "a sordid and venal faction, gotten up by some ungrateful foreigners whom you have welcomed to your hospitable soil, attempted to strip us of the most precious treasure, country and life, desiring to sacrifice to their unmeasured ambition the first authorities of the country"! He congratulated all on their escape, and advised the people to maintain the most friendly relations with foreigners legally in California.[19] Orders were issued on the disposition to be made of property left by Graham, and arms belonging to others of the exiles;[20] and then all was quiet for a time at the capital.

In the south as well as in the north the governor's orders had been carried into execution, and twenty foreign prisoners had been collected at Santa Bárbara, none being arrested, however, who could show papers to account for their presence.[21] The sub-prefect,

he may devote all his energies to the northern frontier. April 29th, Com. Sanchez of S. F. thanks providence that the vile designs of ungrateful foreigners have been frustrated. *Id.*, ix. 132.

[19] *Alvarado, [Proclama del] Gobernador constitucional del Departamento de las Californias: á sus habitantes [sobre destierro de extrangeros]. Imprenta del Gobierno* (1840), in *Earliest Printing; Arce, Mem. y Doc.*, MS., no. 15; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. ii. 26–8; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiv. 48; *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 44.

[20] May 2d, gov. to justice of S. Juan. Let the foreigner Enrique (Henry Naile?) realize from the effects of Graham and leave the republic within two months. Lists and accounts of all foreigners must be sent in. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 12–13; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 68. Same date, Jimeno to justice of Branciforte and S. Juan. Arms of the foreigners sent away to be collected and a report rendered. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 30; *Gomez, Doc.*, MS., 45. May 16th, juez of S. José to gov.'s sec. Has in deposit some of the arrested foreigners' property, and their creditors wish to take legal steps to get their pay from this deposit. Judge wishes to save his responsibility. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 38.

[21] April 13th, Guerra y Noriega to gov. Has aided the sub-prefect to arrest all resident foreigners. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 6. April 21st, all prisoners at Angeles to be sent to Sta B. under guard. *Id., Ang.*, xi. 117. April 23d, sub-prefect to prefect. Order of arrest executed. *Id.*, iv. 84. April 24th, prefect of Angeles to gov. 10 foreigners arrested here; some here several years, but none have papers; comisionado sent to S. Diego and Sta B. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., vi. 68. April 29th, list of 11 men under arrest; Jas Door, Wm Lumsdale (Lumsden), Gabriel (Nath.?) Pryor, Wm Wald, Milton White, Jacques Dufrá, Tom Jones, Wm Green, Jeffrey Brown, John Auntroy, and Albert Williams. *Id.*, 67–8. Johnson the blacksmith escaped. *Id., Ang.*, iv. 70–4. May 12th, sub-prefect says 20 prisoners, 14 from Angeles and 6 from Sta B.. had been delivered to Castro. *Id., Ben.*,

Raimundo Carrillo, got himself into some trouble in connection with the arrests, being accused of speaking too freely when strict secrecy was enjoined, a charge which he earnestly denied.[22] The *Guipuzcoana* arrived May 4th, though Farnham puts the date a week earlier, and five at least of the southern prisoners were added to the number already on board the vessel, though eight of those deemed least criminal were left behind for want of room and shackles.[23] The exile-laden bark sailed on the 8th, and Castro carried with him a grandiloquent congratulatory address of certain patriotic Barbareños.[24] Troops and exiles were landed at San Blas on or about May 16th; and early in September the *Guipuzcoana* was back in California, with news that the foreigners were in prison at Tepic, while Castro, with Covarrubias and Soto, had gone to Mexico.[25]

Having thus presented a simple narrative of facts as drawn from archive records, I have now to give further information, founded more or less directly on the testimony of men concerned in the Graham affair. The victims and their friends have accused the Californians, not only of having exiled them without cause, but of cruelty at the time of the arrest, during their confinement, and on the voyage to San Blas. These charges are, I believe, exaggerated, though from the nature of the case they cannot be entirely disproved. In considering the evidence to be offered, the reader should bear in mind the character of the

iii. 5. June 23d, James Orbell, Thos Ridington, and Robt Robertson to be arrested at S. Diego. *Id., Ang.*, i. 1.

[22] Aug. 28, 1840, Carrillo to prefect in defence of himself, and other communications. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 6–8; *Id., Ang.*, xii. 33–7; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., i. 216–18.

[23] May 7th, Castro to Guerra, in *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., v. 191–2. Those left were to leave Cal. when an opportunity should occur.

[24] May 8th, signed by the Cotas, Oliveras, and others. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 7. This proclamation, signed by 'seven citizens of note,' is partially translated in *Monterey Co. Hist.*, 34–5. Arrival and departure of the vessel noted in *Mellus' Diary*, MS., 4.

[25] Sept. 6th, sub-prefect at Sta B. announces arrival of Aguirre's vessel on Aug. 31st. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., iii. 27.

exiles as men whose word could not be trusted, the opportunity they had to make their stories agree, their interest with a view to indemnity from Mexico in maintaining and exaggerating their wrongs, and the prevailing spirit of hatred for everything Mexican, which in the following years served as a favorable medium for their complaints. The Californians personally concerned in making the arrests are in many cases not better witnesses than the victims; but the general denial of leading Californians should have some weight, especially when supported by the fact that foreigners of the better class made no opposition and offered none but the mildest protests, after the matter had assumed a political aspect.

The Californians had no real military organization, and their system of police and prisons was still less effective. To arrest and confine a hundred foreigners was, under the circumstances, no slight achievement. The arrests were made for the most part by small parties of citizens imperfectly armed, with no training as policemen, and with a decided fear of their enemy's prowess. Undue severity was to be expected in some instances, and an occasional gratification of personal dislikes might naturally occur. But prompt action was demanded, followed by strict precautions; a little more attention to kid-glove niceties would have resulted in the escape of Graham and his company to join the trappers of the interior and laugh at the efforts of their persecutors. The arrest and exile were, in a legal sense, and in the case of certain individuals, an outrage; but the reader will, perhaps, after a study of the facts, be led to accept with some allowance the wholesale charges of inhumanity made against the Californian authorities and people.

Of the men arrested in the north, there were perhaps one hundred, though it is doubtful if all were sent to Monterey, and some, I think, were arrested at their own request, or with their own consent, in order to avoid making enemies among their foreign ac-

quaintances. Farnham names about fifty in addition to those sent to San Blas.[26] Alvarado announced to the government that sixty men had been arrested and that forty-three were to be sent away. Twenty more seem to have been delivered to Castro at Santa Bárbara, but eight were not taken for want of room, and one, Robert King apparently, of the Monterey men was also left here sick. If twelve were put on board —though only six are known, one of whom, Lumsden, was landed at San Diego—there should have been fifty-four sent to San Blas. I suppose, however, that either there is some mistake about the Santa Bárbara record, or some of the Monterey captives were released in the south; and that forty-seven reached San Blas, though there may have been a few more. In nationality they are said to have been about equally divided between Englishmen and Americans. I append a list of their names.[27]

[26] *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, 69–70. The list, with some orthographical improvements, is as follows, though it contains the names of one or two not likely to have been arrested, and one or two others of whom I know nothing; and the author does not present it as complete:

Adams, Walter.	Gulnac, Wm.	*Matthews, Wm.
Atterville, Jas.	*Hance, Wm.	Mirayno, Jon. (?)
*Bee, Henry.	Hathaway, H.	*Naile, Henry.
Beechay, Capt. (?)	Henderson, Wm.	Sill, Daniel.
Bowen, Thos.	Herven, Jon. (?)	Smith, Jon.
Brander, Wm.	Horton. (?)	*Smith, Wm.
*Brown, Chas.	Jones, Jerry.	*Spear, Nathan.
Burns, Wm.	Jones, ——	Storm, Peter.
*Chamberlain, Jno.	Kelley, Jas.	Thompson, Wm.
*Cole, Thos.	*King, Robt.	*Tomlinson, Thos. (or A. G.)
*Cooper, Henry.	Kinlock, Geo.	*Trevethan, Wm.
Coppinger, Jas.	La Grace, Fran. (?)	Ware, Wm.
Dickey, Wm.	Livermore, Robt.	Watson, Andrew.
*Dye, Job.	Lodge, Mich.	*Watson, Ed.
Eagle, F. (?)	*Majors, Jos. L.	*Weeks, Wm.
*Farwell, Jas.	McKinley, Jas.	*West, Mark.
Ferguson, Geo.	McVicker, Hen.	*Wilson, Alvin.
Fuller, Jon.	*Marsh, John.	

The names marked with a star are also mentioned by other authorities than Farnham. Bee adds the name of James Rogers. Morris accuses Job Dye of having been in the ranks of the party that arrested him. Wm H. Davis says he was arrested at Yerba Buena, with Spear, but released at the mission.

[27] On May 24, 1840, at Tepic, 46 men signed a letter of thanks to Farnham for his services. *Honolulu, Polynesian*, Dec. 5, 1840. Naturally all would have signed the paper, and Wm Chard is the only one not named whom there is reason to suppose to have been a member of the party. An official com-

It is best to give literally the statements of Graham and Morris about the arrests at Natividad on the morning of April 7th. The former, after stating that he and Naile went to bed in his house while Morris and Barton as usual slept in the still-house,[28] says: "We slept quietly until about three o'clock in the morning, when I was awakened by the discharge of a pistol near my head, the ball of which passed through the handkerchief about my neck. I sprang to my feet and jumped in the direction of the villains, when they discharged six other pistols so near me that my shirt took fire in several places. Fortunately the darkness and the trepidation of the cowards prevented

munication from Mexico also gives the number as 47. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 97. Morris, *Diary*, MS., insists that there were exactly 46 on the vessel after leaving S. Diego. The names of the 47 are as follows—those who are known to have returned to Cal. being marked with a star, the nationality being given when known, and also the year of arrival for those who came before 1840:

*Anderson, Wm, Engl. 1837.
Armstrong, John.
Baily, Wm (Engl. 1834?).
*Barton, Wm, Amer. 1839.
Bloomfield, Wm.
*Boles (Bowles), Jos., Amer. 1838.
Brincken, Wilhelm.
*Carmichael, Lawrence, Engl. 1833.
*Chapel, Geo., Engl.
*Chard, Wm, Amer. 1832–3.
Christian, John, 1838.
*Cooper, Chas H., Amer.
Daly, Nathan, Amer. 1834.
*Dove, Jas G., Engl. 1833.
Forbes, Wm, Engl. 1835.
*Frazer, Geo., Amer. 1833.
Goff, Daniel.
*Graham, Is., Amer. 1833.
Green, Wm.
Higgins, John, Engl. 1830.
Irvin, John.
Jones, Thos.
Knight, Henry.
*Langlois, Wm, Engl.
Lewis, Thos, Engl. 1833.
Louzade (?), Jas.
*Lucas, Jno., Engl. 1838.
McAllister, Robt. Perhaps returned.
*McGlone, Wm, Engl. 1837.
Maynard, John, Engl. Perhaps returned.
*Meadows, Jas, Engl. 1837.
*Morris, Albert F., Engl. 1834.
*O'Brien, Jas, Engl. 1838.
*Pearce, Jos. (or Jas Peace), 1838.
Perry, Elijah.
Pollock, Lewis.
*Price, John, Engl. 1836.
Pryor, Gabriel.
Shea, Wm.
Thomas, Thos.
Vermilion, John.
*Warner, John, Engl.
Westlake, Rich.
White, Milton.
Whitehouse, Jos.
Williams, Albert.
Williams, Chas, 1839.

Of these persons, the account in the *Polynesian* of June 20th says 'several of them were sailors. Some came here with passports. Four or five arrived here the same month in the *Roger Williams*, one being the first mate. (Also *Graham et al., Petition.*) One half had been in the country for years, and were owners of some property, all of which they had to leave behind.'

[28] Graham's statement in *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, 71–2. For what preceded, that is, Garner's visit, see p. 6 of this chapter. Farnham says he obtained written statements from 41 of the prisoners, but he prints only two or three.

their taking good aim; for only one of their shots took effect, and that in my left arm. After firing they fell back a few paces and commenced reloading their pieces. I perceived by the light of their pistols that they were too numerous for a single man to contend with, and determined to escape. But I had scarcely got six paces from the door when I was overtaken and assailed with heavy blows from their swords. These I succeeded in parrying off to such an extent that I was not much injured by them. Being incensed at last by my successful resistance, they grappled with me and threw me down, when an ensign by the name of Joaquin Terres (Torre) drew his dirk, and saying with an oath that he would let out my life, made a thrust at my heart. God saved me again. The weapon passing between my body and left arm, sunk deep in the ground! and before he had an opportunity of repeating his blow they dragged me up the hill in the rear of my house, where José Castro was standing. They called to him, 'Here he is!' whereupon Castro rode up and struck me with the back of his sword over the head so severely as to bring me to the ground; and then ordered four balls to be put through me. But this was prevented by a faithful Indian in my service, who threw himself on me, declaring that he would receive the balls in his own heart! Unwilling to be thwarted, however, in their design to destroy me, they next fastened a rope to one of my arms and passed it to a man on horseback, who wound it firmly around the horn of his saddle. Then the rest taking hold of the other arm endeavored to haul my shoulders out of joint! But the rope broke. Thinking the scoundrels bent on killing me in some way, I begged for liberty to commend my soul to God. To this they replied, 'You shall never pray till you kneel over your grave.' They then conducted me to my house and permitted me to put on my pantaloons. While there they asked where Mr Morris was. I told them I did not know.

Then they put their lances to my breast and told me to call him or die. I answered that he had made his escape. While I was saying this Mr Naile came to the house, pale from loss of blood, and vomiting. He had had a lance-thrust through his thigh, and a deep wound in his leg, which nearly separated the cord of the heel. They next put Mr Naile and myself in double irons, carried us half a mile into the plain, left us under guard, and returned to plunder the house. After having been absent a short time, they came and conducted us back to our rifled home. As soon as we arrived there a man by the name of Manuel Larias (Larios) approached me with a drawn sword, and commanded me to inform him where my money was buried. I told him I had none. He cursed me and turned away. I had some deposited in the ground, but I determined they should never enjoy it. After having robbed me of my books and papers, which were all the evidence I had that these very scoundrels and others were largely indebted to me, and having taken whatever was valuable on my premises, and distributed it among themselves, they proceeded to take an inventory of what was left, as if it were the whole of my property; and then put me on horseback and sent me to this prison. You know the rest. I am chained like a dog, and suffer like one."[29]

[29] In a deposition of Sept. 1, 1847, at S. José, Graham said that Garner came with Castro, taunted and insulted him after his capture, blamed Castro for not having kept his promise to kill him, and as he believed broke open trunks in his house, containing $3,700. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xiv. 1–8. Wiggins, *Remin.*, MS., 5–6, says 'Graham was always the hero of his own stories, yet he had scars to show.' James Meadows and John Chamberlain give a brief version, substantially agreeing with that of Graham. Mofras, Gleeson, Alfred Robinson, Hastings, and Willey, *Centen. Sketch of Sta Cruz*, present a still briefer version of similar purport. Hastings says Alvarado 'despatched a few of his niggardly hirelings in the dead of night...to bring the foreigners before his contemptible excellency. In most instances the first notice which the foreigners had of their approach was a volley of musket-balls poured in upon them through their windows and doors.' Wilkes and Fayette Robinson add that a working-man named Chard (Naile?) was held down by two men while a third deliberately cut the tendons of his legs with a butcher-knife, and left him to die! Estévan de la Torre, *Remin.*, MS., 89–99, narrates that when his brother Joaquin called at Graham's door, the for-

Morris narrates the adventures of the night as follows: "At evening a Spaniard called, said he had lost a bundle, and wished to stay all night. There were also in the house two foreigners who said they were going to San José, but disliked to ford the rivers until the water had fallen. About nine o'clock we all retired, Graham and Naile as usual to a small house about twenty-five or thirty yards away. Myself, a hired man (Barton), and the three travellers retired to the still-house. About 2 o'clock I was awakened by a loud knocking at the door. I hailed in English, but got no answer; then in Spanish, and was answered by Nicolás Alviso, a neighbor. I told him to wait till I could dress, light a candle, and let him in. I had only time to put on my pantaloons when I heard the report of fire-arms at Graham's house, and the tramp of horses behind the still-house. Alviso called on all to break in my door; I heard the foreigner set on shore for mutiny (Garner) calling out to set the buildings on fire; and as they came against the door I gave them a broadside from my pistol, loaded with a ball and the necks of 14 bullets—but it being dark I fired rather too high. They returned my fire, and wounded me in the left side with a musket-ball. The dastardly cowards then ran, except Alviso. Looking

eigners began to fire rifles from the houses; and when he forced the door, Graham, sitting on the bed dressing, fired a pistol-shot through his cloak. Torre then fired both his pistols at Graham's breast, burning him somewhat; but the bullets had dropped out into the holsters during the night's ride. Graham fell upon his back, and when Torre rushed upon him with drawn sword, called for mercy. Torre replied, 'Tell your men to stop firing and surrender,' which was done, and all were made prisoners. This version, supported by Serrano, may be regarded as that of Joaquin de la Torre, whose character as a witness was about on a par with that of Graham—that is, very bad. Marsh, *Letter to Com. Jones*, MS., 11, says: 'His house was surrounded at night, the door forced open, and a volley of fire-arms discharged into the beds where it was known that Graham and Naile were sleeping. Before they had time to leave their beds, Naile received two severe wounds, and was left for dead. Graham was knocked down, severely beaten, bound, and carried to Monterey.' The account in the *Polynesian* says: 'When they started to arrest Graham, Garner told them not to attempt to take him alive, but to go to his house in the night, and open the door of his room, and fire upon him while in his bed. This they did, and it is surprising that he escaped being killed. His bed-clothes were much torn by the balls, and one ball wounded him slightly in the abdomen.'

through the open willow-work that formed one side, I levelled my rifle at him, and exploded three caps; but one of the foreigners had tampered with the rifle, and it would not go off, though Alviso now took to his heels. The hired man and two of the travellers had escaped, and I was left alone with the remaining stranger, a man who had lost all his fingers. Both the others had been emissaries of the Californians sent to watch us, and to escape and report if we had any notice of the coming danger. They had singled out Graham, Naile, and myself as special victims; and they had agreed that neither of us should be left to tell the bloody tale. I now escaped, my companion not following me, into a willow swamp near by, barefoot, and having on nothing but shirt and pantaloons. I was the only man who had attempted any resistance." Morris remained in the swamp all day, and at night found his way to the house of Littlejohn, eight miles away, where he remained two days, and then went by way of Santa Cruz to the distillery of Dye and Majors at Zayante. He relates at considerable length that Dye, after promising protection, betrayed him into the hands of Castro's men, and treated Majors, his partner, in like manner. He was finally arrested about April 16th by Ness and Lyons, and was taken to Monterey by Buelna's company, in which Dye served as a soldier. On the way he stopped at Natividad, where Naile was found, unable to rise from his bed on account of his wound, but kindly treated, as he said, by Alviso. Not a scrap of property was left, all having been stolen. He arrived at Monterey the 18th of April.[30]

There is not much to be said about the arrests made, except at Natividad, and no special outrages are charged upon the Californians even by the vic-

[30] *Morris' Diary of a Crazy Man*, MS., 7–8, 16–25, with many minute details for which I have no space. A statement by Morris, agreeing more or less with this, was also published by Farnham. He says Naile claimed to have been wounded by Garner himself.

tims. James Meadows relates that he, with Higgins and Anderson, engaged in sawing on the Carmelo Creek, was lured to the house of one Romero, who by giving up the foreigners hoped to secure their rifles as a reward.[31] Rafael Pinto brought in six or eight other sawyers from El Pinal.[32] Eusebio Galindo was one of the party that brought in the lumbermen of San Francisquito, without force or fetters, feeling sure they were engaged in no plot, and soon procuring their release.[33] Jacinto Rodriguez and his command took seven Americans, lumbermen like the rest, at the Aguage de Tres Pinos.[34] J. M. Covarrubias was sent toward San José, and kept the prisoners of that region for some days confined at Santa Clara, one of them being James W. Weeks.[35] Harry Bee was in the redwoods with Trevethan, Rogers, and an American, when José Castro himself with fifty men made a raid on the saw-pit; and Bee's throat was even honored, if we may credit his story, by the grasp of the comandante himself.[36] John Chamberlain was arrested at his shop early in the morning, and on his arrival at the calabozo found six or seven others already there.[37] Charles Brown was also arrested in the redwoods; and at one time he enjoyed the distinction—so he says—of being chained to Isaac Graham, but was soon released.[38] Marsh, visiting Mission San José on busi-

[31] *Meadows' Graham Affair*, MS. On the way a Mexican fired a pistol-ball very near Meadows' head.

[32] *Pinto, Apunt.*, MS., 44–51. These two arrests were made the same night as those at Natividad.

[33] *Galindo, Apuntes*, MS., 44.

[34] *Rodriguez, Statement*, MS.

[35] Weeks, *Remin.*, MS., 103–10, says 'Covarrubias came putting on airs worse than the devil, and locked me up as if I had been Walker or some other *gran filibustero*.' At S. José he 'had the satisfaction to see a pack of Christians and people of reason overhauling my writing-desk and pillaging every little thing that satisfied their gluttonous eyes. They set in robbing me from the word go; said they were looking for documents to prove conspiracy.' On the way to Monterey they met Castro and Montenegro at the Roblar de la Laguna.

[36] *Bee's Recoll.*, MS., 21, etc. They were taken to Monterey on horseback. Bee was a married man, as was Weeks also.

[37] *Chamberlain, Mem.*, MS., 5–6. Among the others were Ed Watson and Mark West, who with Chamberlain were released next day.

[38] *Brown's Early Events*, MS., 15.

ness, was detained there for two days, and then with four others sent under guard to Monterey, where, however, he was released on parole.[39] I have no narrative from any of the persons arrested in the south; but George Nidever tells how he and several others escaped at San Diego, by at first threatening to use force, and then dropping down the coast to a position whence they saw the *Guipuzcoana* pass within a short distance.[40]

In confinement at the capital, all the prisoners and their friends agree that they were badly treated. There were many persons shut up in a small room, where I have no doubt they passed an uncomfortable fortnight. There was certainly over-crowding and defective ventilation. For two or three days the food supply was irregular, and probably insufficient. Morris says, "For three days I did not taste a morsel of any kind of food, for there was no person humane enough to send me any;" but he seems to have been confined separately from most of the others, and his fasting was in the last days of the general captivity.[41] Thomas O. Larkin later in the year certified that on

[39] *Marsh's Letter to Com. Jones*, MS., 11–12. Marsh had a rancho in the Mt Diablo region.

[40] *Nidever's Life*, MS., 104–5. Sparks and Hewitt are named among his companions. They were engaged in otter-hunting.

[41] *Morris' Diary*, MS., 8–9, 25–9. He admits that Larkin furnished him food at the comandante's order for a day or two before the sailing. In the *Polynesian*, June 20th, we read: 'The government did not furnish them with anything to protect them from the damp ground floor of the prison, and it is probable they would have had no other bed had not Mr Spence persuaded the governor to permit him to provide them with a few bullock hides. On complaint being made by the same gentleman that the men were actually suffering from want of air, he had some of them taken out and put into another room. One they liberated, because he became so faint they were afraid he would lose his life. His store was broken open during his confinement.' Gonzalez, *Revoluciones*, MS., 12, says he received Graham and his companions from Soto at Buenavista, and treated them kindly until delivered to Alvarado. Brown, *Early Days*, MS., 15–17, says about 100 men were confined in a room 18x30 ft, so that only a few could lie down at a time; but some of them were soon put in another room. Bee says there were 40 in the room, and that no food was furnished by the authorities. *Recoll.*, MS., 21–8. Weeks, *Remin.*, MS., 109-11, tells us that 40 or 50 were huddled together in one room. Meadows, *Graham Affair*, MS., 4–9, has it that 110 men were confined in a room 18x20 ft, it being impossible to lie or even sit; but Graham, Chard, Majors, Daly, Morris, and 9 others were later put in another room.

and after the third day of the imprisonment, that is. April 9th, he had, at the request of the comandante furnished to the prisoners daily and ample supplies of meat, bread, beans, and tea. This should be a sufficient refutation of the charges of starvation.[42]

On the 18th of April the *Don Quixote*, Captain Paty, arrived from Honolulu. On her as a passenger was Thomas J. Farnham, an American lawyer, who published a book as a result of his visit. His version of the Graham affair is better known than any other. He was apparently an intelligent man, and was certainly in some respects a brilliant writer. Had he been wise enough to show a degree of fairness in his observations on various minor matters, his statements on the subject of this chapter would be entitled to some weight, on account of his opportunities for knowing the truth. As it is, his remarks on men and events at Monterey are so evidently and absurdly false as to throw more than a doubt upon all that he says. From the moment that some slight obstacle, like the necessity of a passport, was thrown in the way of the sea-sick passenger landing as soon as he wished, there arose in him hatred and contempt for all that was Californian. Nor was his rage mitigated when he learned "that one hundred and fifty odd Americans and Britons were thirsting and starving in the prisons of the town, and destined to be sacrificed to Spanish malignity." Travellers of all nations had visited California in past years and published their views of its inhabitants, favorable or unfavorable; but it was reserved for

[42] Dec. 6, 1840, Larkin's certificate, in *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 105. Graham had 9 others, *Petition to U. S. Govt, 1842*, say: 'The room, about 20 ft sq., without being floored, became very damp and offensive, endangering our health at times. One had to stand while another slept, and during the first three days not a mouthful of food found or offered us by our oppressors, but living on the charity of them that pitied us.' Larkin 'assisted us not only in food,' but in other necessaries allowed to be introduced. 'Some of us were taken out of prison from time to time and released by the intercession of friends or through sickness.' This it will be seen is much more moderate than Farnham's version. Pinto, *Apunt.*, MS., 54, says the prisoners had plenty of food, and were treated as well as was possible under the circumstances. Farnham states that the contract with Larkin was not made until April 19th.

this individual to discover that the people had not a single good quality; that the leading men were not only villains, cowards, and brutes, but displayed their character clearly in every feature and action. I have already quoted extensively from this writer, and shall have occasion to cite him again; but quotations would not do justice to the chapters in which he pictures the terrible sufferings of the captives, the fiendish outrages committed by the Californians, and the zealous efforts of himself and a companion by whom alone, as is implied, the lives of all were saved. It is with regret that I am obliged in a sense to give to this author more prominence than to others who have told the truth. Farnham sailed May 5th, and met the exiles again at Santa Bárbara and San Blas.[43]

There was naturally an attempt to obtain evidence of a plot on the part of the prisoners before sending them away; but although there is no record extant of the investigation, it was evidently unsuccessful. The

[43] *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, 50–116, 402–16. I shall have more to say of the book elsewhere. The author represents the arrangement with Larkin about supplying food to have been made after his arrival—that is, nearly two weeks after the arrests! He constantly alludes to 'an American,' who by his active efforts, his independent way of threatening the governor, and his mysterious manner of signalling the *Don Quixote* as she repeatedly entered and left the harbor, did much to save the prisoners' lives. From the narrative I should suppose this American to have been Farnham himself, but Morris says there was another whose name he forgets. It may have been Chamberlain, an agent of American missions at the Sandwich Islands, who was a passenger by the vessel. Once Alvarado in 'a most sublime rage ordered the guards to fire on the American, and strode through his apartment, bellowing fearfully and raising a very dense cloud of dust!' Farnham was kept awake at night by the piteous appeals of the prisoners; and he sometimes went near enough to Graham's cell 'to hear the lion-hearted old man roar out his indignation.' 'Suffocation, the pangs of death, one at a time coming slowly by day and among the sleepless moments of the long and hot night, life pendent on the mercy of a Californian Spaniard'—this was their condition, yet 'dying Americans, unconquerable sons of the republic,' sang at the last 'Hail Columbia;' and 'sturdy Britons were there to sing "Rule Britannia," when the American proposed to aid them in breaking prison, taking the town, and disposing of the authorities at the rope's end if they did not give them a fair trial within three days!' Hastings, *Emigrants' Guide*, 118–21, is as violent and inaccurate as Farnham, though his version is briefer. In (*J. F. B.*) *Leaves from my Journal*, in *Honolulu Polynesian*, ii. 77, 86, 89, 93, is another narrative of the voyage of the *Don Quixote*, much more moderate in tones than Farnham's, but taking the same general view. The author says one man was arrested and sent by land from Monterey to be put on the vessel at Sta Bárbara.

version of Farnham and Morris, slightly supported by the testimony of several others, is that the prisoners, questioned one after another, uniformly denied any knowledge of a plot, and were forced to sign what was said to be their testimony, but was presumably a confession of guilt, without being permitted to know the purport of what they signed.[44] These statements, together with Garner's charges now deliberately repeated under oath, were, according to this version, sent to Mexico as justifying the exile.[45] That this version is false is evident from the fact that the Mexican government subsequently blamed Alvarado for not sending legal proofs. It would not have required many confessions of accomplices to constitute such proofs; and if Alvarado had set about the manufacture of forged testimony, there is no reason to doubt that he would have made it strong enough. Indeed, there is much reason to believe that even Garner's testimony was either not formally repeated, or was indefinite, and that Padre Real's original letter, with Garner's first denunciation and several vague rumors, constituted the only support of the charges preferred. Alvarado realized perfectly that the legal grounds of his action were weak. But he believed the foreigners

[44] Morris, *Diary*, MS., 26–9, says he refused to sign the deposition at first, but finally yielded, whereat the judges 'pricked up their ears and looked at each other as wise as a jackass that had received a shock from a galvanic battery.' Morris further affirms that he was once taken out to be shot, but was saved by Farnham. This is confirmed by Meadows and Chamberlain. Farnham says the mock-trial was on April 23d, when 21 of the prisoners were brought out and seated on the grass before the governor's house. Each man was asked for his passport, which, of course, he could not produce, as it had been stolen from his house, even if he had been allowed to go there for it. Then each was catechised about the plot, and denied the services of an interpreter. Their statements were reduced to writing in Spanish. 'They contained, as I afterward learned in Mexico, things never said, accounts of acts never performed, and bequests of property to their persecutors, their jailers, etc.' 'Thus ended the trial of 160 odd (!) Americans and Britons before a court of Californian Arabs!'

[45] A writer in the *Sta Cruz Sentinel*, April 3, 1869, claiming to have been one of the prisoners, says that Garner at this trial hesitated to reaffirm his denunciation, but was forced to sign the document and take the oath by Alvarado, who threatened to shoot him next day if he refused. In *Graham et al., Petition*, 33, it is stated that 8 men were separately examined with a bad interpreter, and were later taken to another room and kept manacled until their departure.

were plotting. He knew that they formed an undesirable element of population, and he had resolved to get rid of them. If his legal proofs of conspiracy were slight, he trusted much for his vindication to the fact that nine tenths of the exiles had entered the country in defiance of law; and at the worst, what did it matter to him if Mexico should be required to pay damages to the extent of a few thousands of dollars? Safety and quiet would in such case be cheaply purchased.[46] The governor believed he had a right to put the offending foreigners at the disposition of the supreme government.

The irons were removed from such prisoners as had worn them, except perhaps Graham and Morris, when they were sent away in boats to the vessel; but on board the *Guipuzcoana* they were again ironed, John Chamberlain doing the work, after Freeman Fling, another blacksmith, had declined.[47] Their condition on the vessel was not more comfortable than in the prison; indeed, there must have been much suffering, even if, as Alvarado claims, they were well fed and not exposed to unnecessary discomforts.[48] At Santa Bárbara all were landed and confined on shore for several days. Here one or two of the number were left on account of sickness; here Farnham again appeared as their guardian angel; and here, if we may

[46] Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 2–13, expresses these views, attaching some importance also to the fact that there were in California no proper tribunals for the trial of such cases, no foreign consuls to whom the matter could be referred, and no national vessels to the captains of which foreigners illegally in the country could be delivered. He expressed somewhat similar views at the time. *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 184.

[47] Chamberlain, *Memoirs*, MS., 5–14, says he was obliged to iron the prisoners or be sent away with them. They were shackled by the leg to bars of iron in groups of from 2 to 9 according to the length of the bars; and were at first put between decks in rows facing each other and far enough apart for a man to walk between them with a tub of food, from which each secured as much as his hands would hold. Meadows, *Graham Affair*, MS., 15–24, gives a similar account, stating that Fling refused to put on the irons. Neither Meadows nor Morris, who narrates somewhat minutely the events of the voyage, makes out a very bad case about their treatment, and Morris admits that they were allowed to spend the days on deck under guard after passing San Diego.

[48] Pinto, *Apunt.*, MS., 53–6, who was one of the guard, protests that all charges of ill treatment are false.

credit the narrators—as we certainly may not—were repeated all the horrors of the Monterey prison, and worse.[49] We are told by Meadows that at San Blas Castro wished to scuttle the bark and drown the prisoners; but he failed to make a satisfactory arrangement with the master about the price to be paid for the vessel! Wilkes continues the chapter of horrors by dwelling on the sufferings of the victims, as, heavily ironed, barefoot, and without food, they were driven under the lash to Tepic—sixty miles in two days, with the thermometer at 90 degrees! And finally Morris informs us that Castro attempted on the way to get rid of Farnham by assassination![50]

At Tepic the sufferings of the prisoners were practically at an end; for we must not through the falsehoods extant be led to forget that they really suffered great hardships. Though they continued under arrest for several months, they were kindly treated, lodged in comparatively comfortable quarters, and well fed; and they had the additional pleasure, one which went

[49] Graham et al., *Petition*, say 3 men in irons were put in an ox-cart; the rest went on foot, some chained in pairs. No food nor water for 24 hours. One would have died but for the kindness of Dr Den, who caused food and water to be supplied. Some of the captives from Monterey were released and sent back. Both in prison and on the vessel 'we were frequently threatened, pricked, and struck with swords by the subaltern officers of the Mex. govt.' Meadows, Morris, and Farnham vie with each other in exaggerating the hardships and outrages at Sta Bárbara, which Farnham extends to the voyage. It is stated that the inhabitants, all except the women, assembled on one occasion to amuse themselves by seeing the captives eat, and note their disgust as the breech-clout of the Indian cook was found in the soup, where it had been put as a joke by Torre's direction. Meadows says that about a dozen were left here on plea of sickness. Farnham sailed on the *Don Quixote* before the departure of the *Guipuzcoana*.

[50] Morris, however, *Diary*, MS., 33–8, states that the prisoners had several asses, in the use of which they took turns; that at the half-way station, by the agents of Barron and Forbes, they were afforded a good night's rest and plenty of food; and that from that point to Tepic they were well enough treated. Capt. Clifford's narrative—taken doubtless mainly from Farnham's lips—in the *New York Journal of Commerce*, and reprinted in the *Polynesian*, Dec. 5, 1840, gives at some length the account of the terrible sufferings endured on the journey by sea and land. 'During the march, which was laborious enough to exhaust the stoutest frame, the prisoners were urged forward by lashes inflicted upon their naked bodies; and one, who sank under fatigue, was barbarously beaten with the but-end of a musket, to renovate his strength, and arouse his drooping spirits.' Also in *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 371.

far to compensate them for all their wrongs, of seeing the Californians of their guard kept under arrest for some two weeks until orders for their release came from Mexico.[51] All this was due to the influence of Eustace Barron, the British consul at Tepic, upon the comandante general of Jalisco, Don Manuel Castillo Negrete, a brother of Don Luis known in California. Farnham had arrived in a schooner from Mazatlan, and had lost no time in bringing the wrongs of the foreigners to the consul's attention. There is no official record of events at Tepic. Rafael Pinto, and Morris more briefly, give some details of experience there from the standpoint of Californian and foreigner respectively; but their narratives contain little or nothing of general interest to the reader.[52]

Castro, having been personally under arrest but for a day or two, proceeded to Mexico in accordance with his instructions from Alvarado. He was accompanied by Covarrubias and Soto, Torre being left in command of the guard at Tepic, and Pinto being also left behind sick with a fever. Covarrubias and Soto, the former gaining in the mean time a cross of honor for having offered his services in defence of the president on July 15th,[53] soon returned to Acapulco and sailed for California on the *Catalina*. Torre, Pinto, and the Californian troops embarked also on the *Catalina* when she touched at San Blas in September. They arrived at San Diego about the middle of October, with news

[51] Morris, *Diary*, MS., 38–41, writes: 'From the top of our prison we beheld the mighty dons of California taking the cool air on the top of their prison. "Ah," thought I, "you have caught a Tartar." My companions were overjoyed, and I thought they would have burst themselves with laughter. Some of them came running to me saying, "Damn my eyes, but the consul has put Castro and his damned buggers in prison."' He delights especially in the manner in which Castro was snubbed by Barron. Aug. 4th, letter from Tepic to *N. Y. Jour. Com.*, in *Honolulu Polynesian*, i. 163, announcing arrival of prisoners at Tepic.

[52] *Pinto, Apunt.*, MS., 44–74, deserves special mention as a fair and complete account of the whole affair, a mention the more necessary on account of Farnham's unjust abuse of this officer. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 409–10, is bitter in his denunciations of Castillo Negrete, stating that he was not only ordered to release the Californians, but was severely reprimanded.

[53] Original document conferring the cross, dated Sept. 1, 1840, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 233.

that the foreigners were still prisoners at Tepic, and that Castro was detained in Mexico.[54]

On the 23d of September the minister of the interior informed Alvarado of the government's disposition of the prisoners. The governor's zeal in preventing a revolt was approved, and he was ordered to see to it that no foreigners should in future be allowed to enter California except in accordance with the laws; but should the necessity again arise to expel them, he must be careful to send proofs of their guilt in order to avoid reclamations. Of the prisoners, Graham, Morris, Chard, and Bowles[55] were to remain in confinement, subject to the courts of Tepic. Such of the others as were naturalized or married to Mexican wives were to be freed, on giving bonds to await at Tepic the result of legal investigations; and the rest were to be sent out of the republic and not allowed to return to California. Orders to this effect were issued on the same date by the minister of war.[56]

I have no official record of any subsequent order of the Mexican government respecting the prisoners, of correspondence with British and American consuls on the subject, or of the final investigations in the case of those who remained in prison or under bonds at Tepic. It appears, however, that the order of September 23d must have been modified, at least so far as to include in the class not banished, not only the

[54] Arrival of the *Catalina* at S. Diego before Oct. 22d. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., v. 7–8; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 321. Pinto, *Apunt.*, MS., 65–71, tells the story of the voyage, and of certain troubles between the troops and the captain of the vessel, Karl Christian, whom he represents as partially insane. On the *Catalina* came also at this time Manuel Castañares to take charge of the Monterey custom-house; his brother, José María, returning to California by stealth on account of certain troubles at Mazatlan; the artillery captain, Mariano Silva; and Mauricio Gonzalez. Feb. 1, 1842, gov. orders payment of $1,550 to Célis for passage of officers and troops. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 68–9.

[55] Called Jorge José Bouils, or Bonils, or Bonis; but it must have been Bowles, I think.

[56] Sept. 23d, min. of int. to gov. *Supt. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 7–8; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 272; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 136; *Id., Ang.*, vi. 29–36; xii. 49–50; *Arch. Sta Cruz*, MS., 53–5. June 2, 1840, min. of war has received Vallejo's despatch of April 25th. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iii. 1. Published in California in May 1841.

through the open willow-work that formed one side, I levelled my rifle at him, and exploded three caps; but one of the foreigners had tampered with the rifle, and it would not go off, though Alviso now took to his heels. The hired man and two of the travellers had escaped, and I was left alone with the remaining stranger, a man who had lost all his fingers. Both the others had been emissaries of the Californians sent to watch us, and to escape and report if we had any notice of the coming danger. They had singled out Graham, Naile, and myself as special victims; and they had agreed that neither of us should be left to tell the bloody tale. I now escaped, my companion not following me, into a willow swamp near by, barefoot, and having on nothing but shirt and pantaloons. I was the only man who had attempted any resistance." Morris remained in the swamp all day, and at night found his way to the house of Littlejohn, eight miles away, where he remained two days, and then went by way of Santa Cruz to the distillery of Dye and Majors at Zayante. He relates at considerable length that Dye, after promising protection, betrayed him into the hands of Castro's men, and treated Majors, his partner, in like manner. He was finally arrested about April 16th by Ness and Lyons, and was taken to Monterey by Buelna's company, in which Dye served as a soldier. On the way he stopped at Natividad, where Naile was found, unable to rise from his bed on account of his wound, but kindly treated, as he said, by Alviso. Not a scrap of property was left, all having been stolen. He arrived at Monterey the 18th of April.[30]

There is not much to be said about the arrests made, except at Natividad, and no special outrages are charged upon the Californians even by the vic-

[30] *Morris' Diary of a Crazy Man*, MS., 7–8, 10–25, with many minute details for which I have no space. A statement by Morris, agreeing more or less with this, was also published by Farnham. He says Naile claimed to have been wounded by Garner himself.

tims. James Meadows relates that he, with Higgins and Anderson, engaged in sawing on the Carmelo Creek, was lured to the house of one Romero, who by giving up the foreigners hoped to secure their rifles as a reward.[31] Rafael Pinto brought in six or eight other sawyers from El Pinal.[32] Eusebio Galindo was one of the party that brought in the lumbermen of San Francisquito, without force or fetters, feeling sure they were engaged in no plot, and soon procuring their release.[33] Jacinto Rodriguez and his command took seven Americans, lumbermen like the rest, at the Aguage de Tres Pinos.[34] J. M. Covarrubias was sent toward San José, and kept the prisoners of that region for some days confined at Santa Clara, one of them being James W. Weeks.[35] Harry Bee was in the redwoods with Trevethan, Rogers, and an American, when José Castro himself with fifty men made a raid on the saw-pit; and Bee's throat was even honored, if we may credit his story, by the grasp of the comandante himself.[36] John Chamberlain was arrested at his shop early in the morning, and on his arrival at the calabozo found six or seven others already there.[37] Charles Brown was also arrested in the redwoods; and at one time he enjoyed the distinction—so he says—of being chained to Isaac Graham, but was soon released.[38] Marsh, visiting Mission San José on busi-

[31] *Meadows' Graham Affair*, MS. On the way a Mexican fired a pistol-ball very near Meadows' head.

[32] *Pinto, Apunt.*, MS., 44–51. These two arrests were made the same night as those at Natividad.

[33] *Galindo, Apuntes*, MS., 44.

[34] *Rodriguez, Statement*, MS.

[35] Weeks, *Remin.*, MS., 103–10, says 'Covarrubias came putting on airs worse than the devil, and locked me up as if I had been Walker or some other *gran filibustero*.' At S. José he 'had the satisfaction to see a pack of Christians and people of reason overhauling my writing-desk and pillaging every little thing that satisfied their gluttonous eyes. They set in robbing me from the word go; said they were looking for documents to prove conspiracy.' On the way to Monterey they met Castro and Montenegro at the Roblar de la Laguna.

[36] *Bee's Recoll.*, MS., 21, etc. They were taken to Monterey on horseback. Bee was a married man, as was Weeks also.

[37] *Chamberlain, Mem.*, MS., 5–6. Among the others were Ed Watson and Mark West, who with Chamberlain were released next day.

[38] *Brown's Early Events*, MS., 15.

that President Bustamante had been unwilling to complicate existing troubles by engaging in a controversy with foreign powers.

Meanwhile, José Castro was subjected to a trial by court-martial at the national capital, on charges preferred by the British and American ministers. Of course in conveying the prisoners to Tepic, Castro had merely obeyed the orders of his superiors, Alvarado and Vallejo; and the charges of ill treatment could not be substantiated. The proceedings began before the end of 1840,[59] and lasted until May 1841. It is understood that Micheltorena, later governor of California, conducted Castro's defence; and the result was, that he was fully exonerated of blame, and permitted to return to California, where he arrived in September, having made the trip chiefly by land.[60] There seems to be no foundation for the later rumors that he narrowly escaped conviction, or that he had to run away from Mexico in disguise.[61] The funds from which his expenses were paid were furnished by En-

justice and remuneration for the prisoners, and satisfaction for the national insult.' 'Doubtless the American and English governments will demand ample satisfaction for these unfortunate men.' *Honolulu Polynesian*, June 20, 1840. Farnham on May 24th was warmly thanked in writing by the prisoners at Tepic for his services. *Id.*, Dec. 5, 1840; and in his *Life in Cal.*, 414, concludes: 'Graham returned to California, a broken-spirited, ruined man. The others are dispersed elsewhere. Our government has never avenged their wrongs.' 'Fifteen months later the government of Mexico sent part of them back to Monteray, several dying from fatigue and privations.' *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 211.

[59] Aug. 22, 1840, Virmond to Vallejo, explaining that Castro was not allowed to leave the city. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 229. Dec. 17th, Gen. Valencia, chief of staff, to Vallejo. Court-martial in progress. Record of Castro's services required. *Id.*, ix. 359. Jan. 23, 1841, Virmond to Munras. Castro will come out all right. Is living unmolested at writer's house. *Id.*, xxxiii. 184. June 12, 1841, news of C.'s arrival at Mex. has reached Sta B. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 23.

[60] April 5, 1841, Valencia announces Castro's acquittal to Vallejo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 97. May 12th, Castro's return ordered, and expenses to be paid. *Id.*, x. 136. May 15th, Castillero says that the acquittal was an honorable one. *Id.*, x. 138. Sept. 18th, Alvarado speaks of Castro's return. *Id.*, x. 281. Oct. 1st, orders for payment of dues to Castro. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 56.

[61] Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 410–11, says that in consequence of Barron's persecutions, Castro had to come by by-roads *via* Durango to Mazatlan. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 188, remarks: 'It is said it would have gone hard with him if he had not managed to escape through the connivance of his government.'

rique Virmond, to be repaid in California hides and tallow.

The *Guipuzcoana* had sailed from Monterey in April 1840, and for nearly fifty days all was quiet, with no tidings of the exiles and their guard. Then came news in an unexpected and even threatening form. On the 11th of June there anchored before the town the French sloop of war *Danaïde*, whose commander, J. de Rosamel, had come to demand an explanation of the outrage lately committed upon his countrymen—perhaps to avenge it—and at any rate to protect such Frenchmen as were yet in danger. He had been about to sail from Mazatlan for Honolulu, when by the arrival of a schooner from Santa Bárbara he heard a grossly exaggerated report of the foreigners' arrest and banishment, including the statement that two Frenchmen had been killed and others severely wounded. He was of course delighted to learn that the rumor was false, that not a single one of his *compatriotes* had even been sent away, and that one or two who had been arrested were released apparently for no better reason than that they were Frenchmen. There being no occasion for warlike or even diplomatic demonstrations, Rosamel and his men proceeded to enjoy themselves for twenty days, to the mutual satisfaction of themselves and the Monterey-ans, with whom they established, as earlier visitors of their nation had usually done, the most friendly and agreeable relations. On July 2d, the *Danaïde* sailed away.[62]

[62] June 19th, July 12th, com. of Monterey announces arrival and departure of *Danaïde* and *St Louis*. Each left two deserters, but the Frenchmen were captured and restored. *Vallejo Doc.*, MS., ix. 150, 174. July 1st, Rosamel to gov., explaining his motives in coming and expressing his pleasure that his countrymen had been so well treated. He concudes as follows: 'C'est avec le plus vif regret, Monsieur le Gouverneur, que je suis forcé de vous quitter, mais croyez bien que partout ou me porterá la destinée je n'oublierai jamais la bonne reception que vous avez faite á la *Danaïde*, et les relations amicales qui se sont etablies entre nous pendant mon séjour sur votre rade.' Original letter in *Id.*, xxxiii. 88. Robinson's story, *Life in Cal.*, 181–3, followed by Tuthill, *Hist. Cal.*, 146, that Alvarado, in his fear and perplexity,

Nor was the *Danaïde* the only vessel that came on this business. The U. S. man-of-war *St Louis*, Captain French Forrest, was only two days behind the Frenchman, arriving June 13th, and sailing July 4th. Forrest, in a letter to the governor, demanded an explanation of the report that Americans had been attacked in their houses, wounded, robbed, imprisoned, and sent away in violation of existing treaties. The required explanation was given; namely, that certain foreigners had been sent away according to law, either for offences against the public peace, or for having entered the country illegally; that they had been so well treated that one of them wrote a letter of thanks; and that none had suffered spoliation, none but Graham having any property. If Forrest was not satisfied with this explanation, he took no further steps in the matter, except to collect testimony from certain resident Americans, who claimed to have suffered losses in consequence of their arrest. On his departure, during Alvarado's absence in the interior, he left Ethan Estabrook to act as consular agent, of whose experience in California I know nothing, except that the governor refused to recognize his authority. He obtained a passport to travel, and probably left the country in 1841, after taking a few additional statements.[63]

left the town on pretext of an Indian campaign, and remained absent until the vessels sailed, has, I suppose, not much foundation, though it is true that A. did leave town and was absent at the time of departure of both vessels. Mellus, *Diary*, MS., 5–6, says the *Danaïde* entered with open ports, ready to open fire; but cooled down on hearing how matters stood. Capt. Phelps of the *Alert*, *Fore and Aft*, 251–2, was at Monterey at the time. He says the Frenchman was 'much disappointed' at finding no excuse to fire on the town. He tells us the Frenchmen became great favorites with the ladies. Once they were so attentive to them in church that the padre ordered them to leave the building; but the ladies protested and the padre had to yield. Phelps' account also, in *S. José Patriot*, Jan. 22, 1869. Mention of Rosamel's visit also, in *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 304–6; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 318; iv. 131–7; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, v. 14–15.

[63] In his report of Dec. 4, 1841, 27th cong. 2d sess., Sen. Doc. 1, p. 368, the sec. navy writes: 'In the midst of these outrages, Com. Forrest arrived upon the coast, and by his prompt and spirited interposition, vindicated and secured the rights, not only of American citizens, but of British subjects. For these services he received, and appears to have well deserved, a formal expression of the thanks both of American and English residents.' June 14,

In September the *Guipuzcoana* returned with news from Tepic. Before that time, in July and August, disquieting rumors had come by other vessels, to the effect that the prisoners had all been released and Castro arrested as a *revolucionario*.[64] In October, as we have seen, the troops of the guard came back on the *Catalina;* in May of the next year came official despatches from Mexico; in July the *Bolina* brought nineteen of the released prisoners; and finally, in September José Castro made his appearance.

The returning exiles in July 1841 came provided with regular passports, and part of them had legalized claims against Mexico for the losses they had incurred, and the authorities were instructed, at least in the case of nine English subjects, to facilitate the obtaining of proofs as to the amount of those losses.[65] The

1840, Capt. Forrest to gov. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 12; June 19th, gov.'s reply. *Id.*, v. 10–11. Dec. 12th, gov. to min. int. It seems that the *St Louis* sailed while Alvarado was temporarily absent, and left the agent without observing any formalities. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 73–4. July 11th, Estabrook to gov. Is aware of formalities necessary in appointing consuls, but these do not apply to a mere agent whose business is chiefly commercial. Capt. Forrest had a right to inquire into infringement of treaties, and to appoint an agent for that purpose. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 16–18. His presence also mentioned in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 174. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 306, is the only authority that names Estabrook. Mellus, *Diary*, MS., 5–6, says that Forrest, from the declarations taken, set the damages at over $100,000, exclusive of the claims of those who had been sent away! Harry Bee was one of the witnesses, *Recoll.*, MS., 21–8, and the only wonder is the aggregate of loss was not larger. In June 1841 Jacob Leese testified that the lieutenant in command of the *St Louis* had announced in the presence of several persons his intention to seize the governor and carry him to Mexico. Nathan Spear could not remember any such statement, though it was said to have been made at his house. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 74–5. July 2d, Spence writes to Alvarado that Forrest wishes to know when he will return, in order to arrange his business speedily. No truth in the rumor that he intends harm to A. July 7th, A. replies that business detains him. *Id.*, v. 12. The salutes to the two war-vessels, with the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi, had very nearly exhausted the supply of powder at Monterey. *Flores*, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 153.

[64] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 18–19; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 94–6. Chamberlain, *Memoirs*, MS., 5–14, speaks of getting letters from Bowles, which he showed to Larkin. Spence was angry when he heard the prisoners had been released, and declared it a lie.

[65] The 9 were Carmichael, Anderson, O'Brien, Dove, Price, Morris, Chapel, Langlois, and Warner. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 36. Dec. 14, 1840, the British min. to Mexican govt sent to gov. of Cal. Dec. 31st, and received in July 1841. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 51–3; *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 116; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 23–6; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 55. This communication came probably on the same vessel as the claimants. The British minister explained that Carmichael's claim was the largest, $7,380, he having had a shop at

coming of a war-vessel to settle the matter was announced; but what was done meanwhile in California I do not know, except that Alvarado informed the government that the English claimants had not been able to prove the alleged losses.[66] At last in November the English man-of-war *Curaçoa*, Captain Jones, arrived at Monterey, and a settlement was effected. Mofras states that the total amount of compensation allowed was $24,050; and I find no other definite record on the subject. If they received one half that sum the exile had proved a brilliant speculation for the Englishmen. Apparently there was no controversy, and Alvarado was not disposed to drive a close bargain in the interest of the national treasury.[67] Whatever the terms agreed upon, it is not likely that any money was advanced by Jones at the time; and if any money was paid over by the English government to its subjects later, I have found no positive record of the fact.

The claims of Americans were still pending, and remained in that condition for a long time if not forever. In November 1841 the *Yorktown* had been at Monterey, and the commander, J. H. Aulick, had probably carried away some testimony on the subject.[68] Of correspondence between Washington

Monterey at the time of his arrest, and being about to carry out a business matter of great importance; that the others were much less; and that it was supposed that a part of the property lost could be returned by the aid of the local authorities. At any rate, it was for the interest of Mexico to closely investigate each claim; and the authorities were accordingly instructed to interpose no obstacles.

[66] July 26, 1841, A. to min. of int. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 35–6. July 22d, Flores de Vallejo. Two war-vessels expected. The affair seems settled with the British minister, but is still pending with the American. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 220.

[67] Nov. 12, 1841, A. to min. of int. Reports that the *Curaçoa* arrived on Nov. 8th, and that an estimate of the value of the lost time of the 9 men had been made. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 36. According to *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 308–9, Carmichael was allowed $4,500 for his shop, etc., others, $2,000 for miscellaneous property lost, and each of 15 men $1,170, or $78 per month for 15 months. I doubt the accuracy of this statement, especially on account of the number of men mentioned. Morris at first claimed £37,000.

[68] Nov. 26, 1841, Aulick to Larkin. Graham and others ask too much when they ask him to wait. They must have their papers ready to-morrow. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 190.

and Mexico on the subject I find no trace; but it came up in California on the occasion of Commodore Jones' visit in November 1842. Jones wished to settle the claims as his English namesake had done a year earlier; and a long correspondence ensued between him and the Californian authorities, mainly with José Z. Fernandez, the juez at Monterey. It soon became apparent, however, that the second Jones would encounter obstacles unknown to the first. The correspondence was mainly devoted to a discussion of the manner in which the claims were to be verified. Each party sought to gain an advantage and throw the burden of proof upon the other. Jones, desiring to carry the claims in the strongest possible shape to Washington, wished to have the sworn statements of the claimants accepted and approved by the courts, except so far as they could be proved false by witnesses under a strict cross-examination. He wished to dispense with troublesome routine formalities of Mexican law. He charged that various alcaldes had refused to take testimony offered, and complained that the American claims were not favored as the English had been, or were popularly said to have been. Judge Fernandez, to whom Alvarado left the matter almost entirely, had manifested a readiness to legalize the just claims of American citizens, and at the earlier interviews between him and Jones all went smoothly enough, but when the investigation really began, the judge insisted on following in his own court his own ideas, rather than those of the commodore, respecting methods of procedure. He proposed to investigate each case by an examination of all obtainable testimony. He declined to be used as a mere machine for certifying the accuracy of the Americans' estimates of their losses, and declared that he had no authority to enter into diplomatic discussions respecting the comparative status of English and American claims. Chard and Graham are the only claimants named, though others are alluded to; and when the case of

the former came up he was adjudged to be a naturalized Mexican citizen, entitled to no damages from any nation but Mexico, and he was condemned to pay the costs of the suit! This was not encouraging; and Jones, after striving ineffectually to reform Californian court proceedings in accordance with the interests of his countrymen, determined to content himself with carrying away their sworn statements, unencumbered by troublesome comments from other sources. He doubtless understood that the claims, if investigated, would dwindle to such insignificant figures as to play no part in international complications.[69]

Nothing more is heard of the American claims, except that in 1843–4 they had not been paid, nor in 1846.[70] I find no proof that Graham and his companions ever received a cent from the United States, though there has always been a prevalent tradition in

[69] One of the statements which I have cited as *Graham et al., Petition to U. S. Govt, 1842*, was signed by Graham, Chard, Majors, Brown, Hance, Barton, Wilson, Cooper, Tomlinson, and Naile—some of them not sent to S. Blas—on Nov. 9, 1842. It is a much more moderate presentment of the case than those made current by Farnham and others The document was furnished by Rev. S. H. Willey, a gentleman who has done much good work in historical research, and was published in *Sta Cruz Co. Hist.*, 9–10; *Monterey Co. Hist.*, 32–4. Nov. 13th to Dec. 31st, corresp. between Com. Jones, Gov Alvarado, and Judge Fernandez. Chiefly originals, in *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 66–114; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 301–2, 308. Two of the minor communications are also given in *Jones at Monterey*, 91–2. Testimony of Graham and Chard that their sworn statement of losses had been refused by the alcalde of Branciforte. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 299–300. Record of Chard's case. His claim was for $1,004. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., vi. 11. The evidence of his naturalization is not given. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 309–11, gives the claims of the Americans as $129,210; Graham, $109,000; Chard, $5,000; and 13 others for time, $1,170 each (as for the Englishmen), or $15,210. He says, writing in 1844, that the cabinet at Washington allowed the claims to drag along unpaid in order to accumulate injuries at the hands of Mexico, for which something more than pecuniary indemnity would one day be demanded. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 180–2, complains of the negligence of his govt as implying a doubt of the legitimacy of the claims.

[70] 'Mexico promised to pay a certain indemnity to each of these men, which she has never yet done, and one of them is now in this city [Mexico] in the extremest poverty,' wrote Waddy Thompson, Dec. 1 1843. *President's Mess. and Doc.*, 28th cong. 1st sess., *Sen. Doc.*, 390, p. 11. April 20, 1844, Larkin to U. S. sec. of state, enclosing Graham's statement. Graham claimed $72,500 besides the value of the property he had lost, including pay for lost time at $1,500 per month! *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 5–6. In June 1846, Larkin also writes on the subject, and maintains that these Cal. claims are the strongest that can be brought forward against Mexico. *Id.*, ii. 64.

California, among both natives and foreigners, that Graham did get a large sum.[71] I put no reliance in the tradition. Many, possibly all, of the twenty who returned received a sum of money at Tepic, $250 being the largest amount given to any one man. Nine of the Englishmen probably received a small additional sum, and there is a possibility that four or five Americans in later years may have disposed of their claims at a low figure. If each of those adjudged to have been illegally exiled could have received $500 in compensation for his losses, it would have been a better use of his time than any one of the number was likely to have made in California.[72]

[71] Members of Graham's family, and residents of Sta Cruz who knew him well, say that G. certainly received a large sum; but when pressed for definite statements of date and circumstances, they are silent. Willey, *Centen. Sketch Sta Cruz*, 19, also in *Sta Cruz Co. Hist.*, says Graham got $36,000, and that Mr Meder was with him when it was paid. Meadows, *Graham Affair*, MS., 31, tells us that 6 men went to N. Y. and recovered $12,000 each, giving half to their lawyers, so Bowles, who was one of them, said! Others at Sta Cruz sold their claims, for how much he does not know. Graham is said to have got $35,000 or $36,000. Gleeson, *Hist. Cath. Church*, ii. 152–3, thinks the exiles got $150,000. Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 68–9, puts it at $250,000. Others tell us that Graham lost most of his large property!

[72] In a letter of June 15, 1846, to the U. S. sec. of state, Larkin promises a full history of the Graham affair, to be compiled from the documents in his office, the next summer; but I have found no such history. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 2. On Feb. 10, 1846, in a letter to Jas Gordon Bennett of the *N. Y. Herald*, Larkin briefly describes the affair, and says, 'I have read the S'a Fé history; it is nothing to the California affair.' *Id.*, *Doc.*, ii. 6. See also general accounts in *Ferry, La Cal.*, 22–3; *Soulé's Annals of S. F'co*, 83–4; *S. F. Cal. Star*, Feb. 26, 1847; *Hartmann, Geog. Californien*, i. 37–8.

CHAPTER II.

MISSION ANNALS AND INDIAN AFFAIRS.

1836–1840.

CONDITION OF MISSIONS IN 1836—SECULARIZATION—ACTS OF AUTHORITIES 1836–8—CHICO'S POLICY—SECULARIZATION OF FIVE MISSIONS—NEW MISSIONS PROPOSED—THE REVOLUTION AND ITS EFFECT—SPOLIATION—ALVARADO'S EFFORTS FOR REFORM—REGLAMENTO OF 1839—HARTNELL AS VISITADOR GENERAL—REGLAMENTO OF 1840—DURAN'S VIEWS—HARTNELL'S SECOND VISITA—RESIGNATION—MISSION STATISTICS—PRESIDENT AND PREFECT—ECCLESIASTICAL—GARCÍA DIEGO AS BISHOP—STIPENDS OF FRIARS—PIOUS FUND—INDIAN AFFAIRS—TROUBLES ON THE SAN DIEGO FRONTIER—RANCHOS PLUNDERED—SONOMA FRONTIER—VALLEJO'S POLICY—FIGHTS AND TREATIES—SMALL-POX—SOUTH OF THE BAY—HORSE-THIEVES—THE CHAGUANOSOS—SEASONS AND EARTHQUAKES.

BEFORE the biginning of 1836 sixteen of the twenty-one missions had been secularized under the Mexican law of 1833, Figueroa's reglamento of 1834, and supplementary regulations of the diputacion.[1] For each of these missions the governor had appointed a comisionado, whose duty it was to reorganize them in accordance with the new system. In most instances the comisionados had completed their labors; lands had been assigned to the ex-neophytes, who had also received a portion of other mission property; majordomos were in charge of all property not distributed, for which they were responsible to the territorial government; the friars were serving as curates, being relieved of the temporal management, but coöperating with the majordomos in supervising the labors and

[1] On mission annals for 1831–5, see chap. xi.–xii. of vol. iii.

conduct of the Indians, who were not yet altogether free from control.

Several of these missions, however, seem still to have been in charge of the comisionados; and in others the new system had been only partially introduced. In few, if any, was the secularization provided by the reglamento complete, and indeed, it was not designed to be immediately complete. Even of those supposed to be in the same stage of development so far as the appointment of majordomos, making of inventories, assignment of lands, distribution of property, etc., were concerned, no two establishments were in exactly the same condition. The differences resulted from the dispositions of friars, majordomos, and Indians, and the resulting mutual relations. In some places, where the Indians were most docile and industrious, the padre energetic and popular, and the majordomo not too much of a politician and speculator, there was practically little change from the old system; but in other places, where the three elements were continually at war, the old methods were completely revolutionized. Five missions were still under the friars' control as of old. All were declining in prosperty, as the reader knows. The enforcement of the reglamento had in some instances slightly checked the decline, and in others hastened it; but on the whole, secularization in its latest phases had done little or no harm at the beginning of 1836.

The general policy of secularizing the missions was a wise one, entirely in accordance with the spirit of Spanish institutions under which they were founded, and rendered an absolute necessity by the growth of republican ideas in America. The change by which the monastic monopoly was to be broken up involved no wrong to the church, the Franciscan order, or to the Indians. Figueroa's regulations, by which the policy and the law were to be carried into effect, were also wisely conceived in theory. To enforce them wisely, in such a manner as to wrong no interest and

avoid the evils existing as well as those likely to attend a change, required certain favorable conditions. Such were the employment of able and honest administrators, a degree of intelligence and civilization on the part of the neophytes, the hearty coöperation of the missionaries, a strong and watchful territorial government, a healthful, intelligent, and liberal public spirit, and freedom from sectional strife. All these conditions being more or less wanting, success was impossible. Failure was a foregone conclusion; and it is the annals of that failure that I have to present in this chapter. I begin with a record of what was done by the authorities in 1836–8.

We have seen that no action had been taken in Mexico on Figueroa's reglamento; but that by the decree of November 7, 1835, it had been ordered that the missions be kept in the same condition as before the law of 1833, until the curates mentioned in that law should take possession. This virtually nullified the reglamento, and if enforced must have created much confusion without leading to any good results; but though known in California on the coming of Chico, and unofficially somewhat earlier,[2] no attempt was ever made to carry out its provisions. Chico in his discourse before the diputacion alluded to the order as one issued by congress, of which he had been a member, with the best intentions, but without practical knowledge on the subject; as one which it was impossible to carry out in every respect; but yet one

[2] April 7, 1636, Cárlos Carillo to Vallejo. Mentions the decree of Nov. 7th as having been sent to Pres. Duran by the bishop of Sonora. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 185. There is no evidence that the decree was ever officially published in Cal. It seems, however, that the friars expected a compliance with the decree, since on May 7, 1831, Vice-prefect Moreno to the Zacatecanos proposes that for charity's sake they should make the sacrifice of taking charge of the temporalities so as to prevent the utter ruin of the missions under the mismanagement of the comisionados and majordomos. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 58–9. Aug. 13, 1837, Duran to dip. Says he had in July called for the enforcement of the decree of Nov. 7, 1835, but he hears the dip. has resolved to treat other matters first. Cannot understand that anything can be more important than enforcing the laws, or why thousands of Indians should suffer to please 'four interested persons' (?). *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 17.

which, coming from the government, must be obeyed.[3] He asked advice, but if any was given it is not of record. Perhaps it occurred to governor and diputacion as a plausible plea that the friars were serving practically as curates, and might be regarded as the curates provided for by the law. At any rate, the decree was not obeyed; and not only was the reglamento continued in force in the sixteen missions, but its provisions were soon extended, as we shall see, to the other five establishments.

On May 25th Chico issued an edict intended to prevent the frequent desertions of mission Indians.[4] In his speech of the 27th he devoted more attention to the missions than to any other topic, and in their condition he found nothing to encourage a hope of their escape from utter ruin. His predictions, founded on the character and actions of Indians, majordomos, and padres, were accurate enough; though his views of the actual condition were exaggerated.[5] Before he had occasion to develop further his views and policy, he was called to the south; and there occurred a controversy with the friars in June with which the reader is already familiar.[6] Chico deemed himself neglected and insulted by the padres Jimeno at Santa Inés, and was subsequently much offended at Duran's refusal to coöperate with religious service in the swearing of the constitutional bases at Santa Bárbara.

One of Chico's grounds of complaint being that the padres at Santa Inés had refused to aid him on his journey with animals and other supplies, he called upon Duran to state clearly whether he recognized the obligation of unsecularized missions to furnish such supplies. Duran's reply, dated June 15th, was an elaborate and able argument, to the effect that no

[3] *Chico, Discurso...27 de Mayo, 1836.*

[4] May 25, 1836, Chico's edict. Circulated in south in June and July. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., ii. 52-4; xi. 54; *Id., S. José*, v. 111-12; *Hayes' Miss. Book*, i. 297.

[5] *Chico, Discurso.* See also chap. xv. of vol. iii.

[6] See chap. xv. of vol. iii.

such obligation existed; that all the aid rendered by the missions for sixteen years past had been lent as a matter of voluntary courtesy; that the government had no right whatever to the mission property, which belonged to the neophytes, and could be taken for public uses in cases of extreme necessity only as, and even less easily than, other private property. In the future as in the past the padres would render voluntarily such aid as they could consistently with the needs of their neophytes; but they would recognize no such duty legally. They would not resume the management on any such terms; and if it were proposed to enforce such an obligation, it would be best to secularize the remaining establishments at once.[7]

In reply, Chico declined to discuss the rights of unsecularized missions; but announced that he had ordered the padres of Santa Inés and San Buenaventura to surrender the property of their respective missions to J. M. Ramirez and Cárlos Carrillo as comisionados. This he made known June 23d to the junta, explaining his reasons, and declaring it impolitic to leave the control of such property to subjects of a hostil nation.[8] The junta on June 29th-30th, having as yet no quarrel with Chico, or rather not unwilling to provoke one between Chico and the friars, approved his action;[9] and the secularization of the two southern missions went into effect immediately. Chico had announced his intention of secularizing San Miguel as soon as he could find a suitable person to take charge; and accordingly, on July 14th, Ignacio Coronel was named as the comisionado.[10]

[7] *Duran, Carta al Gobr Chico, en que niega la obligacion de las Misiones de auxiliar al Gobierno, 15 de Junio, 1836*, MS.

[8] June 23, 1836, Chico to junta. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.* MS., ii. 368–73; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 24.

[9] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 23; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 384–6; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 30.

[10] *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 189. Sept. 30th, P. Moreno to Capt. Guerra. Says that all the property had been distributed to the Indians, except a little grain. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vii. 4. There were troubles with P. Abella about rendering accounts. *Carrillo (J.), Doc.* MS. 37.

Two missions only were now left in their original condition. Chico, by reason of political troubles, was unable to proceed with the work of secularization, but that work was undertaken before the end of the year. In November the diputacion, or congress of California, ordered the padre at San José to turn over the property to Jesus Vallejo as comisionado, and the transfer was effected in December.[11] The order in the case of Santa Clara, the last mission secularized, was issued by Vallejo as comandante general December 27th, and the comisionado, José Ramon Estrada, did not take possession probably until the beginning of 1837.[12] It would appear that most of the men put in charge of missions in 1836, after performing their duties as comisionados, became majordomos, and thus retained their places. The term 'administrator' is often used in speaking of them and the others; but no such office existed before 1839.

During the years 1837–8, the attention of the authorities being fully occupied with political affairs, and with the struggle to keep themselves in power, there was no change introduced or attempted in the mission regulations.[13] Cárlos Carrillo had no distinctive mission policy so far as can be known; but though representing southern interests, Don Cárlos was supported by the Zacatecanos of the north—or at any rate, their prelate recognized him as governor;[14] while the Fernandinos of the south, as represented by President Duran, favored Alvarado's cause.[15] They also con-

[11] Nov. 29, 1836, order of dip. *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., ix. 143–4; xi. 114. Dec. 10th, possession taken. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 89. Jan. 15, 1837, inventory. *Id.*, xxxii. 64; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., vii. 49–51.

[12] Dec. 27, 1836, V. to Estrada. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 45. There had perhaps been some previous action by the dip.

[13] Feb. 15, 1837, Alvarado, in a circular to those in charge of missions, calls for careful balance-sheets and inventories for a general settlement. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 37.

[14] Dec. 14, 1837, P. Moreno to the padres. He also says there is a prospect of their return to the college, since the question of ceding Cal. to a foreign power—'which God forbid'—is being considered in Mexico. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 59.

[15] Alvarado and Vallejo, in their histories, claim that Duran made an earnest but unsuccessful effort to obtain from the governor, in reward for the

sented to take the long-delayed oath in support of the constitution, now that Spain had recognized Mexican independence; and the Zacatecans were also willing to take the oath, being Mexicans.[16] There is some evidence that in 1838–9, Vallejo agitated the project of founding a new line of four or five frontier missions in the east and north, particularly one at Santa Rosa; but the Zacatecan friars, who were requested to undertake the work, declined.[17]

I have remarked that the essential conditions for carrying into effect wisely the reglamento of secularization did not exist in California, and that failure was inevitable. If otherwise there had been a possibility of partial success, it disappeared with the outbreak of Alvarado's revolution in 1836, or rather with the sectional opposition to Alvarado's rule in the following years. A wise and honest administration of the mission interests, difficult under the most favorable circumstances, became impossible during the struggles of rival political factions. Since 1810 the missions had been obliged to make up in one way or another the large deficiency of revenue for expenses of the government, civil and military; and of course they had to do this still, now that a large portion of the mission property had by secularization been set apart as a public fund. That any ruler struggling to maintain his power should not have drawn on that fund without limit would be too much to expect of political human nature in any country or any age. The government had rights as had the Indians; but as usual in earlier and later times, the rights of the natives were practi-

friars' support, an agreement to suspend secularization, and restore the missions to their former condition.

[16] July 8, 1837, Duran to Alvarado. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 96. July 25th, Moreno to A. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 18.

[17] Mar. 19, 1839, P. Quijas to V. Will undertake a mission at Sta Rosa if P. Gonzalez consents. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 325. May 14th, V. to Alvarado, urging importance of the Sta Rosa mission. *Id.*, vi. 65; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 255. General account of the proposition to found missions in the Tulares, San Joaquin, etc. *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 62–70; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 151–3

cally disregarded. The demands for supplies were more frequent and larger than ever before; and the productiveness of the mission estates was largely diminished. In ordinary times of public tranquillity, it would have been difficult to select twenty-one men qualified to administer honestly and judiciously the estates under the careful supervision of higher authorities. Now not only there could be no such supervision, and the majordomos and administrators were, like other classes, affected by the prevalent controversies; but, worse still, these positions, the only ones of value at the governor's disposal, had to be bestowed as rewards for political support, with slight regard for the fitness of applicants or acts of incumbents. Add to these difficulties the prevalent demoralization of the Indians for several preceding years, old age and peculiar temperament of the friars of San Fernando, and the character of the Zacatecanos, and the reader might easily predict the result.

All happened exactly as might have been anticipated. All writers and witnesses, both Californian and foreign, who mention the subject, are unanimous in describing Alvarado's rule, from 1836 to 1842, as a period of plunder and ruin in mission history. So uniform is their testimony, that there is no need to cite individual expressions of opinion, though of course there is no lack of exaggeration for and against personal friends and foes of the writers who chanced to take some part in secularization.[18] The methods of

[18] Of my statements in manuscript on the condition of the missions, I cite the following: *Bandini, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 54–9, 84–5; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 103–4, 214; iv. 5–7, 35, 54–61, 166–7, 191–3, 219–20; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 360–93; iv. 14–25, 83–5; *Coronel, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 34–5, 216, 224–5; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 80–3; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 59–61, 170–6; *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 9–13, 147–8; *Vallejo (J. J.), Remin.*, MS., 40–1, 62–3; *Garcia, Hechos*, MS., 57–73; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 102–3, 118–20; *Botello, Apuntes*, MS., 42; *Avila, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 23–5; *Gonzalez, Experiencias*, MS., 36; *Julio César, Cosas de Indios*, MS., 1–8; *Pico, Acont.*, MS., 24–5; *Janssens, Vida*, MS., 164–8; *Marsh's Letter*, MS., 8–9; *Robinson's Statement*, MS., 6–7. The following foreigners have also given attention to the decadence of the missions at this time, in printed works: *Mofras, Exploration*, i. 272, 297, 303, 321–2, 343, 347, 360, 390, 410–11, 420–1; *Petit-Thouars, Voyage*, ii. 86–108; *Wilkes' Narrative*, v. 179–93; *Belcher's Voy.*, i. 117–18, 326;

mission spoliation at this period were substantially as follows: The governor, and subordinate officials by his authority, used the cattle and grain of the missions as freely as they used the revenues from other sources. If the government contracted a debt to a trader, the governor gave in payment an order on any mission for wheat, tallow, or hides, just as he would draw a check on the treasury. The majordomo, being an employé of the government, obeyed the order as a rule whenever the articles called for existed at his mission. There were occasional refusals and pleas in behalf of the Indians, but of course these pleas were much less frequent and zealous than those of the friars in earlier times. How far, if at all, beyond the limits of strictly public expenses the departmental authorities went in their drafts upon mission property, it is hard to say. The most extravagant and sweeping charges are made of a deliberate plunder and distribution of the spoils by Alvarado among his friends; but no proofs are presented, the charges have always been denied by Alvarado and urged mainly by his enemies, and they are probably false. One charge, however, is supported by evidence in the archives and by the governor's own admission, namely, that of having authorized loans of mission cattle to private individuals, on the condition that a like number of animals should be returned later. Alvarado had certainly no right to make these loans; but he defends his action on the ground that he had no other means of rewarding men for patriotic services to the

La Place, Voyage, vi. 193–4; *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 167–8; *Capron's Hist. Cal.*, 32–6; and others. I may also cite here as appropriately as elsewhere the following works, which touch in a general way the subject of secularization, giving sketches more or less complete of the successive measures adopted, with something of results and theories. Some of the works are quoted elsewhere as authorities on certain points; the rest require no more than this mention. *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 430; *Hawes's Missions of Cal.*, passim; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Church*, i. 113–14; ii. 117–35; *Hayes' Legal Hist. S. Diego*, MS., i. no. 56, 60; *Randolph's Orations*; *Forbes' Hist. Cal.*, 137–8; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 126; *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, 281–6; *Hesperian*, x. 57–8; *Frignet, La Cal.*, 54–6; *Cronise's Nat. Wealth*, 16–17; *Marshall's Christ. Missions*, ii. 250–6; *California, Past, Present*, etc., 60–1; *Ryan's Judges and Crim.*, 36–41; *Magliano's St Francis*, 583–5; *Holinski, La Cal.*, 178–80.

country, often involving the loss of their own property and neglect of all their private interests. The worst feature of these transactions was that in nine cases out of ten the loans were never repaid to the missions.

As to the comisionados, majordomos, and administrators who successfully managed the missions, many were simply incompetent and stupid, exhausting their little energy and ability in the task of collecting their salary, filling the governor's orders so long as the granaries and herds held out, exercising no restraint or influence on the ex-neophytes, and allowing the affairs of their respective establishments to drift—not, as may be imagined, in the direction of general prosperity. Others were vicious as well as incompetent, always ready to sell any article of mission property, not only live-stock, but kitchen utensils, farm implements, tools from the shops, and tiles from the roofs, for money with which to gratify their propensity for gambling. Still others were dishonest and able, devoting their energies to laying the foundations of future wealth for themselves and friends, oppressing the Indians, quarrelling with such padres, officials, and assistants as they could not control or deceive, and disposing of the mission wealth without scruple, for their own interests. Finally, there were, I suppose, some honest, faithful, and tolerably efficient managers, who did as well as was possible under difficult circumstances. Every narrator names a few of his relations or friends as exceptions to the general rule of rascality and incompetence; and thus it would be easy to find authority of this kind for classing nearly all the administrators at will with the good or bad. It is wisest not to attempt any classification, and to cite no individual accusations here; though I may find it necessary to make some slight use of such material in the preparation of biographical sketches.

Of the padres, a few accepted the new situation and made the best of it, striving to reconcile discord-

ant elements, retaining a degree of influence over the Indians, for their spiritual and temporal welfare, and ever ready to aid with their counsel any person high or low in station who would listen. Friars of another temperament, soured and disappointed, retired sullenly to the habitations assigned them by law, avoided all controversy and intercourse with the world, and mechanically performed the duties of parish priests for all who made application. Others assumed a belligerent attitude, quarrelled with everybody, and protested against everything on every possible occasion—too often with ample cause. And there were doubtless several of the Zacatecanos who looked only to their own comfort, and made themselves heard only in opposition to such rascalities as tended to interfere with their selfish pleasures. Rarely was a padre insulted or subjected to any hardship, and as a rule they were as comfortably situated as any in California, being highly respected and most kindly treated by all classes. Secularization had been no wrong to them, or to their order, or to their church.

Finally, I come to the Indians—the real victims, as they always have been in their contact with civilized peoples, and as they always will be, until religion, philanthropy, common sense, justice, honesty, power, social science, and a variety of other ingredients more or less unknown shall in some community have been blended in proportions and conditions hitherto unheard of, and respecting which I have no recipe to offer. In some instances the ex-neophytes, or a majority of their number—from force of habit, inherent stupidity, or influence of the padres—were kept together and at work much as in former years. Let us hope that the souls of the living and of those that were dead had been saved in large numbers; but in no respect had the mission system left them better qualified to perform the duties of citizenship than in 1769. Those to whom property was distributed as a rule made no good use of it. The cattle required care; the tools

implied work; and it was generally deemed best to convert all as rapidly as possible into liquor, steal cattle and various articles as needed, and when all was gone, and the vigilance of local alcaldes interfered with the pleasures of a vagabond life about the towns, to decide between a return to mission labor or flight to join the gentiles. Pilfering and drunkenness increased rapidly, as did the ravages of syphilitic disease, and relapse to barbarism. At the missions but little attention was paid to the welfare of the ex-neophytes, who were practically regarded as slaves, and often most cruelly treated. The large numbers hired out to rancheros and town people as servants were perhaps more comfortably situated than any of the rest. Yet such was the inherent stupidity of the native Californian character that no great revolts or outrages have to be chronicled. Thousands toiled patiently on year after year, and the evidence is but slight that any great number realized that their lot was a hard one.

Besides the testimony of writers, native and foreign, respecting the condition of the missions in 1836–9, as represented in the preceding paragraphs, I might cite a large number of items more or less confirmatory from the archives—contemporary orders, complaints, accusations, and correspondence of departmental officials, administrators, alcaldes, padres, and even neophytes; but for such items, and for some fragmentary statistics that might serve a similar purpose, to avoid needless repetition, I refer the reader to the chapters on local annals of the missions for this period, appending here only a few notes of a general rather than a local nature.[19]

[19] 1836, representation signed 'Cuatro Yndígenas,' in which the friars are chided for giving up the mission property, and urged to defend the rights of their wards. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 215–20. Jan. 8th, P. Moreno to Castro. Cannot understand why officers coming from Mexico, where all have to pay their way, should want everything free in Cal., and treat the Ind. as slaves. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., x. 7. March 24th, PP. Duran and Jimeno to gov. Protest that they have no wish to interfere in mission govt. *Id.*, x. 7. March 28th, Francisco M. Alvarado argues that Ind. cannot be controlled except by

The responsibility and blame for the spoliation of the missions during this period must of course be borne to a certain extent by Alvarado and his associates in power, though the statement, more or less current since, that the missions were plundered by Alvarado, Vallejo, Castro, and their party, must be accepted with much allowance. Not only is it not in proof that the leaders profited personally by the spoliation, but the inherent dangers of secularization, and the political difficulties which surrounded those leaders, must be considered. Had Mexican rulers continued in power, or had Alvarado's Californian rivals triumphed over him, there is no reason to believe that mission affairs would have been in any respect better managed. The disastrous result was due more to circumstances beyond the control of the governor than to any lack of wisdom or honesty on his part. Moreover, I have yet to record some earnest if not very successful efforts by Alvarado to check the torrent of disaster.

On the 17th of January, 1839, Alvarado issued a new series of regulations for mission management not

flogging; that masters have to use the same methods as administrators; and that he ought not to have to pay the fine of $75 imposed on him for whipping his Ind. servant. *Hayes' Mission Book*, 339. April 16th, Pio Pico claims that the missions are in good condition, except that the Ind. have become bad and will not work. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 192. July 1st, Pico still protests against the current calumnies on the management of missions. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 54–5. July 4th, Alvarado declares the friars still long for temporal power. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 218. 1837, March 9th, Alvarado speaks of the missions as stores of supplies which the govt may use to buy vessels, and other purposes. *Id.*, iv. 212. March 12th, Cárlos Carrillo to Vallejo. The gov. beset with petitions for administrators' positions. To grant all, the missions would have to be extended to Cape Horn. *Id.*, iv. 214. June 26th, Vallejo makes a rule that rancheros must pay half their Ind. laborers' wages, $2 per month, to the missions. *Id.*, iv. 258. 1838, Feb. 19th, young Ind. distributed among private individuals by authority of Carrillo as gov. *Hopkins' Translations*, 8. May 1st, Vallejo writes, 'I believe in order to get rid of the rascally administrators the missions will be given back to the friars; and then that "ronda de cabrones" may go and rob the devil.' *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 131. June, the administrators should be made to render accounts and pay their debts. They do nothing but rob. *Id.*, xiv. 24. Sept. 19th, Alvarado has ordered that half the means of the 3 northern missions be put at Vallejo's disposal for the relief of the army. *Id.*, v. 177. May 11, 1839, Vallejo to Virmond. Some missions have suffered, others advanced. The friars aim to get back all they had in 1820; but their pretensions will not be listened to. *Id.*, vii. 69.

modifying essentially Figueroa's reglamento, but supplementary, and designed to secure a faithful performance of duty by the administrators, so called in the document[20] of which I append the substance in a note.[21] It was little more than a restriction of powers which the administrators had assumed, and a requirement that strict accounts be rendered of mission management in all that affected the disposition of property. To obtain these accounts for past years was a hopeless task, notwithstanding the governor's orders; but there was certainly room for reform in the present and future.

For the position of visitador de misiones, or inspector, provided for in the reglamento for its own proper enforcement, Alvarado made a very good selec-

[20] I know of no legal authority for the use of the term, unless its use in this document may be considered such. In Figueroa's reglamento comisionados and majordomos only are provided for, and there was no subsequent law. It had become customary, however, to speak of the majordomos as administrators in private, and more rarely in official, correspondence; and now Alvarado's use of the term gave it a sort of legality.

[21] *Alvarado, Reglamento Provisional para Administradores de Misiones, 17 de Enero, 1839*, MS., in *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, v. 52–5; *Id., Mont.*, iii. 69–75; *Arch. Sta B.*, x. 205–12; translation in *Halleck's Report*, 155–6; *Dwinelle's Col. Hist.*, add., 55–6. In the premable the gov. speaks of the 'pitiful state' of the mission estates since the so-called secularization, on account of the unlimited powers of the administrators and their ignorance of their true relations to the govt. Art. 1–3. All who are or have been administrators must present their accounts to the govt at once, down to end of 1838. Art. 4. Admin. are to render also a detailed account of the debts and credits of each mission. Art. 5–7. They shall not without the order of the govt contract or pay any debts, or slaughter any cattle beyond what is necessary for the maintenance of the Indians and ordinary consumption of the house. Art. 8. The traffic of mules and horses for woollen stuffs now practised (the New Mexican trade) is absolutely prohibited; and instead, the looms must be started. Art. 9. A monthly report must be rendered of all produce stored or distributed. Art. 10. Admin. must build during this year, at cost of the establishment, dwellings for themselves so as to vacate their present quarters. Art. 11. No gente de razon must be allowed to settle at estab. where the Ind. remain in community. Art. 12. A classified census of all inhab. to be formed at an early date. Art. 13. S. Cárlos, S. Juan Bautista, and Sonoma are not included in the provisions of this regulation, except that accounts of past management must be rendered. Art. 14. An account of all salaries paid to employés or padres must be rendered; and salaries must not be paid in live-stock. Art. 15. Admin. to obey strictly and send the required information within a month. Art. 16. The govt will issue further regulations on police, etc., as needed. Art. 17. The govt will appoint a visitador, with a salary to be paid from the estates, to superintend the carrying-out of this regulation. Jan. 28th, A. complains to Vallejo that certain military officers, who had been administrators, showed no signs of complying with the reglamento by rendering accounts. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 173.

tion in the person of W. E. P. Hartnell, an old English resident and naturalized citizen. He had been at first a merchant and later a teacher; and though now in reduced circumstances, was an intelligent, popular man, with a good reputation for honesty, which he maintained during the two years that he held this office. Hartnell was appointed January 19th; and his salary of $2,000, to be paid pro rata by fifteen missions according to their wealth, was to run from the 25th.[22] By his instructions issued on April 24th, he was required to make a tour of inspection, and besides being authorized to systematize the mission administration in a general way, according to the reglamento, he was empowered to hear complaints and to introduce minor reforms according to his judgment.[23]

The new reglamento, the instructions, and the choice

[22] Jan. 19, 1839, appointment. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 2, 8, 11; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., vii. 19; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 474. The assignment of the salary, showing the relative wealth of the different establishments, was as follows: S. Buenaventura, Sta Bárbara, Purísima, S. Luis Obispo, S. Miguel, S. Antonio, and S. Rafael, $50 each; S. Francisco, $75; S. Luis Rey and S. Gabriel, $150; S. Fernando and Sonoma, $200; Sta Inés and Sta Clara, $250, and S. José, $300. Of course, however, past burdens were taken also into consideration, as well as wealth. Mrs Hartnell, *Narrativa*, MS., 3–4, tells us that her husband accepted the place chiefly to please Alvarado, since it involved much annoyance and little profit. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 144–5, speaks of the opposition to Hartnell from administrators, Zacatecan padres, military officials, and rancheros, rendering his position no sinecure. March 9th, Hartnell's appointment announced to admin., with orders to recognize his authority. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 295.

[23] *Alvarado, Instrucciones que deberá observar el Sr Visitador D. Guillermo E. Hartnell en la inspeccion de los Establecimientos de las misiones de la Alta California, 24 de Abril, 1839*, MS.; *Halleck's Report*, 156–7; *Hayes' Legal Hist. S. Diego*, i. 57, p. 17–19. His duties were in substance as follows: Art. 1. To methodize the matter of accounts and reports, instructing the admin. Art. 2. To make an inventory of property at each mission. Art. 3. To have an assistant at a reasonable compensation. Art. 4. To show the laws to each admin. and explain the object of his visit, so as to avoid pretexts for not obeying. Art. 5. To remedy actual and urgent needs reported by admin., using mission produce for that purpose. Art. 6. To decide respecting complaints of padres and employés against admin., and to promote harmony between all classes. Art. 7. To enjoin upon admin. all possible economy so as to promote the increase of the estates. Art. 8. To regulate the weekly and annual slaughter of cattle in such a manner that the live-stock may not decrease. Art. 9. To recommend to the admin. to treat the Ind. kindly, inflict but moderate punishments, and see that they attend faithfully to their religious duties. Art. 10. To report to the govt any failure of the admin. to perform their duties, and even to suspend them temporarily from office if necessary. Art. 11. To be diligent, to collect all kinds of information, and to make suggestions for the formation of police regulations.

of a visitador all seem to have been wisely planned, even if the reader may decide in advance that these measures were not likely to reform all existing abuses. President Duran approved them, though in a tone suggestive of doubts respecting success.[24] In May the visitador went south to begin his tour of inspection. Thence proceeding northward, he visited one after another every mission from San Diego to Sonoma, though in several of them, as we have seen, he was not authorized to interfere officially. His original diaries and blotters of correspondence for this tour and another made the next year are in my possession—a most valuable historical record, contributed to my collection by Doña María Teresa de la Guerra de Hartnell, widow of the writer.[25] By the end of June the inspection had been completed as far north as San Buenaventura; in July the missions from Santa Bárbara to San Luis Obispo were inspected; August saw the work done at San José, and the promulgation of an order forbidding the hiring-out of Indians away from the community, except with special license from the government;[26]

[24] May 13, 1839, Duran to Alvarado, thanking him for the instructions to Hartnell. Of late has heard few complaints against the admin., which fact leads him to suppose the Ind. to be very long-suffering or the admin. very considerate. Regrets that H. was not definitely instructed to insist on the padre's power of coercion over the Ind. in the matter of prayers and other religious obligations. Some admin. had gone so far as to threaten to remove the clappers from the bells to prevent summoning the Ind. to recite the rosario. *Arch. Misiones*, MS., ii. 881.

[25] *Hartnell, Diario y Borradores de las dos visitas que en 1839–40 hizo el Visitador Gen. de Misiones en Alta California*, MS., 100 p. This manuscript, which unfortunately is not quite complete, contains a daily journal or diary of the two *visitas;* blotters of letters addressed by H. to other persons in his official capacity; indices of commun. received, with mention of their purport; and the general report of the first tour in 1839. A few leaves are missing in each of the 4 parts; but the losses are so scattered as not to impair greatly the historical value of the record. Besides these documents, there is much correspondence respecting H.'s tours scattered in different archives, particularly in *Arch. Miss.*, MS., tom. ii.; *Dept. St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., tom. vii.–xi.; and *Pico, Pap. de Miss.*, MS. More particular references may be found in local annals given in later chapters.

[26] Aug. 22, 1839, Acting Gov. Jimeno to H. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 62. This is a copy, and possibly a forgery. J. J. Vallejo on Sept. 4th, however, seems to allude to a circular, forbidding the admin. to use the Indians for their own work. *Id.*, viii. 77. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 126–7, mentions as the reason for issuing the order that an old Indian of S. Juan Capistrano, let out to a ranchero, stole a horse and came to Monterey to complain of ill

September sufficed to conclude the *visita;* and by October 12th Hartnell's report was completed, though at his office in Monterey he continued to attend to the duties of his position during the rest of the year. The records of this inspection, to which I have already alluded, though voluminous, are almost exclusively devoted to local matters, none of them of sufficient importance to require attention here. Hartnell's observations, in the aggregate, tend to confirm in most respects, and to refute in none, the conclusions expressed earlier in this chapter. Everywhere complaints were heard, which in most instances proved well founded. There is no reason to doubt that much good was effected, though it is to be feared that the reforms introduced were not very thorough or permanent, to say nothing of the fact that they were for the most part but a putting-up of the bars after the cattle had escaped. At most establishments Don Guillermo left the discordant elements temporarily somewhat more tranquil than before; but he was an easy-going man, not disposed to quarrel when controversy could be avoided. In his report he simply presented the state of affairs at each mission; but made no general suggestions for reform. I shall have occasion to refer a little later to his statistics.[27]

In consequence doubtless of Hartnell's reports, written and verbal, Alvarado, on March 1, 1840, issued a new reglamento for mission management, by virtue of which the administrators were replaced by majordomos at reduced salaries. Additional restrictions were placed upon their actions; the authority

treatment, and to ask either to be shot or to be released from his service—he did not care which.

[27] On June 24, 1839, H. made a special report on the missions from S. Diego to S. Fernando. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 23–30. Probably other partial reports were also made. There are also extant several sets of instructions given by him to administrators. *Id.*, vii. 40–2; viii. 31–2, 17–20; x. 13–14. They are chiefly of a local nature, when not in direct fulfilment of the reglamento; but articles were generally added requiring kind treatment of the Ind., and fully maintaining the padres' power to insist on a strict performance of religious duties. Statements of the debts of different missions in 1839–40, in *Pico, Pap. de Miss.*, MS., 47–51; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 274; xxxiii. 12.

of the friars was increased in some respects, and the visitador was continued in office with a larger salary and augmented powers. As of the earlier regulations, I give its substance in a note.[28] Before this

[28] *Alvarado, Reglamento de Ex-Misiones, 1° de Marzo, 1840.* Printed document on one large sheet, with rubric signatures, in *Earliest Printing;* original MS. in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 30; translation in *Halleck's Report*, 157–60; *Duinelle's Col. Hist.*, add., 57–60. It was issued as a bando without any title. Experience having shown great losses and abuses in the missions; the reglamento of 1839 not having sufficed to reform the evils, on account especially of excessive salaries; and it being desirable to promote economy and a strict administration until the supreme govt may decide what is best—the following is published:

Art. 1–3. Majordomos to take the place of admin. at salaries from $180 to $600 at different missions (specified), though the former admin. may be selected for the new positions. Art. 4. The office of visitador to continue, with a salary of $3,000.

Duties of majordomos: Art. 5. To watch over the advancement of property, consulting the padres in difficult cases. Art. 6. To make the Indians work for the community, and chastise them moderately for faults. Art. 7. To enforce morality and attendance on religious duties among the Ind., the padres intervening as provided by the visitador's instructions. Art. 8–9. To render to the vis. a monthly account of produce stored, and a yearly one of all products and cattle branded, said reports to be certified by the padres. Art. 10. To see that the padres lack nothing needed for their personal subsistence and service. Art. 11–12. To provide every assistance, and show every attention to the prelates on their visits or at their fixed residence. Art. 13. To furnish the friars all necessary aid for worship, but to invest no considerable sum for this purpose without permission from the govt. Art. 14. To attend to the proper distribution of goods among the Ind., the padres approving the lists. Art. 15. To obey all orders and pay all drafts coming from the govt through the visitador's office. Art. 16. To furnish every three months a list of articles most needed. Art. 17. To furnish transportation and food to persons travelling on public service, and also aid demanded by comandantes of stations, sending a monthly account to the vis., that he may recover the amount from the comisaría. Art. 18. To aid private travellers, charging for food and horses according to their means. Art. 19. To enforce morality among servants and others residing or visiting at the missions; and in urgent cases to adopt such measures as are best adapted to preserve order. Art. 20. To use mission produce for the support of themselves and families without cost. Art. 21. To employ such servants as may be necessary for community work, but only natives of the establishment. Art. 22. To ask only for a clerk to carry on correspondence with the vis. Art. 23. To obtain from the govt, after a year of good conduct, etc., permission to employ such Ind. as may be willing on their own private work. Art. 24. To make no sale or purchase, and to dispose of no Ind. for the service of private persons, without special authority; and to slaughter no cattle except regularly as ordered by the vis.

Duties of the visitador: Art. 25. To make all kinds of mercantile contracts for the benefit of the missions. Art. 26. To supply to those estab. needed articles, according to the majordomos' lists and the property on hand. Art. 27. To draw bills in payment of debts. Art. 28. To be the medium of communication between the govt and all persons in matters relating to missions. Art. 29. To pay salaries of employés, watch over their performance of duties, and acting in concert with the padres to propose the men best fitted for majordomos. Art. 30. To determine the number of cattle to be killed in the weekly, annual, and extra slaughters at each mission. Art. 31.

document was published it seems to have been submitted to the missionary presidents for approval or criticism, and was probably changed slightly in some respects to suit the friars. At any rate, Padre Duran expressed his views, and those not very favorable, on the subject in a letter of January 7th to Hartnell. Alluding to the purely financial phases of the matter, he admitted that the reglamento would "close the doors to fraud and robbery, but also to all improvement; that the doctor was prevented from killing the patient, but had no power to cure him." He thought a trade for the benefit of a mission ought not to be delayed by reference to a visitador hundreds of miles away; and he complained that under the new rules—changed apparently in this respect—a padre could obtain nothing except articles produced by the mission or other articles purchased with the little left of the *sínodo* from the pious fund "after it had been passed through successive sieves by the disinterested hands of the traders." Yet he and his friars would submit until the coming of a bishop should allow them to leave "these Californian labyrinths." [29]

To form a regulation for his office, and propose such assistants as he deemed necessary.

General orders: Art. 32. Merchants and others having claims against the missions must present them with the proper vouchers to the vis., that the govt may determine what is best and possible in the way of settlement. Art. 33. As to S. Cárlos, S. Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, Soledad, and Solano, the govt will continue to regulate them according to circumstances. Art. 34. All employés and judges are free to report abuses to the govt. Art. 35. The govt, having consulted the padres, will regulate all that relates to the support of worship and of the friars, either assigning a fixed sum for both purposes, or making such other arrangement as may be best. Art. 36. All previous regulations and orders contrary to this are annulled; and in cases of doubt the govt will decide. Art. 37. In default or temporary absence of a majordomo, the padre will take charge ad interim.

[29] Jan. 7, 1840, Duran to Hartnell. *Arch. Miss.*, MS., ii. 997–1000. Feb. 15th, he writes again, expressing the opinion that the majordomos should not be the creatures of the padres, declaring his purpose to limit the powers of his friars, especially 2 or 3 of them, as closely as the govt had that of the majordomos, regretting that the northern padres had manifested opposition, and asking that the aid due to a prelate on his visits should be definitely expressed. *Id.*, ii. 1017. March 5th, he opposes any setting-apart of estates for the support of the ministry, as it would lead to troubles. Food and means of travel, with the $400 allowed by Mexico, will suffice. *Id.*, ii. 993. March

In March Alvarado issued an order to administrators to turn over their missions to the visitador, and a set of instructions to that officer for his second annual *visita*, which was to begin immediately at Mission San José.[30] The inspection of the northern establishments, possibly down to Santa Inés,[31] and the operation of setting the new machinery in motion there was completed before the end of June; but we have no details except of Hartnell's troubles at San Rafael in April, leading to his arrest by Vallejo, who succeeded in preventing the exercise of the visitador's authority at that mission.[32] Early in July he was in the far south at San Luis Rey, where he had no end of trouble with Pio Pico and others, and where the transfer to the majordomo was not effected until August. Similar annoyances at other missions so disgusted him that finally, on September 7th, from Santa Bárbara, he sent in his resignation, which was accepted after his arrival at Monterey. By a circular of October 6th majordomos were ordered to communicate directly with

24th, Prefect Gonzalez, of the Zacatecanos, proffers voluntary submission and coöperation, but prefers not to select majordomos. The padres will exercise the powers granted them only when they deem it best. *Id.*, ii. 1037–40; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 18–22. April 17th, J. A. Aguirre writes to Hartnell, refuting the charge of J. J. Vallejo, that the new reglamento was instigated by himself, Noriega, and Hartnell with a view to monopolize the mission trade. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 114. April 20th, Duran's circular directing friars to suggest proper persons for majordomos, and to present any complaints they may have through him. *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., xi. 189–90. Aug. 20th, J. Temple to Hartnell, insisting on the payment of old debts due him from the southern missions. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 225.

[30] March 18, 1840, order to admin. to surrender missions. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 36. *Alvarado, Instrucciones que debe observar el Sr Visitador en su visita á las misiones del norte, 18 de Marzo, 1840*, MS. These instructions in 8 articles agree with the reglamento, except that at S. José some property was to be distributed to the oldest neophytes, and a clerk was to be put in temporary charge of the property. Hartnell's instructions to this clerk and to the majordomo at S. José are dated April 23d. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., vii. 43–7.

[31] The missions from S. Antonio to Sta Inés were put under the new regulations at this time if at all by Hartnell, for on his return later from the south he passed rapidly through these establishments. *Hartnell, Diario y Borradores*, MS., unfortunately contains nothing of earlier date than July. June 20th, J. M. Villavicencio directs Moraga not to give up the mission of S. Antonio to H. (who came about that time?), and to pay no attention to the governor's order. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 81.

[32] See chap. xx. of vol. iii.

the government, since there was no longer any visitador.[33]

No successor to Hartnell was ever appointed, and there is nothing of importance to be noted respecting mission management for the rest of the year; or at least very little is known of it. I regret to say that I am unable from material extant to form any definite idea about the general condition of the missions at the end of 1840 as compared with that of a year or two years earlier. Californians generally extend the period of ruin and plunder several years later, and attach very little importance practically to Alvarado's reforms of 1839–40, as carried out by Hartnell. I am inclined to think, however, that many abuses were really checked at this time, though the visitador's last tour had done little if any good, the aggregate loss since 1836 had been large, and the outlook for the immediate future was not encouraging.

In a former chapter I gave some general mission statistics for the period of 1830–4, the last period for which the padres furnished data, remarking that the figures were much less accurate than those of former years.[34] From scattered items in the reports and accounts of administrators and of the visitador in 1839–40, I am able to present for the present half-decade some general figures which are, perhaps, as reliable as those of the preceding period referred to. Of baptisms and burials I can make no statement, though the number might be obtained by a tedious counting from the mission-books of each establishment, most of which are still preserved. The neophyte population decreased from 15,000 in 1834 to 6,000 in 1840; though the latter number would probably be reduced to 5,000 if restricted to the Indians absolutely living in community, and increased to 8,000 or 9,000 if extended

[33] *Hartnell, Diario*, MS.; Sept. 7th, H. to gov. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 18. Oct. 6th, Alvarado's circular. *Id.*, x. 34.

[34] See chap. xii. of vol. iii.

to all on the registers whose whereabouts as vagrants or servants was somewhat definitely known. Many of the missions had less than 100 Indians, San Luis Rey with about 1,000, and San Cárlos with less than 30, being the extremes. In the same years cattle had decreased approximately from 140,000 to 50,000; horses from 12,000 to 10,000; and sheep from 130,000 to 50,000. Of crops no general estimate can be made, but they were very greatly diminished. Inventories of property, made in connection with secularization, vary from $10,000 to $200,000; but there is no uniformity in the classes of property which they include, church property and live-stock being often omitted, and the lists often including only assets in a commercial sense. The aggregate of debts was about $60,000, offset by claims against private parties and other missions of equal or greater amount, but rarely paid in full.

The number of friars serving in California was reduced during this half-decade from 26 to 20. Five padres died—Vitoria, Martin, Fortuni, and Arroyo, of the college of San Fernando, and Moreno of the Zacatecanos—while one, García Diego, left the country in 1836, to return later. One or two attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain licenses for departure. No new-comers made their appearance. As a rule, at this time, no padre was much heard of beyond the limits of his own establishment; though a few became somewhat prominent in controversies which will be noticed in connection with local annals.

Padre Narciso Duran continued to be president of the southern missions until 1838, when he was succeeded by Joaquin Jimeno; but in 1837 Duran had been made prefect, which position he held until after 1840. Duran also held the office of vicar under the bishop of Sonora, except for a short period in 1838–9, when it was attached to that of president, and held by Jimeno.[85] Of the Zacatecanos in the north Padre

[85] Various communications in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 19–24; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 36; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 14. The exact dates of the appoint-

Rafael Moreno was president and vice-prefect—the prefect being absent from early in 1836—until November 1838, at which date Padre José María de Jesus Gonzalez assumed the office, his appointment, or election, at the college of Guadalupe bearing date of June 19, 1837. On July 22, 1840, he was re-elected.[36] The authority of these officials as president and prefect over the friars was but nominal, though there is no evidence that their wishes were not as fully obeyed as in earlier times. As vicars they had ecclesiastical authority over the friars as acting parish priests;[37] and some legal powers were accorded them by the regulations of secularization; but they rarely attempted any exercise of authority in any capacity.

Hitherto California had been ecclesiastically subject to the bishop of Sonora, the missionary prelate holding the vicarship. And so it continued during this period; but Fray Francisco García Diego y Moreno went to Mexico at the beginning of 1836 for the express purpose of effecting a change for the good of the people and the church, and also doubtless with a view to his own advancement. So successful was he that on September 19th of the same year the government issued a decree providing that the necessary steps should be taken for the formation of the Californias into a separate diocese.[38] Troubles

ments are not known; but Jimeno announced his election as president on Nov. 26, 1838; and Duran his assumption of the prefecture on Dec. 17, 1838, and of the vicarship on Sept. 17, 1839.

[36] Appointment of Gonzalez. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 60, 63; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 18; *Arch. Miss.*, MS., ii. 865; *Corresp. de Miss.*, MS., 67–9; *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 26, 28.

[37] Oct. 18, 1839, P. Gonzalez to his friars. Has concluded to accept the vicarship of the northern missions from the bishop, to prevent their coming under the power of Duran; though he hesitated about taking such a step without authority from his college. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 60–1.

[38] Sept. 19, 1836, law in 6 articles, published in a bando of Sept. 22d. *Arrillaga, Recop., Jul.–Dic.* 1836, p. 107; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 1–2; *Hayes' Miss. Book*, i. no. 13, p. 111; *San Miguel, Repub. Mex.*, 8. The new bishop, to be chosen by the govt from a trio suggested by the cabildo metropolitano and proposed to the pope, was to have $6,000 a year from the treasury as salary and $3,000 for first expenses. He was also to have the administration of the pious fund. See also, on appointment of bishop, *Dublan*

both in Mexico and California prevented further progress until June 22, 1839, when the metropolitan chapter chose a trio, with García Diego at its head, and his name was duly forwarded to Rome, where on April 27, 1840, the necessary bulls were issued.[39] In August the approval of Pope Gregory was known in Mexico, and the Zacatecan friars were notified that such of them as might voluntarily subject themselves to the bishop, no longer missionaries but *doctrineros*, could expect no aid from their college.[40] On September 19th Bishop García Diego took the constitutional oath before the president;[41] on October 4th he was consecrated by three bishops at the colegiata de Guadalupe in Mexico. He announced his consecration, with the fact that he could not come immediately to California, in a letter of November 30th, and in a pastoral letter which was put in print.[42] He did not reach his diocese until late in 1841; and it is not therefore necessary to notice here a decree of the government which he brought respecting mission affairs.

Occasional complaints scattered in the archives show that the friars had some difficulty in obtaining the sums allowed them under the various reglamentos for subsistence and expenses of worship.[43] As to their

and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, iii. 194; *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, MS., xi. 48; *Id., Gob. Mex.*, i. 36.

[39] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 274–5; *García Diego, Carta Pastoral, 1840.* June 23, 1839, min. of int. to gov. of Cal. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 6. Aug. 7th, Castillero to Alvarado. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 282.

[40] Aug. 4, 1840, P. Rafael de Jesus Soria, prefect of the college of Guadalupe, to the Zacatecan friars. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 62; *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 27.

[41] *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 51.

[42] *García, Diego, Carta Pastoral que el Ilmo y Rmo Sr D. Fr. Francisco García Diego, primer Obispo de Californias dirige á los RR. PP. misioneros y á sus Diocesanos, antes de su ingreso al obispado.* Mex. 1840. 12 mo, 12 p. Dated at the college of S. Fernando Oct. 28, 1840. This letter is a lamentation for the ecclesiastical misfortunes of Cal. in the past; a narrative of the writer's appointment, including the bulls; and a protestation of his affection for all in the country and the great benefits that are to result from this new favor of God. It was to be read from the pulpits. Oct. 4th, Virmond to Munrás. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 184. Nov. 30th, bishop to gov., dip., Gen. Vallejo, and Padre Duran. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 29–30; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 330; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 106; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., ix. 28.

[43] Jan. 30, 1836, Pres. Moreno complains to gov. that the allowance of $500

stipends from the pious fund in Mexico, it is difficult to learn what amounts were received, though the friars continued to draw on the fund and the traders to negotiate their drafts. The payments were not only irregular and subject to heavy discounts, but they were often made by the traders in articles for which the padres had little use.[44] From 1834 to 1837 the amount paid from the fund to missionaries in Alta California is given as $33,464.25; and that from November 1840 to February 1842 as $22,000; but I find no intermediate accounts.[45] Meanwhile the fund—from which the government in 1837 decided to borrow $60,000 to be devoted to the work of 'quieting the Californias'[46]—remained as before in charge of a special junta. Andrés Castillero went to congress in 1839, with urgent instructions to have the fund placed at the disposal of the Californian government. Under no circumstances would Mexico have consented to such a step; but the refusal was based on the decree of September 19, 1836, by which the new bishop was to be intrusted with the administration of the estates, and to use the revenues in accordance with the aims of the founders.[47] Under this decree it does not ap-

for church expenses has been stopped by orders to the administrators. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., x. 8–9. April 6th, Moreno to the padres. The allowance as administered by the majordomos is opposed to canonical law and usage. If they can support themselves and public worship without that allowance they may do so, 'dando este golpe antes que nos lo den.' *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 58. July 9th, Duran to Gov. Chico. Complains of non-payment of the sums allotted. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 16–17. Jan. 26, March 12, 1839, PP. Duran, Jimeno, and Real make like complaints; and ask that certain gardens, buildings, and stills be assigned instead of a fixed sum. *Id.*, v. pt ii. 21–3. March 5, 1840, Duran argues against any cession of estates for the support of padres or church. *Arch. Miss.*, MS., ii. 993.

[44] *Arch. Miss.*; MS., ii. 997–1000. March 14, 1840, P. Fortuni draws for $2,200 due him. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vi. 88.

[45] *Mexico, Mem. Interior*, 1838, p. 82–6. Statement of Ramirez from *Siglo XIX.*, Mar. 2, 1842, in *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 191.

[46] April 1, 1837, decree in *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1837, p. 265–6.

[47] Art. 6 of the decree: 'The property belonging to the pious fund of Californias will be put at the disposition of the new bishop and his successors, that they may administer it and invest it in its objects or others analogous, always respecting the will of the founders.' *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1836, p. 107. Aug. 7, 1839, govt decides that the deputy must not interfere in the fund. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 131. Same date, Castillero writes to same effect. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 196, 282.

pear that anything was done until the end of 1840, when the bishop appointed Pedro Ramirez to care for the city estates and Miguel Belaunzaran for those in the country. García Diego also received from the fund money to pay the expenses of his journey to California.[48]

I have to conclude this chapter with Indian affairs, that is, the dealings of the Californians with gentile tribes. Minor items on this subject are, however, as usual left for local annals. The subject may be most conveniently treated in three divisions; the first includes the hostilities of gentiles and fugitive neophytes on the southern or San Diego frontier; the second, Vallejo's operations against gentile tribes north of San Francisco Bay, from Sonoma as a centre; and the third, the ravages of Indian horse-thieves in all the region between the two frontiers, and the expeditions sent out against the marauders, chiefly from the regions of San José and Los Angeles. The material is bulky enough in each division, but when duly sifted and digested, it results, as usual with Californian Indian annals at all periods, in but a meagre and unsatisfactory record.

In the spring of 1836 complaints were frequent and loud that the Indians were committing ravages, and that the soldiers of San Diego, for lack of arms, supplies, and pay, could afford no protection. In January, J. M. Marron was attacked at the rancho of Cueros de Venado, but several of the attacking party were killed by Christian Indians. An effort to have a garrison established at Santa Isabel was unsuccessful. The citizens made several expeditions, in one of which seven Indians were killed; but it was charged that in their absence the soldiers committed various thefts and outrages in town. Early in March, Captain Portilla

[48] Statement of Ramirez, in *Siglo XIX.*, March 2, 1842, suppl. 146. The sums paid on account of stipends for Cal. at this time were paid to J. A. Aguirre. Ramirez says he took charge on Nov. 2, 1840.

made a fruitless raid, and on his return, his brother, Don Silvestre, proposed to conquer the Indians at his own expense, if allowed to keep prisoners as servants. This was approved by the ayuntamiento, on the ground that the Indians were outlaws; but the result is not known, the record failing just when San Diego was supposed to be in the greatest peril.[49]

A year later, in April or May 1837, the Indians made a raid on the frontier ranchos, burning buildings and driving off live-stock. At the Jamul rancho the majordomo Leiva and three others—servants on the place, and perhaps Indians, though spoken of as white men by several—were killed, and Leiva's two grown-up daughters were carried away into captivity, from which they were never recovered. A force from the frontera, under Alférez Macedonio Gonzalez, pursued the foe into the sierra, but was defeated at a place called the Matadero, and forced to retire with many wounded. The inhabitants of San Diego were in great terror, but were comforted by the protection of Captain Penhallow and his men of the *Alert*, and by the presence of their so-called gefe político and general, Zamorano, some of whose men had accompanied Gonzalez. Juan Bandini, whose rancho of Tecate was one of those plundered, was recalled from his political and military achievements at Los Angeles; and the revolutionary army, raised to operate against Alvarado, marched against the savage foe. In a campaign of ten days, they are said to have killed several Indians, all they could find. Contemporary communications on this disaster are not numerous or complete; while versions from memory are voluminous and contradictory in detail.[50]

[49] Many documents of Jan.–March 1836, in *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 74–92, 115; *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 288–95, 311. There were some complaints in July. Bandini wrote in March that much of his stock at the Tecate rancho had been stolen. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 182.

[50] Communications of local officials, April to Sept. 1837. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 171, 180–2, 185, 187. May 29th, 31st, Zamorano's letter to ayunt. of Angeles, and resulting deliberations of that body. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xi. 86–9; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., iv. 316–18. June 26th, captain and crew of the

It was probably in 1837, during the general alarm arising from the massacre at Jamul, though there is no agreement among narrators respecting dates, that a plot was revealed to attack the town and kill the inhabitants. Indian servants were to coöperate with the attacking party by opening the houses of their employers on a given night; but one of them divulged the plot, and three or four of the dozen servants arrested were immediately shot by order of Alférez Gonzalez.[51] The year 1838 was marked by no hostilities that are either remembered or recorded. In 1839 there were alarms and active preparations, on paper at least, for defensive movements in May, July, and November; but I have nothing definite about these troubles, except that in October the mission of Guadalupe across the frontier was sacked, and three soldiers were killed.[52] In 1840 no disturbances are

Alert credited with valuable service. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., ii. 103–4; *Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1837. June 27th, Com. Argüello says he will retain the command 'unless there should be a fight!' *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 181. July 5th, Ind. attacked S. Diego mission and killed 3 men. *Hayes' Miss. Book*, i. 322. July 11th, alcalde of Angeles, in a circular to rancheros, says the Ind. attacked S. Bernardo and killed 4 men (the Jamul affair?). *Valle, Doc.*, MS., 45. Aug. 4th, Bandini says he killed and captured only a few Ind. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 185. Sept. 16th, B. says he has lost absolutely everything, has come to Sta Bárbara to sell a few jewels to get food for his family, and must eschew politics. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 309. Janssens, *Vida y Avent.*, MS., 92–7, was with Gonzalez, and gives many particulars. Lorenzana, *Memorias*, MS., 31–42; Machado, *Tiempos Pasados*, MS., 11–17; and Estudillo, *Datos*, MS., 19–20, 27–32, give many details of the affair at Jamul, obtained from the wife of Leiva, who with a young child was allowed to escape. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1–3, unjustly accuses Bandini of claiming the honor of having killed a large number of Indians. B. makes no such claim, and, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 90, he says that in a second campaign the soldiers were defeated and several wounded. Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 3–4; and in *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 494; and *Id., Scraps, Indians*, i. 174, gives an account of Gonzalez's campaign, in which he served. See also mention of the affair with incorrect dates in *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 336; *La Place, Voy.*, vi. 194. See also *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 175–83.

[51] Marron, *Recuerdos*, MS., 20–3, says that she overheard a conversation between her own and two of Fitch's servants which revealed the plot. Estudillo, *Datos*, MS., 8–15, confirms this, and says that the cook of his own family was one of those shot, his father, then alcalde, opposing the summary proceeding. Janssens, *Vida*, MS., 155–8, tells us it was Bandini's servant who divulged the plot. Machado, *Tiempos Pasados*, MS., 17–19, says it was Mrs Fitch's Indian girl that gave the alarm. Osio, *Hist.*, MS., 365–7, speaks of Alf. Macedonio's hasty proceedings. Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 182–4, seems to imply that this affair was of later date by 5 or 6 years.

[52] May 1839, preparations for a grand expedition. Castro was to aid with 120 men. No results known. *Hayes' Miss. Book*, i. 330; *Id., Doc. Hist. Cal.*,

reported. Notwithstanding the fragmentary nature of the records, it is evident that in all these years the frontier ranchos were continually ravaged by Indians, and that there was no security for either life or property. The condition of this more than any other part of California resembled that of the Apache frontier in Sonora and Chihuahua, though the loss of life was much less. The marauders were the gentile tribes of the mountains, reënforced by renegade neophytes, allied with more distant Colorado tribes, and having always a secret understanding with Indian servants on the ranchos. Fortunately, of the five or six chieftains who commanded the tribes of that region, one or two were generally allied with the gente de razon and rendered valuable aid.

Turning now to the northern frontier, we find a different state of things. Here there was no semblance of Apache raids, no sacking of ranchos, no loss of civilized life, and little collusion between gentile and Christian natives. The northern Indians were more numerous than in the San Diego region, and many of the tribes were brave, warlike, and often hostile; but there was a comparatively strong force at Sonoma to keep them in check, and General Vallejo's Indian policy must be regarded as excellent and effective when compared with any other policy ever followed in California. True, his wealth, his untrammelled power, and other circumstances contributed much to his success; and he could by no means have done as well if placed in command at San Diego; yet he must be accredited besides with having managed wisely. Closely

MS., 97; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., v. 15. Troubles of July–August. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 393, 405; *Hayes' Miss. Book*, i. 336. Troubles of Oct.–Nov, apparently quite serious, and involving much loss of property. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 222, 230; *Hayes' Doc. Hist. Cal.*, 96, 99–101; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., v. 77, 102; xii. 17. In Nov. a renegade S. Diego neophyte named Chiva appeared under the name of Paiba with an appointment as captain-general of the S. Felipe rancherías on the California side of the Colorado, issued by the gov. of Sonora. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 17–20; *Id., Ang.*, v. 94–6; *Janssens, Vida*, MS., 143–54, gives many particulars of life on the frontier ranchos in these years.

allied with Solano, the Suisun chieftain, having always —except when asked to render some distasteful military service to his political associates in the south—at his disposal a goodly number of soldiers and citizens, he made treaties with the gentile tribes, insisted on their being liberally and justly treated when at peace, and punished them severely for any manifestation of hostility. Doubtless the Indians were wronged often enough in individual cases by Vallejo's subordinates; some of whom, and notably his brother Salvador, were with difficulty controlled; but such reports have been greatly exaggerated, and acts of glaring injustice were comparatively rare.

The Cainameros, or the Indians of Cainamá in the region toward Santa Rosa, had been for some years friendly; but for their services in returning stolen horses they got into trouble with the Satiyomis, or Sotoyomes, generally known as Guapos, or 'braves,' who in the spring of 1836, in a sudden attack, killed twenty-two of their number and wounded fifty. Vallejo, on appeal of the chiefs, promised to avenge their wrongs, and started April 1st with fifty soldiers and one hundred Indians besides the Cainamero force. A battle was fought the 4th of April, and the Guapos, who had taken a strong position in the hills of the Geyser region, were routed and driven back to their rancherías, where most of them were killed. The expedition was back at Sonoma on the 7th, without having lost a man killed or wounded.[53]

On June 7th Vallejo concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the chiefs of seven tribes—the Indians of Yoloytoy, Guilitoy, Ansactoy, Liguaytoy, Aclutoy,

[53] March 28, 1836, Vallejo's orders for assembling troops. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 104. April 8th, report of the campaign. *Id.*, iii. 105. Salvador Vallejo commanded one division of the force. April 21st, Com. Gen. Gutierrez thanks Lieut Vallejo and his men for their gallantry. *Id.*, iii. 193. April 24th, Lieut Vallejo to com. gen. Announces that Antonio and Victor Castro had gone to Sta Rosa in defiance of orders to get Indians for work on their rancho of S. Pablo, taking besides some property, and buying some children from the chiefs. The Indians complained; the Castros were arrested at S. Rafael and the children released. Such outrages must be prevented. *Id.*, iii. 112.

Churuptoy, and the Guapos—who had voluntarily come to Sonoma for that purpose. The treaty provided that there should be friendship between the tribes and the garrison, that the Cainameros and Guapos should live at peace and respect each other's territory, that the Indians should give up all fugitive Christians at the request of the comandante, and that they should not burn the fields. It does not appear that Vallejo in return promised anything more definite than friendship. Twenty days later the compact was approved by Governor Chico.[54] A year later, in June 1837, Zampay, one of the chieftains of the Yoloytoy —town and ranchería of the Yoloy, perhaps meaning of the 'tules,' and which gave the name to Yolo county—became troublesome, committing many outrages, and trying to arouse the Sotoyomes again. The head chief of the tribe, however, named Moti, offered to aid in his capture, which was effected by the combined forces of Solano and Salvador Vallejo. Zampay and some of his companions were held at first as captives at Sonoma; but after some years the chief, who had been the terror of the whole country, became a peaceful citizen and industrious farmer.[55]

In January 1838 Tobias, chief of the Guilucos, and one of his men were brought to Sonoma and tried for the murder of two Indian fishermen.[56] In March

[54] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 119, 217; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxi. 26–7.

[55] June 25th–26th, M. G. Vallejo to Salvador and Jesus, his brothers. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 250, 256. July 26th, Alvarado thanks Salvador for his gallant achievement. *Id.*, xxxii. 104. Salvador Vallejo, *Notas, Hist.*, MS., 87–95, gives many details of the campaign. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 230–8, 268–9, tells us that just before this expedition he organized a company of 44 Suisunes and Napas, armed and equipped like Mexican soldiers, which was put under the command of Lieut Sabas Fernandez and given to Solano as a body-guard, much to his delight. This writer also relates, *Id.*, p. 299–304, that Succara, chief of the Sotoyomes, frightened at Zampay's defeat, came to Sonoma and made a treaty, which in 11 articles is given. This may be a confused memory of the earlier treaty already noticed. A treaty of Dec. 1, 1837, with some eastern tribes, is also referred to in a letter of April 1, 1838. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 65.

[56] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 21. The sentence is not given. Five years in the chain-gang for Tobias and death for his companion were demanded by Peña, the fiscal. The Guilucos were probably the natives of Guilitoy.

some of the gentile allied tribes attacked the Moquelumnes, recovered a few stolen horses, and brought them to Sonoma, where a grand feast was held for a week to celebrate their good deeds.[57] In August, 50 Indian horse-thieves crossed the Sacramento and appeared at Soscol with a band of tame horses, their aim being to stampede the horses at Sonoma. Thirty-four were killed in a battle with Vallejo's men, and the rest surrendered, the chief of the robbers named Cumuchí being shot at Sonoma for his crimes.[58] On October 6th Vallejo issued a printed circular, in which he announced that Solano had grossly abused his power and the trust placed in him, and broken sacred compacts made with the Indian tribes, by consenting to the seizure and sale of children. Vallejo indignantly denied the rumor that these outrages had been committed with his consent; declaring that Solano had been arrested, and that a force had been sent out to restore all the children to their parents.[59]

In May 1838 Vallejo announced in communications sent to all parts of the country that the small-pox was raging on the northern frontier, and was killing the Indians by hundreds. The pestilence had come from the English settlements by way of Ross. The importance of vaccination, cleanliness, temperance, and other preventive measures was urged upon

[57] April 1, 1838. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 65. The friendly tribes were the Ochejamnes and Sicomnes, acting under the treaty of Dec. 1837, The horse-stealing tribes were Moquelumnes, Sequak, Figüechek, Chapayasek, and Culumuk.

[58] Aug. 3, 1838, circular to authorities. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 124. Cumuchí confessed that there were large droves of stolen horses on the Sacramento in charge of the Moquelumnes. It seems that the Indians at first surrendered, and later made a treacherous attack, in which the 34 were killed. Mention also in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 222.

[59] Oct. 6th, Vallejo's circular. *Earliest Print.; Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 194; xxxii. 156; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 208; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 23. In his *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 329–38, Vallejo explains that 'certain persons' desiring to injure him brought sundry barrels of liquor to Soscol, made Solano and other chiefs drunk, and thus induced them to consent to the capture of the children, about 30 of whom were sold south of the bay. All were recovered, and Solano, after being sobered for a time in the calaboose, was very penitent. Mention also in *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 216–17; *Carrillo, Narrative*, MS., 1–3; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 96.

the people; and apparently the disease did not spread south of the bay at this time; though in addition to Vallejo's circular we have no further information, except the statement of several Californians that the northern Indians perished in large number.[60] There is nothing to be said of Indian affairs on the Sonoma frontier in 1839–40, except that there are vague allusions to an expedition against the Sotoyomes; that during an attempted revolt of the native infantry company in April 1840, many of the number were killed in a fight, and nine were subsequently shot; and that perhaps one or two parties were sent out to aid John A. Sutter at his new establishment on the Sacramento.[61] At Nueva Helvecia del Sacramento, Sutter found the Indians somewhat hostile, and was obliged several times to attack them; but he adopted at the first a wise, liberal, and careful policy. He made treaties of alliance with the strongest bands. He aided the gentiles against the Christian Indians of San José, who sometimes came to steal women and commit other outrages, and afforded some protection indirectly to the Indian horse-thieves who respected his animals. He therefore had no troubles of sufficient importance to be specified here.[62]

South of the bay Indian horse-thieves—neophyte fugitives, as well as many still living at the missions, being in league with gentiles of the San Joaquin and

[60] May 18, 23, 24, 1838, Vallejo to authorities. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 205–6; *Id., Ang.*, xi. 103; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 34; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., vii. 70; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 199, 202; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 32; xxxii. 134. Corporal Ignacio Miramontes is said to have brought the disease from Ross. Vallejo thinks 70,000 Indians died. Two of the political prisoners from the south were attacked at Sonoma. *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 222; *Carrillo, Narrative*, MS., 3–4; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 48–9; *Botello Anales*, MS., 84, 87; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 161–6; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 204.

[61] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 192; xiv. 18; xxxiii. 56–7; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, iv. 166–8; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 5.

[62] Sept. 10, 1840, Sutter to com. S. José, relating at some length his proceedings against a party of S. José Indians. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 129. See also *Sutter's Pers. Recol.*, *Sutter's Diary*, and account of his establishment, in chap. v. of this vol.

Sacramento valleys, and the latter being encouraged and aided by foreign vagabonds—were always busy and successful. Complaints were frequent, and raids of vengeance by citizens were equally so, the region of San José being the centre of operations on both sides.[63] Palomares, Amador, and García, old Indian-fighters, narrate many horrible details of the expeditions of these years, in which they took part, showing that the culprits when captured were often treated with barbarous cruelty.[64] In July 1838 the Indians went so far as to sack the ranchos of Pacheco and Sanchez near San Juan Bautista, killing one white man, outraging several women, burning the buildings, and destroying all they could lay their hands on.[65]

In 1839 matters became worse, so far as thefts were concerned.[66] After long preparations and much correspondence, Colonel Castro sent a large force under captains Buelna and Estrada against the depredators in June. The expedition was to the region of Kings River; but we know no other result than that Estrada brought in seventy-seven prisoners, chiefly women and children.[67] In July a party called Yozcolos attacked the neophytes guarding the wheat-

[63] Aug. 21, 1836, complaints to ayunt. of S. José. *Dept. St. Pap.*, iv. 122–4. May 1838, the Moquelumne chiefs, Sinato, Nilo, and Crispo, as horse-thieves. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 131. July, Yozcolo, Drogo, and other Christians of the ranchos committing great outrages. *Id.*, xxxii. 146. Aug. 1st, outrages continue, including murder and burning, as well as theft. *Id.*, v. 122. Aug. 16th, Ambrosio, the Moquelumne chief, captured and shot, having attacked a rancho and killed one person. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., x. 5. Sept. 19th, Castro on the march with 25 men to check Ind. aggressions. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 177. Oct. 11th, exped. of 80 men sent from S. José. *Id.*, v. 201. Oct. 22d, the expedition brought back 78 horses. *Id.*, v. 211.

[64] *Amador, Memorias*, MS., 29–41; *Palomares, Memorias*, MS., 13–17; *García, Hechos*, MS., 74–81.

[65] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 116–17, 129; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, iii. 378–80; *Hartnell, Narrativa*, MS., 5. Sanchez's rancho had also been attacked in March 1837, and two Indians killed. The riflemen at Monterey insisted on receiving $2 each before pursuing the Indians.

[66] Feb. 24th, alcalde of S. José to gov. Has given instructions to exterminate all male thieves from 10 years up, and to capture all women and children. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 46–7.

[67] Corres. April to July, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 491, 114–19; vii. 74–6, 146–9, 234, 330; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 23–4; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, iii. 3; v. 6. Estrada's expedition went far into the sierra, but was compelled to return by insubordination of the troops. He had 80 men. Alf. Prado Mesa seems to have gone in a different direction, killing a few Indians.

fields at Santa Clara, killing one of the number; but they were persuaded, and the head of the leader, Diosculo, or Yozcolo, was set up on a pole at the mission.[68] In December Prado Mesa, while on an expedition against thieves on the Rio de Estanislao, was surprised by the foe, had three men killed, was wounded, as were six of his men, and lost many of his weapons.[69] This disaster caused much excitement and alarm. The Indians became bolder than ever, though early in 1840 a successful warfare seems to have been waged against them in different directions.[70] Subsequently a regular patrol was established between San José and San Juan for the protection of the ranchos. The records are vague and fragmentary; but the indications are that depredations continued unabated throughout 1840.[71]

Farther south troubles were chiefly with Indians from abroad, the Chaguanosos from the New Mexi-

[68] *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ix. 60–1; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 4, 41. Aug. 21st, a party of 75 men returned to S. José from the pursuit of 11 runaways, of whom 2 were killed. The Moquelumnes said to have killed their captains, who were friendly. *Id.*, viii. 46. I have elsewhere noticed Wm H. Davis' version of this affair, which he puts at an earlier date.

[69] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxv. 249; viii. 368, 373, 375, 382, 394–5; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 43–6; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 17; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 19; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 286. One of the wounded men, Desiderio Briones, was left, but not apparently captured. He was found seven days later by a party under Francisco Palomares. The three men killed were volunteer citizens, whose names are not given.

[70] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 28–30, says that J. J. Vallejo repulsed the Indians as they approached the southern ranchos, and Lieut Martinez a little later defeated them near Mt Diablo, his report being dated Feb. 7th, and Marsh with other Americans rendering valuable service. Jan. 6th, Felipe Briones was killed on the Cerro de Bolbones while trying to recover his horses from the Indians. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 20.

[71] April 1840, gov. alarmed. Arms purchased. *Honolulu Polynesian*, ii. 90. May 16th, an exped. of 25 soldiers and 100 Ind. to start on 19th from S. José. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 139. July, payments for service and for ammunition used in the Tulares. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 33–6. July 4th, patrol from S. Juan to S. José, with instructions to officers. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 14; *Id., Mont.*, iii. 85–90; July 18th, every owner of 2 horses must furnish one for the expedition. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., l. Aug. 4th–15th, Capt. Antonio Buelna with a force of citizens made an unsuccessful raid to the two rivers. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 39. Oct. 21st, an armed force of friendly Indians to start on the 25th. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 287. Nov. 11th, the expedition succeeded in killing 4 notorious horse-thieves. *Id.*, ix. 309. Nov., auxiliary force organized against Ind. to be disbanded. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 103; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 27. Dec. 29th, an Ind. force may be organized, and a gratuity paid. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 54–5.

can regions.[72] Their operations hardly belong to the topic of Indian affairs at all. They were ostensibly traders, under Canadian chiefs, and in league with the roving bands of trappers. They were well armed, ready for any kind of profitable adventure or speculation, and rendered service on several occasions to the abajeños, both against the northern forces and hostile Indians; but they allowed nothing to interfere long or seriously with their regular business of stealing horses, in the prosecution of which they employed both gentiles and neophytes. Their greatest exploit, and indeed the only clearly defined one during this period, was the stealing of twelve hundred horses from San Luis Obispo in April 1840.[73] An effort was made at Los Angeles to pursue the culprits. Several parties were sent out, and one of them seems to have come in sight of the foe retiring deliberately and independently with the stolen animals; but the pursuers thought it imprudent to risk a conflict, especially when they saw that among the Chaguanosos there were more Americans than Indians.[74] Early in 1837 there had also been a raid on the horses of San Fernando, in defending which, unsuccessfully, two Indians were killed. In this case also many gente de razon were reported among the raiders.[75]

I find no record of extraordinary drought or flood, or other noticeable peculiarities of any season in 1836–40, except that the winter of 1838–9 seems to have been wet in the south.[76] An earthquake was felt at

[72] Apparently the Shawnees. Called Chaguanos in the *Sonorense*, April 4, 1851. The name is often written Chahuanos; and they are sometimes spoken of as natives of Chihuahua. Mofras calls them Schaouanos.

[73] *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., iv. 72, 88; *Id., Mont.*, iv. 21; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, vi. 69–70; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 14; *Mogras, Explor.*, i. 379. They are said to have tied the mission servants, stolen saddles, etc., and threatened soon to commit greater crimes.

[74] May 1840, numerous details of the pursuit. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., iv. 88–92, 97–100.

[75] Jan. 3–5, 1837. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., ii. 97–8.

[76] *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., viii. 4; ix. 36. Many sheep perished from S. Diego to Purísima.

Monterey April 25, 1836; and more severe temblores occurred from Monterey northward on June 9th and 10th of the same year.[77] The next shocks recorded were in June and July of 1838, doing some damage at San Francisco, San José, Santa Clara, and Monterey.[78] On January 16–18, 1840, an earthquake at Santa Cruz threw down several houses and the church tower, besides causing a wave which carried away a large quantity of tiles which were two hundred yards from the shore.[79] A severe shock was reported in Mexico as having occurred on November 30th of this year; but when inquiries were made by the government, no one could remember any such occurrence.[80]

[77] *Gomez, Doc.*, MS., 36–7; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 118; *Suisun Solano Herald*, Nov. 21, 1868.

[78] Reported by Capt. Paty, in *Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1838.

[79] *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., ix. 24.

[80] *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 43; *Sta B. Arch.*, MS., 21.

CHAPTER III.

COMMERCE, FINANCE, AND MARITIME AFFAIRS.

1836–1840.

GENERAL REMARKS — STATISTICS OF TRADE — NEW MEXICAN TRADERS — OTTER SKINS — SMUGGLING — CHICO'S BANDO — ACTION OF CALIFORNIA CONGRESS — VESSELS OF 1836 — REGULATIONS — HAWAIIAN TRADE — CATTLE DRIVEN TO OREGON BY YOUNG — EDWARD'S DIARY — VALLEJO'S PLANS — FLEET AND REVENUES OF 1837 — CARRILLO'S DECREE — VESSELS AND STATISTICS OF 1838 — OTTER-HUNTING — CAPTAIN BANCROFT KILLED BY INDIANS — SILVER FOR DUTIES — COASTING TRADE TO BE PROHIBITED — VESSELS OF 1839 — ALVARADO'S POLICY — STEARNS AS A SMUGGLER — FLEET OF 1840 — OFFICERS OF CUSTOM-HOUSE AND COMISARÍA — FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION — DISTRIBUTION OF REVENUES — ALPHABETICAL LIST OF VESSELS, 1836–40.

GENERAL remarks on commerce and maritime affairs for the years 1831–5[1] will for the most part apply equally well to the present half-decade, there being no radical changes either in system and methods, or in the amount of commercial transactions. On an average, twenty-seven vessels were on the coast each year; of which number seven were whalers, men-of-war, and other miscellaneous craft; so that the trading fleet proper consisted of twenty vessels, new arrivals being reduced to sixteen by the fact that four on an average required two years for the round voyage. All the vessels, without distinction sufficiently marked to require notice, brought to California mixed cargoes of such articles from all parts of the world—cloths, dry goods, implements, hardware, groceries—as were required for consumption in the country. So far as such

[1] See chap. xiii. of vol. iii.

an average can be made, of the twenty vessels four were Boston ships which took away hides and horns; six loaded with hides, furs, and horses for the Hawaiian Islands, much of the cargoes, except the horses, being reëxported from Honolulu; three came from South America and carried away chiefly tallow; three were national vessels, taking tallow and miscellaneous produce to Mexican ports; two were vessels of the Russian American Company, taking grain and other agricultural products to Sitka; and two carried similar products to the Columbia River, being more or less directly connected with the Hudson's Bay Company.

For the three years for which alone records are extant, the average of total revenue from duties was $70,000; but the figures for 1837–8 if known would probably reduce that average below $60,000. Duties amounting generally to 100 per cent, the same amount may be regarded as that of the regular importations; but it would have to be doubled at least to include smuggling operations. Exports could not of course vary much in value at California prices from imports. For three years the average amount of produce taken from San Francisco was $83,000; and the average annual export from California to Honolulu for five years was $46,000. Sir James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company, who visited the country early in 1841, and who had before enjoyed good opportunities for making himself acquainted with California trade, estimated the annual exports at $241,000, the largest item being $70,000 in hides.[2]

American settlers on the Columbia River purchased, as we shall see, some cattle, which were driven northward overland. Traders from New Mexico still came in caravans with woollen goods to purchase such horses and mules as could not more conveniently be stolen; but there is little of detail in the records save what

[2] *Douglas' Journal*, MS., 87–8. More of this important narrative later. The estimate was: for S. Pedro, $100,000; S. F., $80,000; Sta Bárbara, $25,000; Monterey, $20,000; S. Diego, $10,000; S. Luis Obispo and Purísima, 000.

has been already said respecting the exploits of the Chaguanosos.[3] The Hudson's Bay Company had a company of trappers each year in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, apparently with some show of authority from California; and free trappers in small parties still ranged those valleys, usually in league with Indian and New Mexican horse-thieves, but respecting whose movements nothing definite can be known. All that pertains to otter-hunting on the coast is also shrouded in mystery so far as details are concerned. We know only that Sparks with some half-dozen hunters was constantly at work under license on the lower coast and islands; that one or two trips for contraband hunting were made by foreign vessels with Indian hunters from the north; that all traders were glad to obtain otter-skins legally or otherwise; and that few cargoes left the coast which did not contain a package of valuable furs. In smuggling operations I shall have nothing to record of a very scandalous nature, though such operations were carried on perhaps more extensively than ever. So large a portion of the inhabitants, native and foreign, of all classes, were engaged in contraband trade, that there was slight risk of detection. Customs officers were the only ones who were at all dishonored by smuggling. Both the traders and native Californians in their narratives relate their adventures of this kind with pride rather than with shame. The favorite method was still a transfer of cargo at sea or from some secure hiding-place on coast or islands, after the least valuable part of the cargo had passed inspection by the revenue officers. The Sandwich Islands vessels still took the

[3] See chap. ii. of this vol. Feb. 16, 1838, Gov. Carrillo permits a party of New Mexicans to trade south of S. Fernando, but not farther north. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 101; *Hopkins' Translations*, MS., 7–8. In Dec. 1839 a party of 75 men arrived under J. A. Salazar, returning to Santa Fé in April. The authorities took many precautions at the time of their departure, evidently suspecting them of a design to get away with a drove of stolen horses. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., iv. 55–7, 81; v. 107, 113; *Id., S. José*, v. 71; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 5; *Janssens, Vida*, MS., 161–2. The operations of these New Mexican 'traders' are described in the *Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1837.

lead in this branch of commercial industry; the Boston ships either did not smuggle or proceeded more cautiously.[4]

One of Chico's first acts was to issue, on May 11, 1836, a bando intended to change radically the methods of trade. The country's greatest evil commercially, according to Chico's ideas, was a monopoly of trade by foreigners; and he proposed to protect the interests of national merchants. His decree, therefore, forbade all retail trade on board of foreign vessels, which must in future land their cargoes at Monterey, and subsequently sell their goods at that and other ports on shore only, and at wholesale.[5] For vessels already on the coast these regulations were to take effect only after six months, much longer than Chico's destined term of office; and it does not

[4] Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 32, 150–9, gives a good account of smuggling in which he, as a clerk of Nathan Spear, was often engaged like all the rest. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 405–6, who was in charge of the custom-house, says he had to shut his eyes to many frauds out of pity and unwillingness to ruin the merchants. Many smuggled out of pure fondness for contraband trade, and in order to boast of their shrewdness. Capt. Hinckley writes, Feb. 13, 1836, to Nathan Spear, 'I have made out the invoice with all the marks so that you will be able to smuggle considerable.' *Spear's Papers*, MS. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 165–6; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 194; iv. 6–7; and many others admit that everybody was engaged in smuggling, and argue that it was best for the country.

[5] May 11, 1836, Chico's bando on trade. *Earliest Print.; Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iii. 57–8; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 185, etc. See also chap. xv. vol. iii. of this work. The decree is substantially as follows: 1. Retail trade on board of foreign ships is absolutely prohibited in all the ports and roadsteads of this Cal. 2. Every foreign ship immediately on arrival at Monterey will land its cargo in accordance with the laws. 3. No foreign ship may open a store on board while trading in the territory. 4. Wholesale trade is permitted to foreign ships, and will be protected according to national and international laws. 5. By wholesale trade is understood that in the parcels, bales, packages, barrels, etc., as named in the permit of this custom-house, with specification of contents. 6. No foreign ship may touch at any point on this coast where there is no receptor, except, 7. In case of necessity with previous notice to the custom-house, from which it will receive an attaché to serve as receptor. 8. The same vessels must obtain permits from this custom-house for coasting trade, and must return the way-bills. 9. From vessels violating any of these provisions the permit for coasting trade will be withdrawn, without relieving captains and supercargoes from the penalties for defrauding the revenue or disobeying local authorities. 10. These articles to take effect immediately with vessels which may arrive, and after 6 months with those now on the coast. 11. This decree to be published and enforced, etc.

appear that any vessel was ever subjected to them. Their only effect was to offend the foreign traders.

In one other matter Chico had an opportunity of rendering an official decision bearing on trade. Nathan Spear had a schooner, or lighter, the *Nicolás*, which he used to carry produce between Monterey and Santa Cruz under a license of October 1835 from General Gutierrez. The ayuntamiento, with a view to certain dues, claimed the exclusive right to grant such licenses, and Spear had once been fined by the alcalde; but Chico decided against the municipal authorities, at the same time deciding further that Spear must sell his schooner unless he could prove himself a naturalized citizen or inscribed on the marine register. Spear subsequently transferred the *Nicolás* to San Francisco Bay.[6]

After the revolution of November, the new authorities, in compliance with demands of the foreigners, and probably in fulfilment of a previous agreement by which foreign support had been secured to the Californian cause, proceeded not only to restore to foreign vessels the right of engaging freely in the coasting trade as before, but reduced the rates of duties to forty per cent of the current tariff. This action was taken by the California congress December 9th.[7] The decree was intended not only to please foreign traders, but to reduce prices and prevent smuggling. Though the records are meagre, it seems to have had no other effect than to greatly reduce revenues.[8]

[6] May 6–28, 1836. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxx. 5–9.

[7] Dec. 9, 1836, decree of the const. cong. *Castro, Decretos*, no. 9; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 18; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 53. 1. For the present, and until the state treasury system can be regulated, articles coming directly from foreign ports will pay only 40 per cent on the manifests as per general tariff in force. 2. The coasting trade, *escala y cabotaje*, is permitted as before to foreign vessels. 3. They will pay tonnage dues at 8 reales per ton. 4. In order to trade on the coast they must obtain from the govt of the state a passport, to be shown to local authorities. 5. Those auth. will not permit such trade except on presentation of passports, which they will countersign. 6. To be published, obeyed, etc.

[8] Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 183–4, says it was a success. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 180, says the duties were doubled again before more than two vessels had benefited by the reduction.

There were twenty-five vessels on the coast in 1836, besides three doubtful records, most of them belonging to the merchant fleet of earlier years. Such items of information respecting each as are extant I give with the list at the end of this chapter.[9] The *Clementine*, *Don Quixote*, *Leonidas*, and *Leonor* rendered some service to the government in bringing a governor, carrying away political exiles, and moving troops up and down the coast. The only other vessel requiring special mention here was the *Peacock*, because she came from the Islands ostensibly for the protection of American commerce, and accomplished her object by unknown methods, to the apparent satisfaction of the traders. The voyage also gave rise to the publication of a book; but on both topics I shall have more to say in another chapter. The total amount of duties paid by all the vessels at the Monterey custom-house was, as nearly as I can ascertain, about $50,000 for the year

By a Mexican decree of February 17, 1837, Monterey was declared open to foreign commerce, with a custom-house of the third class. This was a privilege denied to San Francisco and San Diego, which ports were to be open to coasting trade only, though the former was to have a frontier custom-house. This involved a salary list of $16,140 per year, and was to go into effect six months after the date of publication;[10] but of course had no effect this year or the

[9] Vessels of 1836: *Aguirre* (?), *Alert*, *Angolo* (?), *Ayacucho*, *Bolivar*, *Brixon*, *California*, *Catalina*, *Clementine*, *Convoy*, *Diana*, *Don Quixote*, *Europa*, *Hector*, *Ionic* (?), *Isabella*, *Kent*, *Leonidas*, *Leonor*, *Loriot*, *Nicolás*, *Peacock*, *Peor es Nada*, *Pilgrim*, *Rasselas*, *Rosa*, *Sarah and Caroline*, and *Sitka*. Total exports to Honolulu, $73,900. *Flagg's Report Com. Relations*, i. 540, 34th cong. 1st sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., 107. Total receipts of custom-house, fiscal year 1835–6, $56,741. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxi. 45; or $44,649. *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1837, annex 2, 1st series. Of which sum about $30,000 belongs to 1836. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., v. 2. Total of receipts recorded for different vessels as per list, $41,539.

[10] Feb. 17th, Mexican decree, in *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 3–4; xiii. 2; *Pinart, Col.*, print, no. 474; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1837, p. 85–120, 144–93, 242–64, 372–5, 578–89, including much other matter on Mexican commercial regu-

next owing to existing political complications; nor do I find evidence of any variation in 1837 from the regulations of the preceding December. Respecting the general prospects, a Honolulu paper expressed some rather gloomy forebodings. "The state of business on the coast of California is so far from being favorable to the interests of maritime and commercial enterprise, that it begins to savor most decidedly of the real seasoning of positive ill luck. Business is dragging heavily, while governmental affairs are melancholy," writes the editor; but the Hawaiians were disappointed that California had resumed her Mexican allegiance.[11]

An interesting topic of this year's annals, and one that may as appropriately be mentioned here as elsewhere, since it includes both a trade and a voyage, was the obtaining of a drove of California cattle for the American missionary establishment in Oregon, and for other settlers in the Willamette Valley. The Willamette Cattle Company was formed, and in January a party of at least sixteen men[12] started in canoes down the river. Ewing Young the trapper, formerly of California, was the active chief, while Philip L. Edwards, in later years a well-known lawyer and politician of Sacramento, was a kind of financial agent. Edwards kept a diary, a part of which in manuscript is before me, and is chiefly the source of my information.[13] The party sailed from the Columbia River February 10th on the *Loriot*, the *Llama* at the same time bringing to California James Birnie, whose business was also to purchase cattle for the Hudson's Bay Company. Most of the party landed at Bodega on

lations, of this and later dates in 1837; *Prieto, Rentas*, 204; *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1838, pt i. p. 7; *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 26.

[11] *Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, Nov. 18, 1837.

[12] The following 16 are named first and last in the diary: Phil. L. Edwards, Ewing Young, Lawrence Carmichael, Henry Wood, B. Williams, Hauchurst (Hawkhurst), Bailey, Erque (Erequette), Despau, Gay, O'Niel, Turner, Tibbetts, Moore, Camp, and Pet.

[13] Edward's diary of a journey from Oregon to Cal., 1837. The missing portion is the least important. The author came back to Cal. in 1850, and died in 1869. This diary was furnished by the author's daughter.

the 27th; but the *Loriot* went on to Monterey, Edwards stopping at San Francisco, and Young going on to Santa Bárbara. During March, April, and May, Edwards visited the region of San Rafael, and made the trip by land from Monterey to San Francisco. He met several of the foreign residents,[14] and his recorded observations are accurate and interesting, though brief and presenting no features requiring special notice here. At first Vallejo had regarded unfavorably, and Alvarado had rejected, the propositions of Young and Birnie to purchase cattle,[15] and there is no evidence that the determination was changed in Birnie's case; but Young, by personal solicitation, succeeded in gaining the consent of both governor and general, and he purchased from the government over seven hundred cattle, at three dollars each, to be delivered at San Francisco and San José missions. The wildest cattle are said to have been selected by the administrators; the time from June 1st to July 20th was employed in the task of collecting and driving the refractory animals to the bank of the San Joaquin. To get the drove across the river was a still more formidable undertaking, the perplexing, and to all but the drivers amusing, difficulties of which are graphically described by Edwards.

The fording of the Jesus María, or Sacramento, on

[14] Those named are Leese, Marsh, Black, Spence—at whose house he was entertained at Monterey—Dye, Livermore, Gulnac, and Forbes. North of the bay he visited Cooper's Mill, Read's rancho, and Martin's rancho, being also entertained by Padre Quijas, who was very free with his wine. March 4th, Richardson writes of arrival of Young, and his trip to the south. He left eight Americans and three Ind. at Cooper's rancho. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 76.

[15] March 18, 1837, V. to A. He does not give his opinion decidedly, but suggests some objections as well as advantages, fearing a possible rivalry from the north in the stock-raising industry. If the petition be granted, the sales should be on govt account, and great precautions must be taken to prevent abuses. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 83. May 3d, A. to V., declining to consent. *Id.*, iv. 236. Jan. 10th, McLoughlin at Vancouver to Vallejo, in reference to some complaints against Birnie in his past transactions in salting beef. *Id.*, v. 18. Feb. 25th, V. to A. Expects a party of men sent by the govt of the Columbia to purchase cattle (for slaughter?), as permitted in 1834. *Id.*, iv. 75. Marsh, *Letter*, MS., 16–18, gives some information about the traffic and travel between Oregon and Cal. in 1837–42. The subject is also mentioned by Phelps, *Fore and Aft.*, 471.

August 30th was more easily accomplished. The company entered the mountains on the trail of Laframboise and his trappers. There is nothing in the diary to indicate the route followed; and Shasta Valley, reached on October 14th, is the only name applied to any locality. The journey was one of extraordinary hardships. Mountain succeeded mountain apparently without end, each higher and steeper than the one before; until horses and cattle were wellnigh exhausted and the men utterly discouraged. Young and several others had been over the trail before, but never knew exactly where they were. Young quarrelled with his men about the killing of cattle for food, and there was much insubordination. An Indian was murdered by some of the party, who sought vengeance for outrages of the savages on earlier trips; and this not only excited the indignation of Edwards, but caused the Indians to continually harass the travellers at every difficult pass, several being wounded by arrows. The record ends abruptly on October 18th, leaving our adventurers in the midst of their troubles at a point four days' march beyond the crossing of the Shasta River; but we know from other sources that they reached the Willamette before the end of October with 600 of their cattle.[16] This is the first instance clearly recorded in which cattle were obtained in California for the north; though there are rumors that the Hudson's Bay Company had before driven a few from Ross by a coast route.

In August of this year Vallejo addressed to Alvarado a communication on commercial reforms, which was printed in book form after being extensively circulated in manuscript.[17] His plan was to prohibit all

[16] *Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon*, 145–6. It is said that they bought 800 cattle at $3 per head, and 40 horses at $12—in all $2,480 (?). The horses were sold in Oregon, and the cattle were found to have cost $7.67 each, the mission receiving as its share over 80 head. See also *Slacum's Report*, 38–9; *Wilkes' Narr.*, iv. 384; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 212–13.

[17] *Vallejo, Exposicion que hace el Comandante General de la Alta California al Gobernador de la misma, 1837.* (Sonoma, 1837.) 16mo, 21 p. A rare specimen of early Californian printing, though the work is not so well done as

coasting trade by foreign vessels, and to transfer the custom-house from Monterey to San Francisco. In defence of the first he adduced the well-known practice on the part of traders of presenting themselves at Monterey with a few cheap articles for inspection, afterward taking on board from secure hiding-places the valuable part of the cargo, to be sold at other ports. Thus the revenue was grossly defrauded, leaving the government without funds. By the change proposed not only would smuggling cease and the revenues be augmented, but Californians would be encouraged to become the owners of coasting vessels or to build up a system of inland communication by mule-trains. An attempt was made later, as we shall see, to carry this part of the plan into effect. The transfer of the custom-house was advocated on the ground of San Francisco's natural advantages, the number and wealth of the establishments tributary to the bay, and the importance of building up the northern frontier as a matter of foreign policy. Vallejo's views were for the most part sound, even if his motives were not quite disinterested;[18] but naturally the scheme met with no favor at Monterey, either from the citizens or governor.

The fleet of 1837 numbered thirty-seven vessels, of which about a dozen were of the past year's list.[19]

some other books of the period. The original MS. is in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 108; and it is also found in *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 107–18, in the form of an address to the ayunt. of S. José. The printed document is dated Aug. 17th, and the MS. Aug. 24th. It is also given in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 342–57.

[18] Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 498, declares that Vallejo's motive was really a desire to handle the revenues, and that Alvarado's refusal was the cause of their long quarrel; but Mofras was an enemy of Vallejo, whose only interested motive was probably to increase the value of Sonoma property.

[19] Vessels of 1837. See list at end of this chapter: *Alert* (?), *Ayacucho, Baikal, Boltvar, Cadboro, California, California* (schr), *Catalina, City of Genoa, Clementine, Coffin, Com. Rodgers, Crusader, Delmira, Diana, Europa, Griffon, Indian, Harvest, Iolani, Isabella, Kent, Leonidas, Leonor, Llama, Loriot, Nancy, Pilgrim, Rasselas, Sarah and Caroline, Sitka, Starling, Sulphur, Toward Castle, True Blue, Veloz Asturiano, Venus.* According to Richardson's record, the vessels at S. F. were divided as follows: American 10, tonnage 2,673; English 5, 880 tons; Mexican 5, 897 tons; Ecuador 2, 252 tons; Hawaiian 1, 198 tons; Russian 2, 382 tons; total 25, 5,282 tons. These vessels took away from S. F. produce to the amount of $75,711, divided as

There were four that had come in 1836 and simply sailed away this year. Five were whalers touching for supplies, and two of them lost on the Californian coast. Three were men-of-war, though on no war-like errand; while twenty-five made up the trading fleet proper. There is an almost total lack of data respecting cargoes and duties, but I suppose the latter were considerably less than in 1836. Of matters connected with the visits of the *Loriot* and *Llama*, I have already spoken. The voyages of the English and French explorers Belcher and Petit-Thouars, with the published narratives of those voyages, will demand attention in another chapter; respecting other vessels of the year, there is no information extant beyond what I give in the list for 1836–40.

The commercial annals of 1838 present in respect of regulations nothing more important than the decree of January 3d, by which Cárlos Carrillo attempted to browbeat the arribeños by closing the port of Monterey and establishing a custom-house at San Diego—a decree which of course had no effect.[20]

There were twenty-two vessels in the list of 1838, of which thirteen appeared in that of the preceding year.[21] Neither whalers nor men-of-war came to the

follows: Hides, 14,928; horns, 12,484; tallow, 11,731 arrobas; wheat, 5,060 arr.; dried beef, 925 arr.; flour, 522 arr.; lard, 514 arr.; potatoes, 856 arr.; pumpkins, 400 arr.; wool, 448 arr.; corn, 198 arr.; barley, 35 arr.; beans, 11 arr.; meat, 193 lbs; beeves, 56; sheep, 100; deer-skins, 270; beaver-skins, 71 arrobas. From *Flagg's Report*, we learn that the imports from Cal. into Honolulu were $49,500 for the year.

[20] Jan 3, 1838, Carrillo's proclamation. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 193. See also chap. xix., vol. iii., of this work. May 1st, Mexican custom-house regulations, naming Monterey as an open port, and the other two as *puertos de cabotage*. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1838, 144–221. Aug. 1st, no person must board a vessel before the revenue officers. Penalty, $10, $20, and finally that of a rebel. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 5.

[21] *Alert, Ayacucho, Bolivar, Cadboro, California, Catalina, Clara, Columbian* (?), *Delmira, Fearnaught, Flibbertygibbett, Index, Iolani, Kamamalu, Kent, Leonidas, Leonor, Llama, Nereid, Plymouth, Rasselas*, and *Sitka*. Authorities on the disaster of the *Llama*, at Sta Rosa Island (see text): *Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, Jan. 19, Feb. 2, 1839; *Niles' Reg.*, lvi. 280; *Larkin's Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 1; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 58–61; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 218; *Anderson's Hist. N. W. Coast*, MS., 217–19; *Nidever's Life*, MS., 81–4. Total amount of produce taken away from S. F. this year, $81,700 or $86,600, according to two versions of Richardson's report; total tonnage, 3,910

coast, so far as the records show. The few and meagre items of revenue extant form perhaps no basis for a general estimate, though they seem to indicate a continued decrease in custom-house receipts. The only vessel in this year's fleet requiring further notice than that given in the list was the *Llama*. We have seen that in 1837 James Birnie, representing the Hudson's Bay Company, had tried without success to obtain a license to hunt otter on the Californian coast. It does not appear that the company went any further in the matter; but Captain John Bancroft of the *Llama*, the vessel that had brought Birnie from the north, went on with his otter-hunting operations in defiance of the laws. It is probable that he made a successful trip in the spring of 1838, since he touched at Honolulu in the summer on his way from California to the Columbia River, having on board twenty-seven north-western Indians. His wife was with him on the vessel. In the autumn, with the same crew, or more probably a new one, of twenty-five fierce Kaiganies, he came down the coast to Santa Rosa Island, and began work again. George Nidever, an old otter-hunter, still living in 1880, tells some exciting tales of conflicts which he and his companions had in these years with the north-western Indians at the islands; and he mentions an unsuccessful attempt to capture at Santa Rosa a vessel which may have been the *Llama*. On November 21st, Bancroft, having had an altercation with one of his hunters in the morning, received a volley of musket-balls in the back while standing at the gang-way looking over the ship's side, and fell mortally wounded. Mrs Bancroft threw herself upon her husband's body, and was terribly wounded by a second volley from the muskets of the savages. A seaman, attempting to arm himself, was also killed; and then the Indians, seizing the

tons. 30,000 Californian hides were received at Honolulu and reëxported. *Honolulu Hawaiian Spectator*, i. 2. Total of exports to Honolulu, $61,900. *Flagg's Report.*

vessel, forced Robinson, the mate, to direct her course to the north. When the Kaiganies reached their home, they landed in their canoes, and allowed the *Llama*, stripped of all they could carry away, to continue her voyage. She arrived at Honolulu January 13, 1839; and on the 27th Mrs Bancroft died there from the effect of her wounds. F. D. Atherton, in notifying Thomas O. Larkin from Honolulu of what had happened, adds: "Sparks may now have the range of the whole coast without interruption, as there will be no more vessels fitted out from here." On the very day of Mrs Bancroft's death, Governor Alvarado, having become convinced somewhat tardily that Bancroft was taking otter illegally on the coast, appointed the negro Allen G. Light a 'comisario general' to put a stop to such proceedings, using force if necessary!

It had become customary to accept goods from foreign vessels in payment of duties to such an extent that coin was almost entirely removed from circulation; and the prices of goods thus paid had been gradually raised to exorbitant figures. To prevent these evils, a decree was issued by Alvarado, through Administrator Osio, in April 1839, fixing by a graduated scale the proportion of duties that must be paid in coin, never less than one third of the whole amount. Moreover, persons holding custom-house orders on vessels—for the duties were almost always anticipated by the issuance of such orders—need not take goods in payment if the prices were deemed excessive, but might require hides or tallow at current rates.[22]

[22] April 8, 9, 1839, circulars of Alvarado and Osio. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 21; *Id., Cust.-H.*, v. 12–13. If the whole duty was $3,000 or less, all was to be paid in silver; on $3,000 to $6,000, 66 per cent in silver; on $6,000 to $12,000, 50 per cent; and over $12,000, 33 per cent. When the part to be paid in silver was over $6,000, it might be paid in three installments. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 402–4, mentions this action, but gives the scale incorrectly. Some miscellaneous items of the year: Jan. 31st, Osio to Alvarado. Foreign effects prohibited by law, but the admission of which is required by necessity, will pay a fixed duty of not less than 40 per cent. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., v. 4. Tonnage paid, $2.12 per ton, Mexican measurement, always

I note a few general items of the year as follows: In May Vallejo urged upon the Mexican government the expediency of admitting free of duties for ten years the cargoes of such vessels as should touch at San Francisco only, with a view to build up Sonoma and the northern frontier.[23] In the same month John Temple at Los Angeles wrote to Larkin: "Business is almost at a complete stand. I have not done half as much as I did last year by this time"[24]—yet business men have been known to complain of dull times without much cause. Forbes published extracts from various letters relating in a general way to commerce on the coast, and incidentally to California.[25] In August Larkin issued a circular address to whalers, setting forth the advantages of Monterey as a station for vessels visiting the north-west coast.[26] In August also Juan Bandini came to the front with a proposition to revive the failing prosperity of the country by prohibiting the introduction of foreign liquors and wines.[27] The settlers north of the bay announced in print that they would no longer trade with foreign vessels unless the latter would take all kinds of produce in exchange for goods.[28] The traders often took articles they did not want for their own cargoes, to be exchanged with others in a different line. All would

in coin. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 244. July 22d, Osio to Guerra. The evil of vessels entering other ports before coming to Monterey must be stopped. If forced to enter, a guard must be put on board, and receive $50 for his services. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vi. 24. Aug. 16th, 17th, decrees regulating landing of sailors from whalers and other vessels. *Hunt's Merchants' Mag.*, iii. 461–2; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 13. Aug. 22d, Oct. 12th, Mexican regulations. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1839, p. 194–5, 240–2. Oct. 23d, Vallejo to capt. port at S. F. Foreign lighters, launches, or boats to do no carrying trade on the coast. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 231. July, the vessel in which Sutter came with difficulty got permission to remain 48 hours at S. F. for repairs, etc. Not allowed to remain for festivities of July 4th. *Sutter's Pers. Recol.*, MS., 13–15. Nov. 16th, Osio complains that contraband goods are introduced from Ross at S. F., where there is no receptor.

[23] May 10, 1839, V. to min. of war. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 28.

[24] May 23, 1839, Temple to Larkin, in *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 5.

[25] *Forbes' Hist. Cal.*, 33–, etc.

[26] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 294. The circular was intended mainly as an advertisement of Larkin's private business.

[27] Aug. 9, 1839, B. to ayunt. of Angeles. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 44–6.

[28] Aug. 15, 1839, Salvador Vallejo for the northern rancheros. *Earliest Print.*

take hides or tallow or furs, as these articles were easily interchangeable.

Vallejo still urged his plan of prohibiting the coasting trade to all foreign vessels;[29] and at the end of the year all owners and consignees were forewarned of an intention on the part of the state government to enforce the Mexican laws prohibiting every kind of coasting trade to all but national vessels. They were therefore required to suspend at once their retail trade, and to settle up transactions in which they were already engaged; but meanwhile, pending the issue of the intended order, they might continue to dispose of their goods at wholesale—a privilege, however, which would be forfeited by a failure to comply with the present requirements.[30]

I append a list of twenty-six vessels on the coast in 1839, of which only ten or twelve were new arrivals.[31] The *Clementine* brought John A. Sutter, of whose settlement in California I shall have much to say later. Captain Laplace published extensive notes of his observations in the country during his visit on the *Artémise;* but a notice of Laplace's book, like that of Belcher, who visited the coast a second time this year on the *Sulphur*, belongs also to a subsequent chapter. The arrivals which brought most joy to the Californians, and especially to officials, were those of the *California* and *Monsoon*, two Boston ships which paid over $50,000 in duties on their cargoes,

[29] Dec. 1st, V. to Virmond. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 335.

[30] Dec. 31, 1839, governor's order to prefects, circulated by the latter to minor officials on various dates of Jan. 1840. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 408; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 6–8; *Id., Angeles*, xii. 25; *Id., Monterey*, iv. 84–5; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 251; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 1–2; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 105; *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 3.

[31] *Alert, Artémise, Ayacucho, Baikal, Bolivar, California* (schr), *California, Catalina, Cervantes, Clementine, Corsair, Daniel O'Connell, Delmira, Elena, Flibbertygibbett, Index, Isabel, Joseph, Joseph Peabody, Juan José, Leonidas* (?), *Monsoon, Morse, Nicolás, Starling*, and *Sulphur*. Total revenue received at the Monterey custom-house in 1839, $85,613. Expenses, $4,574. *Larkin's Official Corresp.*, MS., ii. 37, 110; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, v. (201–45); *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 85; *Bryant's What I Saw in Cal.*, 445–6. At S. F. 20 vessels, total tonnage 3,367 tons, took away produce to the value of $87,529. Richardson, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxv. 255. Imports into Honolulu from Cal., $26,500. *Flagg's Report.*

more than doubling the revenue of the preceding year, and raising the total to $85,613—a godsend to the departmental treasury.

I find no evidence that in 1840 foreign vessels were restricted to wholesale trade in accordance with the regulation of December 1839; or that any serious attempt was made to enforce the restriction, beyond the circulation of the order in January.[32] In February, however, Alvarado dwelt on his proposed prohibition of coasting trade in his opening speech before the junta, explaining the reasons of his warning already issued, and asking for the passage of a decree so framed as to conciliate all interests.[33] Again in December he addressed a long communication to the government, explaining his policy, and announced his purpose to enforce it from the beginning of the next year, making perhaps some concessions to such vessels as might be on the coast at that time. Alvarado admitted that this action would for a time greatly reduce the revenues, and might cause the Boston ships to suspend their visits; but he held that it was necessary, in order to prevent smuggling, to keep out of the country the constantly increasing horde of deserters from foreign vessels, and especially to develop a system of commerce and transportation in the hands of Californians.[34] It is not unlikely that certain prominent traders of foreign birth, but natu-

[32] Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 498, says the foreigners refused to unload their cargoes, and thus forced Alvarado to rescind his prohibition. This, however, may refer to the general prohibition of coasting trade a little later.

[33] Feb. 16, 1840, A. to the junta. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 51–3. Jan. 1st, new revenue tariff goes into effect. Tonnage on foreign vessels, $1.50; duty on lumber, $10 per M. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 297–8. March, exportation of money free of duties not permitted either to vessel or passengers. *Dept St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., viii. 2. Duties on various imports September. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 121. Dec. 14th, a deduction of 25 per cent made on the $1.50 tonnage dues. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., iv. 13. Dec. 10th, gov. asks for a law prohibiting foreigners from engaging in retail trade. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 71. No tonnage on a vessel that enters a port for fresh supplies or to repair; but she can remain only 48 hours. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 251. Coin particularly scarce this year. *Vallejo (J. J.), Remin.*, MS., 177.

[34] Dec. 12, 1840, A. to sup. govt. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iv. 329.

ralized and married in the country, were the real promoters of this proposed enforcement of Mexican laws with a view to their own private interests.

The commercial annals of this period, like those of 1831–5,[35] may be closed by a reference to the fact that Abel Stearns was arraigned for a continuance of his smuggling operations at Los Angeles and San Pedro. In October a strange vessel landed goods mysteriously at night. A search of Stearns' house revealed a valuable lot of silks and liquors, which were condemned. Don Abel wrote violent letters, talked loud, and appealed for justice, meanwhile exerting himself, as it seems, to make false invoices and otherwise put his accounts in order. To what extent he succeeded the records fail to show; but in December contraband hides were found by a new search of his warehouse.[36]

Of the twenty-eight vessels named in the list of 1840, seventeen had been known on the coast before.[37] They yielded to the government a total revenue of $72,372, of which the *Alert* from Boston paid $18,685, and the *Bolívar* from Honolulu $11,531. Several vessels of this year's fleet will require notice, or have already been noticed in connection with other matters. Such are the *Alert*, whose master, Phelps, published a narrative; the *Don Quixote*, one of whose passengers, Farnham, also wrote a book; the *Jóven Guipuzcoana*, that carried away Graham and his fellow-exiles; the *Catalina*, that brought back the guard sent with the prisoners to San Blas; the *Dan-*

[35] See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. xiii., vol. iii., this series.

[36] *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., i. 185–6; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 27–8, 50–1; *Id., Ang*, xi. 119–24; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, vi. 82–8.

[37] *Alciope, Alert, Angelina, Ayacucho, Baikal, Bolivar, California, California* (schr), *Catalina, Clara, Columbia, Danaïde, Don Quixote, Elena, Fly, Forager, Index, Joseph Peabody, Jóven Guipuzcoana, Juan José, Lausanne, Leonidas, Monsoon, Morse, Nikolai, Nicolás, St Louis, Union.* Total of revenue according to items as per list, $64,723. According to report in *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, ii. 37–110; Hartnell's statement in *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 85; *Bryant's What I Saw in Cal.*, 445–6—$72,308; according to custom-house records, $72,372, expenses being $4,913. Exports to Honolulu to Aug., $17,000. *Flagg's Report*, which was taken from a report furnished by Pierce and Brewer to the *Polynesian*, Sept. 12, 1840. Douglas, *Journal*, MS., 88, makes the average exports of hides and tallow from Monterey $20,000.

ïde and *St Louis*, men-of-war which came to investigate imaginary outrages upon the citizens of France and the United States; and the *Lausanne*, which brought some immigrants from Oregon, and had trouble with the Californian authorities.

At the end of 1835 we left José María Herrera in charge of the sub-comisaría, and Angel Ramirez of the Monterey custom-house. The former was exiled by Alvarado's revolution of November 1836; but the latter held his place for more than a month after the change of government, being suspended with all his subordinates by Alvarado on the 21st of December.[38] In place of these a recaudador, or collector, was to be appointed with one clerk. William E. Hartnell was appointed recaudador, and throughout the year 1837 seems to have been the only official of either treasury or custom-house in California; though of his administration nothing is known beyond the fact that he held the position.[39] An administrator of customs was appointed by the Mexican government, but never came to take the position.[40] Antonio María Osio was urged this year, according to his own statement, to take charge of the custom-house, the governor having been struck with admiration by his honest administration, while in the rebel service, of a forced loan from San

[38] December 21, 1836, Alvarado suspends Ramirez. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., iv. 1. This was authorized by the decree of the congress of Dec. 4th. *Castro, Decretos*, no. 3. The recaudador was to get a salary of $1,000, and his clerk $365. July 2d, furniture in the custom-house paid for from the treasury; 2 cases, flagstaff, flag, scissors, slate, candlestick, snuffers, table, seal, boat, shed for same. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., iv. [355].

[39] Hartnell was appointed Dec. 25, 1836, and removed Oct. 5, 1837. His compensation was 5 per cent of collections. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 58, 112; iv. 76; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxi. 79. Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 38–42, speaks, however, of Jesus Pico as having held the position of sub-comisario, being entirely incompetent, as was his successor, Montenegro, who, he says, was succeeded by Santiago Estrada.

[40] Manuel Cambre appointed May 10, 1837, and his resignation accepted June 7th. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., iv. 767–8. This was under the decree of Feb. 17th, creating for the Monterey custom-house an administrador at $3,000; contador, $2,000; 1st and 2d official, $1,500 and $1,000; escribiente, $500; alcaide, $1,500; comandante, $2,000; 4 celadores at $800 each; patron of the boat, $400; and 4 sailors, at $260 each. Total, $16,140 ——— *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 2.

Fernando. The honest man of Angeles declined the honor at first, because his private business was yielding him an income of $4,000 besides his vineyard. In 1838, however, Osio accepted the position,[41] and served as administrador throughout the period, much to the satisfaction of all concerned, being regarded by merchants and masters of vessels as not only a competent official, but a courteous gentleman. The only subordinate was Pablo de la Guerra, who served as first official and vista from 1838.[42] Meanwhile Alférez Eugenio Montenegro was appointed sub-comisario in January 1838, and served, with what success the records do not show, until the end of March 1839.[43] He was succeeded by José Ábrego, who remained in charge of the departmental finances for six years.[44]

At San Francisco, where W. A. Richardson seems

[41] *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 355–6, 400–1. The author declares that he accepted only on condition that he was not to pay any attention to communications from Pavon, the director general de rentas, who was very angry at receiving only the regular accounts at the end of each year. The exact date of Osio's appointment does not appear; but on Jan. 6th, the admin.—presumably Osio—is appointed contador as well, with $2,000 salary. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 1. Oct. 13, 1838, Osio explains his method of securing the services of guards for vessels at the slight expense of $3 for each visit, by giving them also all the law allowed to seizers of contraband goods. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 237–8. March 30–1, 1839, Osio sworn in and gives bond of $4,000. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., v. 5; and is also appointed provisional comandante de celadores. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 4. Called also habilitado provisional. *Ashley's Doc.*, MS., 255.

[42] He was appointed Jan. 3, 1838. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 1. Accepts office and gives bond of $2,000 Jan. 5, 1839. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 22; *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, v. 1, 3, 5. His salary was $1,500. Lieut Pedro Narvaez seems to have served as captain of the port at Monterey (not a revenue officer) in 1839–40. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 256; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxvi. Rafael Gonzalez was appointed comandante of celadores on July 13, 1840 (in Mexico?). At the same time a contador and official 1° were appointed, who never came to California. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., viii. 4. Montenegro was comandante of celadores from March 1839.

[43] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., v. 3–4; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 1–4.

[44] March 30, 1839, gov. appoints Ábrego comisario (?) ad int. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 28. He is usually referred to in official documents as sub-comisario; and is spoken of by Californians as treasurer. Dec. 1, 1840, gov. to min. of int., recommending Ábrego as gefe de hacienda. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 72. His pay at first was 2 per cent of receipts. In 1840 he got $197 per month, and had 2 clerks at $30 and $18. His bond was $1,000. July 13, 1840, a decree of the president fixed the salaries at Monterey as follows: administrador, $2,500; contador, $2,000; 2 clerks at $1,500 and $500; the first serving as vista; alcaide (storekeeper), $1,000; comandante of celadores, $1,800; 4 celadores at $700; skipper of launch, $400; 4 sailors at $260. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, MS., ii. 72.

to have served as captain of the port throughout this half-decade,[45] there was no custom-house officer until 1839. Jacob P. Leese was then recommended by Osio as receptor; but the governor, not favoring the appointment of a trader, appointed Francisco Guerrero as provisional administrator, with twenty-five per cent of receipts as compensation.[46] At Santa Bárbara Benito Díaz figures as receptor in 1836–7; and José Antonio de la Guerra was captain of the port in 1839–40.[47] At San Diego Martin S. Cabello served as receptor, except for a time in 1836 when he had trouble with the local authorities, and Andrés Pico took his place, until 1838, and perhaps later. During Carrillo's rule in the south in 1837–8, Juan Bandini seems to have had nominal charge of the so-called custom-house at this port, but there are no satisfactory records of this period. It does not appear that Don Cárlos and his party ever succeeded in collecting duties from any vessel.[48]

The financial administration of California in 1836–8 has left no record of methods or statistics of results. We know simply that during the sectional struggles the southern missions had to furnish funds to support the cause of the abajeños; while the arribeños depended on the northern missions, had frequent opportunities to draw upon those of the south as well, and had besides the custom-house receipts. If any accounts were kept, they have long since disappeared. Wealthy men on both sides made some sacrifices of property, which, as a rule, were more than repaid later, in one way or another, from the mission estates. Meanwhile, occa-

[45] His record of vessels, *Richardson, Salidas de buques*, MS., begins in 1837. Dec. 24, 1839, Osio, in writing about his salary of $60 per month, says his appointment had not yet been approved. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 25.

[46] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., v. 2, 6; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 16; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 20; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 264, 267.

[47] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., iv. 1; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxxxi. 81; lxxxviii. 35; *Id., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, iv. 25.

[48] *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 5, 41, 95, 107, 118; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, 1-4.

sional communications arrived from Mexican officials on financial topics, which received not the slightest attention from Californian financiers, and merit not even a mention here.[49]

In 1839–40 a great improvement is observable, something of order and system being introduced by Ábrego and Osio in the financial management and keeping of accounts, while the revenues, as we have seen, were largely increased, amounting to $158,000 for the two years. I append in a note such statistical items as will enable the reader to form an idea of what was done with this revenue of $79,000 a year, or $6,500 per month.[50] As before, official communications from Mexico received very little attention, except as they could occasionally be utilized to sustain a position taken in some Californian quarrel.

Instructions from the national government required that the revenues should be equally divided between the civil and military departments.[51] It was charged

[49] June 4–5, 1836, Gov. Chico proposes some new system of regulating mission accounts, not approved by the dip. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 17–18. April 1, 1837, the Mexican govt authorized a loan of $70,000 on the pious fund, the money to be devoted to the task of restoring the national authority in Cal. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1837, p. 265–6. April 12th, the pres. announces the formation of a scheme to pay the foreign debt in lands of the north, including Cal., and in bonds secured by those lands, of which 100,000,000 acres were to be hypothecated for this purpose. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 3–4.

[50] I omit many items which contribute to no general result. May 13, 1839, gov. to Ábrego. $16,632 to be set aside for payment of auxiliary militia for services in restoring order. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 24, 14. July 27th, Ábrego to Vallejo. Govt owes $19,000. Accepts V.'s offer of aid for the frontier company. *Id., Ben.*, iii. 144–5. Ábrego's accounts show that from May to Oct. 1839 there was paid to the military department $20,975, and to the civil $26,165. *Id., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iii. 35–9. Specimen monthly account of military expenses in 1839: Comandante general and office expenses, $354; presidial companies, Monterey $705, Sta Bárbara $710, S. F. $1,367, Sonoma $650, artillery co. $576; 4 officers not included in preceding, $235; surgeon, $60; 7 inválidos, 6 of them officers, $235; 3 port captains, $239; sundries, $29; total, $5,166. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiv. 256. Estimate of annual military expenses from many items in *Id.*, xxv., $60,961. July 26th, Ábrego's estimate of monthly expenses for the whole department, $8,000. *Id.*, vii. 406. General expense of the staff for 1839, $7,362. *Id.*, xxv. Paid out by Ábrego in June 1840, $9,861, the largest items being: placed at governor's disposal, $3,670; extraordinary expenses, $1,141; repaid to merchants, $1,703; to military companies, $2,487. *Id.*, xxvi. 97. Payments in July: military, $11,452; civil, $13,620. *Id.*, 110. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 143–4, affirms that in 1840 David Spence bought state bonds for 17 cents, and never realized anything from them.

[51] *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 3; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 130; *Id., Ben.*

by Vallejo that this division, regarded in itself as unfair by reason of the needs and services of the soldiers, was not fairly carried out, the civil authorities receiving their full pay, while the military had to be content with what was left; and it was also charged by all outside of the capital, that the Monterey clique were devoting the revenues too exclusively to their own benefit. This distribution of the funds was a leading element in the quarrel between Alvarado and Vallejo; and the controversy between the latter and Abrego was hardly less bitter, the comisario seeking every opportunity to annoy the general.[52] It is probable that Alvarado, Castro, Jimeno, Abrego, Osio, and their friends at Monterey used their power to some extent for their own interests; but it is known that Vallejo was influenced largely by wounded pride, and such records as are extant afford but scant support to his extravagant charges of a fraudulent distribution of the public moneys.[53]

I append an alphabetical list of seventy-six vessels which visited Californian ports from 1836 to 1840,[54]

Com. and Tres., iv. 27. March 14, 1839, Vallejo asked that Castillero be recognized in Mex. as habilitado general for the Cal. companies; the reply was that Castillero might serve as attorney for persons in Cal. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iv. 313.

[52] See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. xx., vol. iii., this series. Also *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 407, 417; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 141–9. Aug. 5, 1840, Abrego urges the appointment of an habilitado to receive from him all military funds for distribution. *Id.*, iii. 153. Oct. 28, 1839, Mexican order forbidding the general to interfere in the management of public funds. *Supt. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 12. May 10, 1839, Alvarado to Vallejo. The revenue of this year will be sufficient to pay all expenses and leave a surplus. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 32.

[53] May to Aug. 1839, a series of orders requiring the collection of tithes, the proceeds to be devoted to the establishment of a mail route from L. Cal. No results reported. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 17, 32, 399; xxxii. 267; *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 335; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 48; *Id., Angeles*, v. 65; xi. 10; *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xvi. 23. There is nothing of a general nature extant for this period respecting municipal funds.

[54] List of vessels 1836–40:

Aguirre, named as a ship at Mont. 1836; but probably a vessel belonging to Aguirre.

Alciope, Amer. ship; Curtis Clap, master; on the coast April to Oct. 1840; duties, $6,876. At Honolulu in Nov.; passengers, Capt. Blinn, Rev. Parker, Mr and Miss Warren. Sailed for Boston in Dec.; Capt. J. O. Carter, pass.

Alert, Amer. ship, 398 or 360 tons; Thompson, master. Sailed for Boston

eight of the number resting on doubtful records. Of the remaining sixty-eight, twenty-six were under the flag of the United States, seventeen bore English

May 8, 1836, with 40,000 hides and 30,000 horns. Returned in spring of 1838 (or perhaps late in 1837); Penhallow, master; Hatch, mate. Sailed from San Diego for Boston June 26, 1839. Came back in June 1840; Wm D. Phelps, master; duties, $18,685. Alfred Robinson is named as supercargo, and may have returned to Cal. on this vessel. Capt. Phelps in his *Fore and Aft* describes the voyage as having lasted 3 yrs, 3 mos, and 13 days.

Angelina, Fr. whaler of 1840, as mentioned by Osio; N. Jena, master.

Angolo, Amer. ship; consigned to Spence and Malarin. In Spence's list of 1836.

Artémise, Fr. man-of-war; Capt. C. P. T. Laplace, com.; from Bodega to Mont. Aug.–Sept. 1839. See chap. iv. of this vol. for Laplace's visit and book.

Ayacucho, Engl. brig; Wilson, master; up and down the coast as usual in 1836–7, from Callao.

Ayacucho, Engl. schr, 97 or 67 tons. Formerly the *Isabel*. Bought in May 1838 for $2,900 at Callao by Jas McKinley. In *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 136–41, are all the doc. of sale and change from Mex. to Engl. flag. In Cal. Sept.–Oct.; Geo. F. Comfort, master; McKinley on board; $456 duties. Back again from Callao July 1839; Robert Dare, master. Landed a passenger, who was allowed to take only one suit of clothes of his luggage. Cargo, $2,566; duties, $2,368. Wintered on the coast, or came back in March 1840; duties, $20.

Baikal, Russ. brig, 180 tons; Stephen Vouks, master; at S. Francisco Jan. 1837. Also Jan. 1839; Demetrius, master; took $4,977 in produce. Also Feb.–Mar. (and perhaps Dec.) 1840; Rosistof Mashim, master; exchanged 15,828 ft lumber from Sitka for wheat; tonnage $96.

Bolivar, Amer. brig, 193, 212, or 224 tons; Gorham H. Nye, master; A. B. Thompson, sup.; arr. in April 1836 from Honolulu, with cargo of $4,781. Slight troubles with authorities. Duties, $4,766. Carried John C. Jones to the Islands in Oct. Back March–Oct. 1837; back again Jan.–Oct. 1838; suspected of smuggling by aid of a schr in Drake Bay. Perhaps wintered, or returned in Jan. 1839. Again, Mar.–Oct. 1840, she paid duties, $11,531. She was owned by Amer. at Honolulu, and valued at $7,000.

Brixon, Engl. whaler; at Mont. Oct. 1836.

Cadboro, Engl. schr, 71 tons; Wm Brotchie, master; from Columbia River in autumn of 1837 and 1838; at Bodega and San Francisco.

California, Amer. ship, 317 or 267 tons; Jas Arther, master; Thos B. Park, sup.; arr. from Boston March 4, 1836; cargo, $19,881; duties, $18,117. Sailed for Boston Oct. 8, 1837, carrying Alfred Robinson and wife, and Mrs Wm S. Hinckley. Came back in Jan. 1839; still under Arther and Park; cargo, $30,069; duties, $25,129. Sailed for home late in 1840.

California, Mex. schr, 83 tons; formerly the *Clarion* and *Kaniu*. Brought from Honolulu by Henry Paty, who, June 20, 1837, sold her to Gov. Alvarado for $9,000, $6,424 being the duties on her cargo, and the balance in hides and tallow in 2 months; Paty to command for the 2 mo. (Contract in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 90. See also chap. xviii., vol. iii., this work.) Rechristened the *California* and sailed Aug. 25th for S. Blas on govt business; Thos M. Robbins, master. Returned Nov. 15, 1838, with Castillero and news of Alvarado's confirmation. (See chap. xix., vol. iii., this work.) Used as a prison ship in Jan. 1839. (Chap. xx., vol. iii.) Robinson and Reed, mates. Capt. Robbins made charges of mutiny against 2d mate and 2 sailors during the late voyage. (*Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 348, 352–3; vii. 24; xxxii. 196.) In April 8 or 9 neophytes put on board to learn to be sailors. (*Id.*, vi. 360–1, 451.) Expenses of the vessel to April 30, 1839, besides the original cost,

colors, nine Mexican, six the flag of some south American nation, four French, four Russian, and two

$8,000. In May chartered to Célis for a trip of 5 months to Acapulco and Manzanillo, having perhaps made a previous trip to the Islands. (*Dept. St. Pap., Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 16, 19, 39–43; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 8; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 8; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ix. 59.) Left S. Francisco April 18th, and S. Diego June 8th, with tallow; John B. R. Cooper, master; Andrés Castillero, passenger. She returned in Sept., and remained on the coast; though an effort was made to send her to the Islands. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 183. She left S. Fran. in Jan. 1840. Cooper had orders to go to S. Diego for a cargo of hides for Honolulu, devoting the proceeds to repairs; or he might exchange the vessel for another, paying $5,000. List of officers and crew in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 87. She sailed from S. Diego March 16th with Henry D. Fitch as supercargo. Cooper certifies that vessel and cargo belong to the Mex. govt. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 5. At Honolulu April–June undergoing repairs, which cost $2,222. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 58, 72, 76. Left Honolulu June 10th—*Polynesian*, June 20th—and arr. at S. Francisco, having heard of troubles at Mont. on July 2d. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 247–8. Brought Mr Andrews as passenger, and paid $209 duties. The cargo included doors, windows, honey, and a four-wheeled carriage. Went to Mont. July 17th–20th; and in Aug. to Sta B. and back. Dec. 13th, sailed for Acapulco under a contract with Larkin, who went with his cargo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 159–60. I have Capt. Cooper's original *Log of the California*, MS., which gives full details about the schooner's movements, with many items about other vessels.

Catalina, Mex. brig. 161 tons; Snook, master. On the coast from Callao every year, 1836–40. In 1837 her cargo was seized on account of troubles with Fred. Becher, the supercargo. (See chap. xvii., vol. iii.) In 1838 brought favorable news for Alvarado. In 1839 took $15,000 of produce from S. Fran. In 1840 she was under Christian Hansen as master, bringing Covarrubias and the guard of the Graham exiles. (See chap. i., this vol.) Some contraband arms on board were seized.

Cervantes, Peruv. schr, 137 or 206 tons; Malarin, master; arr. from Callao Aug. 1839; cargo, $8,790; duties, $7,984; apparently the *Leonidas* under another name, but possibly not; also called *Cervantes* in 1840.

City of Genoa, brig; at Mont. Dec. 1837 from Valparaiso; so reported at Honolulu.

Clara, or *Clarita*, Mex. bark, 210 tons; Chas Wolter, master; José Arnaz, sup.; Virmond, owner; from Acapulco 1840. Arnaz says her invoice was $10,000, the goods selling for $64,000. According to Spence and Davis she came also in 1838 with Célis as supercargo.

Clarion, see *California*.

Clementine, Engl. brig, 93, 76, or 160 tons. (The records are inextricably confused, and there may have been 2 vessels of this name, a schooner of 1836–7, and a brig of 1839.) Wm (or Jas) Handley (or Hanly), master. At Mont. March 1836, with cargo of $1,563, duties, $1,553, to N. Spear. Carried Gov. Chico away in July, back in Oct. afflicted with sickness, desertion, and robbery. In Nov. carried away Gov. Gutierrez and other exiles; but returned in Dec. and carried part of Alvarado's army south. Wintered on the coast, and in March 1837 carried PP. Bachelot and Short to Honolulu, where the vessel was seized by the Hawaiian govt. In July 1839 the *Clementine*, perhaps another vessel, arr. from Honolulu via Sitka, under John Blinn (or as some records have it, still under Handley). Duties, $3,261, or $162. A guard was put on board at S. Fran. J. A. Sutter, A. Thompson, 2 Germans, and 9 Hawaiians were passengers. More of Sutter and his company elsewhere.

Coffin, Amer. whaler; at Mont. Oct. 1837.

Columbian, Engl. ship; at S. Fran. June 1838; probably the *Nereid*, q. v.

Columbia, Engl. bark, 350 tons; Humphries, master; Wood, sup.; at Mont.

Hawaiian. There were several changes in national colors with ownership during the period. Many of the vessels came repeatedly to the coast during the

Jan. 1840 from Columbia River; duties, $2,339; at Honolulu June–July; back at Mont. and S. Fran. in Aug.; cargo, $1,804; duties, $1,421.

Commodore Rodgers, Amer. whaler; Howland, master; wrecked at Mont. Nov. 19, 1837; vessel lost; cargo sold at auction.

Convoy, Amer. brig, 137 tons; Bancroft, master. Smuggling in Jan. 1836, according to Dana. In March sailed with furs for Oahu. Back again in Aug. and sailed Oct. 4, via. N. W. coast to Honolulu, which port she left again Oct. 27th for N. W. coast.

Corsair, Amer. brig, 161, 128, or 137 tons; Hinckley, master; at Mont. Aug. 1839 from Callao; cargo, $10,178; duties, $9,202, of which $4,736 in silver; at Sta B. in Oct. Hinckley accused of smuggling by a transfer of cargo, and arrested at S. Fran.; but in 1841 the case had not been settled. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 308–41; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., x. 31.

Crusader, Colombian brig; from Callao in Oct. 1837.

Danaïde, Fr. corvette; Jph. de Rosamel, com.; at Mont. June–July 1840, in connection with the Graham affair (see chap. i. of this vol.); at Honolulu July 20th.

Daniel O'Connell, Colombian brig; 100 tons; Andrés Murcilla, master; at Mont. Nov. 1839; cargo, $4,656; duties, $4,467.

Delmira, Ecuador brig, 126 tons; Vioget, master; Miguel Pedrorena, sup.; on the coast in 1837–8–9. It is said that in 1837 her duties, $6,000, were collected by Salv. Vallejo and Montenegro, who took goods and gave receipts, declaring it was no time for 'red tape and nonsense' when the soldiers were in need.

Diana, Amer. brig, 199 tons; Barker, master. Wintered 1835–6, and sailed for Honolulu in Oct. Sold and sailed for Columbia Riv., where she was in June 1837. Name changed to *Kamamalu;* Wm S. Hinckley, master. At Sta Bárbara in Oct.–Nov. as a Hawaiian bark. Wintered on the coast. Aground near Sta B. in April 1838.

Don Quixote, Amer. bark, 223 or 260 tons; John Meek, master; from Oahu 1836; cargo, $3,340; duties, $3,445. At Mont. in Nov., when Wm S. Hinckley, her consignee and supercargo, rendered important aid to Alvarado. Carried horses and hides to the Isl. in Dec.; also Hinckley and old Capt. Wm Smith. In 1838 she came back under the name of *Plymouth;* John Paty, master; Eli Southworth, and Wm H. Davis, passengers. In Nov. back at Honolulu with Southworth, H. Paty, and Master J. A. M. R. Pacheco as passengers; and sailed for Boston in Jan. 1839, with Atherton as pass. In Apr. 1840 she was again in Cal.; Francis Johnson, sup.; duties, $919. Passengers, Chamberlain, Cobb, Farnham, and 4 others. Farnham and J. F. B. M. described the voyage in print. Touched at Mont. (where she was not permitted to anchor, or any but Farnham to land, until the *Guipuzcoana* had sailed with the exiles), Sta B., and Mazatlan. In July back at Mont.; duties, $1,723. In Oct. carried 3 Cal. boys to attend school at Honolulu—David Spence, Francis Watson, and Romualdo Pacheco.

Dolphin, see *Leonidas*.

Elena, Russ. brig, 309 tons; Stephen Vallivode (?), master; took $11,000 of produce from S. Fran. Sept. 1839; and in Dec. 1840 paid $349 tonnage; from which was deducted $96 illegally collected from the *Baikal*.

Europa, Amer. ship; Wm Winkworth, master; Wm French, sup.; at Mont. Oct. 1836; from Honolulu via Norfork Sd.; much damaged by rough weather. Mr French helped Alvarado in Nov., and sailed from Sta B. in Jan. 1837, carrying Jas Murphy and Jas W. McIntosh to the Islands.

Fearnaught, Engl. schr, 91 tons; Robt H. Dare, master; autumn of 1838; duties, $571.

Flibbertygibbett, Engl. schr; Rodgers, master; made a trip from Honolulu to

five years; eighteen appear in the list of the preceding half-decade. Whalers were nine; national vessels of war or exploration, seven; and the remaining forty-

Cal. and back, May–Sept. 1838; and again returned from Cal. in May 1839; Hart, master.

Fly, Eng. schr; Wilson, master; from Callao via Honolulu, Aug. 1840; duties, $193. Capt. Stokes and 2 masters Wilson as passengers. She seems to have changed her flag—*Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 64—and was at Sta B. under Stokes in Oct.

Forager, Eng. brig; sailed from Honolulu in Aug. 1840, for Col. River and Cal. No record of arrival.

Griffon, Amer. brig; Little, master; trip from Honolulu to Cal. and back, Aug.–Nov. 1837. John C. Jones and R. Cowie came on her.

Harvest, Amer. ship, 307 tons; probably whaler; A. Cash, master; at S. Fran. Nov. 1837.

Hector, Amer. whaler; Norton, master; at Mont. Oct. 1836.

Index, Eng. bark, 201 tons; John Wilson, master; Oct.–Dec. 1838; tonnage $371; Aug. 1839; June–Dec. 1840, from Callao; Scott, master; duties, $7,176.

Indian, Eng. whaler; Freeman, master; Oct. 1837.

Iolani, Hawaiian schr; Paty, master; trip from Honolulu to Cal. and back, Dec.–April 1837–8. Wrecked in May.

Ionic, Amer. schr, 95 tons; Clark, master; sailed from Honolulu Sept. 1836 for Cal. No record of arrival.

Isabella, schr formerly of Sandw. Isl. Sold at S. Fran. 1836. Plying on the bay until 1839, and perhaps later; N. Spear, owner. She carried Sutter's party up the Sacramento.

Joseph, Fr. whaler; 1839. Lost 14 deserters.

Joseph Peabody, Amer. brig, 220 tons; John Dominis, master, from N. Y. to Hon. in Apr. 1839. Touched at Sta B. in Oct. on voy. from Sitka to Mazatlan with lumber. Refused to pay tonnage. At Sta B. again Oct. 1840; captain ill. At Honolulu in Nov.

Jóven Guipuzcoana, Mex. brig, 210 tons; arr. from Boston in Feb. 1840 as the *Roger Williams;* Jas Stevens, master; Jos. Steele, owner. Sold in March for $13,000, to J. A. Aguirre. *Soberanes, Doc.*, 190–3. John Snook became master. In May carried the Graham exiles to S. Blas, returning in Sept. Some of her original crew were among the exiles.

Juan José, Colombian brig, 217 tons; Thos Duncan, master; Cot and Menendez, owners; Pedrona, sup.; arr. from Callao, Oct. 1839; cargo, $8,348; duties, $7,798; again in Aug. 1840; cargo, $9,605; duties, $9,932; tonnage at S. Fran., $243.

Kamamalu, see *Diana*.

Kent, Amer. bark, 264 tons; John Stickney, master; left Sta B. in Dec. 1836 for Honolulu, carrying slight reports of the revolution. Came back in May 1837; and again in Oct. under Steel, to winter. Left S. Diego for Boston in Oct. 1838. Capt. Thing, passenger.

Lausanne, Amer. ship; Spalding, master; at Bodega and S. Fran. July 1840. She landed some immigrants from Oregon, and had trouble with the authorities. At Honolulu in Aug.; Dutton, Wright, and Geiger, pass. Sailed for N. Y. in Dec.

Leonidas, Mex. schr, 206 tons (formerly the Amer. *Dolphin*); on the coast in 1836; Gomez, master; cargo, $9,000; duties, $1,112. In Nov. carried south news of the revolt, and Negrete and other exiles. Back from Mazatlan in 1837; Juan Malarin, master; and again in 1838; duties, $420. In 1839, and in some records of 1840, she was called the *Cervantes*, q. v. Nye, and later Stevens, are named as masters in 1840.

Leonor, Mex. bark, 208 tons; Chas Wolter, master. Brought Gov. Chico

five traders. Of these, eighteen came mainly from Mexican and South American ports, seventeen from Honolulu, six from Boston, four from Sitka and Ross,

in 1836; cargo, $21,202; duties, $2,546. Remained till Nov., and perhaps wintered. At S. Fran. in March 1837. Left Mont. Feb. 1838.

Llama, Engl. brig, 144 tons; at S. Fran. Feb.–April 1837; Wm Brotchie, master; Robt Birnie, agent. Back at Col. Riv. Sept.; Wm Neil, master. At Hon. July; Sangster, master. Sailed for N. W. coast Aug.; Bancroft, master. Otter-hunting in Cal. in spring of 1838. At Hon. July-Aug., sailing for N. W. coast. At Sta Rosa Isl. Nov., where Bancroft was killed (see text). Robinson took her north and to Hon. in Jan. 1839.

Loriot, Amer. brig, 90 tons; at Honolulu from Cal. Aug. 1836. Trip to N. W. coast under Blinn, Aug.–Oct. On Cal. coast from the north Feb.–Mar. 1837; John Bancroft, master (see text for passengers and details). At Hon. May, and sailed for Mazatlan under Handley. Back again, and sailed for the Col. Riv. in Nov.

Monsoon, Amer. ship, 327 tons; Geo. W. Vincent, master; Thos Shaw, sup.; Robt G. Davis, clerk; at Sta B. April 1839 from Boston; tonnage, $490; duties at Mont., $27,432, of which $9,608 in silver. 'No small lift for the treasury,' wrote Alvarado. In July transferred part of her cargo to the *Index*. Still on the coast at end of 1840.

Morse, Amer. schr, 85 tons; Henry Paty, master; from the Islands Dec. 1839; cargo, $3,268; duties, $3,042; also duties, $3,041, in spring of 1840. Came back from Hon. in June; Fitch, master and half owner; and with a new name, the *Nymph*, or *Ninfa*. Duties, $10,577. Value of vessel, $8.000, At S. Diego in Dec., to sail for Mazatlan with produce.

Nancy, whaler; Fautrel, master; at Mont. April 1837.

Nereid, Engl. ship, 365 tons; Wm Brotchie, master; at Honolulu from Col. Riv. and sailed for Cal. in May 1838. Lawrence Carmichael, pass. At S. Fran. in June, and back at Hon. in Jan. 1839.

Nicolás, schr, belonging to Spear. Running between Monterey and Sta Cruz in 1836, and on S. Fran. Bay in 1839–40.

Nikolai, Russ. ship; Baewdaxig (?), or Kuprianof, master; 6 off. and 61 men; at S. Fran. Oct.–Nov. 1840, in ballast for Valparaiso and Europe.

Nymph, see *Morse*.

Peacock, U. S. sloop of war, 600 tons; Com. Edmund P. Kennedy; Capt. C. K. Stribling; at Mont. from the Sandw. Isl. Oct. 1836. Sailed for Mazatlan.

Peor es Nada, Cal. schr; Gerard Kuppertz, master. Lost at entrance of S. Fran. Bay Jan. 7, 1836, on a trip from Mont. with lumber. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxi. 17.

Pilgrim, Amer. ship; Faucon, master; on the coast in 1836. Sailed for Boston in Feb. 1837.

Plymouth, see *Don Quixote*.

Rasselas, Amer. ship. 264 tons; Jos. O. Carter, master; A. B. Thompson, consignee; Josiah Thompson, sup.; at Mont. from Sitka Oct. 1836 for Honolulu. The captain's wife and son were on board; also Ferdinand Deppe. Back in winter of 1837–8; cargo, $8,747; duties, $8,817. Carried to Hon. hides, horses, and sundries from the wreck of the *Com. Rodgers*. Made another trip to Cal. and back Sept.–Dec. 1838; Barker, master; duties, $1,063. J. C. Jones and Eliab Grimes, pass. Sailed for Boston in Feb. 1839, with Grimes as pass.

Roger Williams, see *Jóven Guipuzcoana*.

Sarah and Caroline, Amer. ship, 396 tons; Jos. Steel, master. Called also *Caroline* and *South Carolina*. Arr. Mont. May 1836 from Boston via Honolulu. Cargo, $11,289. Steel rendered some aid to Alvarado in Nov.

and four from the Columbia River, though many vessels visited all the regions named. Three small craft plied in Californian waters exclusively.

Aground at S. Fran. in Feb. 1837. Left the coast in Oct. for Boston vis Honolulu; Stickney, master (?); Henry Paty, passenger.

St Louis, U. S. man-of-war; French Forrest, com.; at Mont. June–July 1840 on business connected with Graham affair.

Sitka, Russ. bark, 202 tons, 22 men; Basil Wacvocky (?), master. Left Cal. Jan. 1836 for S. Blas and returned in Aug. from Ross. At S. Fran. Oct. 1837; Stephen Vallobodski (?), master. Again Oct.–Nov. 1838; Rosistof (?), master.

Sophia, doubtful name of 1839.

Starling, Engl. ship, 109 tons; tender to the *Sulphur;* Lieut Kellett, com.; on the coast 1837 and 1839.

Sulphur, Engl. man-of-war, 380 tons; Edward Belcher, com.; on the coast autumn of 1837 and again in autumn of 1839, engaged in explorations. Belcher's visit and book are noticed elsewhere.

Toward Castle, Engl. whaler; Emmett, master; at Mont. Nov. 1837. Wrecked on the coast a little later.

True Blue, Haw. schr; Ragsdale, master; arr. Honolulu from Cal. July 1837.

Union, or *Unity*, schr; A. B. Thompson, sup.; at Mont. and Sta B. Mar.–Apr. 1840; tonnage, $66.

Veloz Asturiano, Ecuador brig, 179 tons; Cárlos V. Gafan, master; at Mont. from Callao, 1837, with cargo of $967 (?); duties, $1,504.

Vénus, French corvette; Petit-Thouars, master; at Mont. Oct.–Nov. 1837. Visit and book noted elsewhere.

The chief authorities for the information in this list are the following: *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., iii.–viii. passim; *Id., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, iii.; *Id., Ben.*, iii.; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv.; v. 282; xiv. 252; xxv. 255; xxvi. 164, 177; xxxii. 173, 352; *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 400; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 30–1; *Fitch, Doc.*, MS.; *Gomez, Doc.*, MS., 34–7; *Spence's List*, MS.; *Edward's Diary*, MS.; *Richardson, Salidas de Buques del puerto de S. Fran., 1837–8*, a very important original record kept by the captain of the port; *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, MS.; *Mellus' Diary of Affairs in Cal., 1838–40*, MS., a very important record kept by Francis Mellus, who came out as clerk on the *California: Davis' Glimpses*, MS.; *Arnaz, Recuerdos*, MS.; *Dana's Two Years; Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, 1836–9; *Honolulu Polynesian*, 1840. These Sandwich Island newspapers are among the best maritime records. Unfortunately I have no file from the middle of 1839 to the middle of 1840.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND PIONEERS.

1836–1840.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN THE REVOLUTION—INTERFERENCE AS A CURRENT TOPIC—ATTITUDE OF DIFFERENT CLASSES—FRENCH RELATIONS—RUMORED CESSION OF CALIFORNIA TO ENGLAND—QUOTATIONS FROM AMERICAN PAPERS—POLICY IN 1837-8—HORSE-THIEVES—RESTRICTIONS OF 1839-40—THE EXILES—PIONEERS—PERSONAL ITEMS—AUTHORITIES—STATISTICS—SOMETHING ABOUT THE OLD SETTLERS—THEIR CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE—PROMINENT NAMES—NEW-COMERS OF 1836-40—MOST OF THEM TRANSIENT VISITORS—IMMIGRATION—ANNUAL LISTS—CHRONOLOGICAL ITEMS—THE 'LAUSANNE' AND HER PASSENGERS AT BODEGA.

ON matters relating more or less directly to the general subject of foreign relations, though I have already had much to say in other chapters devoted to the current history of this period,[1] there yet remains much to be written, since the influence of foreign residents had already become a powerful element, and was destined in a few years to be the all-controlling one. In this and the following chapters I have to present some remarks on the influence and policy of the foreign element, and the feeling of the Californians toward the strangers. Also the names and personal items relating to new-comers and older settlers, with an account of the old and new foreign settlements in California

[1] See particularly *Hist. Cal.*, vol. iii., chap. xv., this series, on 'Chico vs Stearns and other foreigners;' chap. xvi., on the attitude of foreigners in Alvarado's revolution; chap. xviii., on their aid to the Californians in 1837; chap. i. of this vol., on the Graham affair and expulsion of foreigners in 1840; and chap. iii., on the movements of vessels and commercial operations, largely controlled by foreigners.

at Ross and New Helvetia; also some notices of foreign visits to the coast and of resulting publications.

In 1836 foreign residents in the north, while those in the south were for the most part neutral from force of circumstances, supported the Californians in their revolution against Mexico. Those of influence, wealth, and position rendered a quiet but none the less effective support; while others with nothing to risk formed themselves into a company of so-called riflemen and openly served in the insurgent ranks. The former cared little for California's alleged grievance, the change from the federal system to centralism; but they had some cause of complaint against Chico and Gutierrez, and they expected to derive important commercial advantages from the revolution. Merchants engaged in the Hawaiian trade were especially active in promoting the movement, and there are some indications that they had an understanding with the Californian leaders for some time before the outbreak. It is even difficult to resist the conclusion that Commodore Kennedy, visiting Monterey on the U. S. man-of-war *Peacock* just before the revolution, must have known something of the impending trouble; though not of course, as was suspected by the Mexicans, entertaining any intention of interfering in behalf of the United States.

What the foreigners desired was the complete and permanent independence of California from Mexico, with the expectation of being able to control the Californian rulers. Many Americans desired further by a Texan system of development to attach the country eventually to their own nation, and some of them talked openly of immediate annexation. This spirit, though manifested chiefly by irresponsible men, was sufficiently marked to alarm not only the Mexicans, but to some extent also the Californians and foreigners of other nations; and it doubtless had an influence in effecting a return of the country to its Mexican allegiance, at which most foreigners were greatly disappointed.

After 1836, foreign interference, in the form of conquest, protectorate, purchase, or annexation, was often talked about, though remarks on the subject were generally without definite cause or aim. Mexicans held it up as an ever-impending danger, with a view to awaken the dormant prejudice of patriotism. On it the sureños affected to base largely their bitter opposition to northern rulers. Norteños who like Vallejo had quarrels with Alvarado spoke of it as a result only to be averted by full acceptance of their own views. Solid citizens of foreign birth, like visitors from foreign lands, speculated somewhat philosophically on the result, each with a half-expressed hope that California might be so fortunate as to belong ultimately to his own nation. Enthusiastic Yankee hunters and sailors declaimed louder than all the rest upon the manifest destiny of the stars and stripes to wave over this fair land. Meanwhile the mass of native Californians simply smoked their cigarettes and waited, half inclined to believe that a change of flag might not result in irreparable disaster.[2]

[2] Robinson, *Statement*, MS., 16, 21–2, asserts that prominent Californians, and even the missionaries, used to express to him their belief that it would be best for the country to belong to the U. S. Many Californians in their reminiscences express the same idea; but all such statements are considerably exaggerated. Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, ii. 101–4, found Cal. in 1837 in an unfortunate position, too feeble and backward in civilization for independence, neglected by Mexico, and in a deplorable necessity of foreign support. The U. S. had doubtless a design to secure Cal. and the Sandwich Islands, and would probably succeed, though the people had no special liking for the Americans, whose motives they distrusted. Speaking of S. F., this author says: 'It would perhaps be difficult to say to which nation this fine port will belong; but in the present state of affairs in Europe and America, it is very likely that the power which shall have the happy boldness to take actual possession will have little trouble to keep it.' Forbes, *Hist. Cal.*, 151–2, writes in 1838: 'It is at least evident now, if there was any doubt formerly, that it [Cal.] is at this moment in a state which cannot prevent its being taken possession of by any foreign force that may present itself. The British government seem lately to have had some suspicion that Cal. would be encroached upon if not taken entire possession of by the Russians; but by the latest accounts no encroachment has been made, nor has any augmentation been made either in the number of people in the colony or in the fortifications. The danger does not lie there. There is another restless and enterprising neighbor from whom they will most probably soon have to defend themselves, or rather to submit to; for although the frontiers of North America are much more distant than the Russians, yet to such men as the Back-settlers distance is of little moment, and they are already acquainted with the route. The northern American tide of population must roll on southward, and overwhelm not only Cal. but

In 1839 there was a little excitement over the troubles between Mexico and France; but it expended itself in routine orders published in accordance with instructions from the national government, as there was no apprehension of French encroachment in the far north.[8] The French were always well liked in California since the time of La Pérouse. Three visitors of that nation were most hospitably received during the period now under consideration, and we have seen that but few Frenchmen were arrested and none exiled in the troubles of 1840.

A matter which attracted some attention in California, and created no little excitement in the United States, was the rumored cession of the country to England in payment of the Mexican debt. This indebtedness was large; and among the expedients devised for its payment there were several proposed and discussed in 1836 as well as earlier and later, which involved the pledging, as security for Mexican bonds or otherwise, of tracts of land in the far north, anywhere from Texas to California. All this has no bearing on the history of California, beyond the fact that there were such negotiations, as the expedient seems not to have been approved by the Mexican congress, and this territory was only mentioned incidentally with half a dozen others. In connection, however, with these schemes there may have origi-

other more important states. This latter event, however, is in the womb of time; but the invasion of Cal. by American settlers is daily talked of; and if Santa Anna had prevailed against Texas, a portion of its inhabitants sufficient to overrun Cal. would now have been its masters.' Laplace, *Campagne*, v. 302–4, speaks of the prospective conquest by the U. S. as a thing rather to be desired than avoided. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 34–6, writes: 'For a long time before 1840 it had been the common talk among Americans—when by themselves or among the rancheros—that the U. S. would have Cal.' April 16, 1840, Pablo de la Guerra congratulates M. G. Vallejo on the large number of foreign settlers in the country, the largest part being English—from Canada, Nova Scotia, and Ireland—who are hard drinkers, but will perhaps, like wine, improve with time. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., i. 30.

[8] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. iii., chap. xx., this series, for reference to many communications on this subject. April 29, 1838, Mexican order to admit no French vessel except in case of shipwreck. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xiv. 1. Mar. 26, 1839, notice of peace and suspension of all hostile measures. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., i. 168.

nated a proposition to cancel the debt at once by a cession of the Californias. I have no official evidence that the proposition was entertained. Such, however, was the rumor that came to California in 1837, from different sources, a rumor accepted and published as a fact by Forbes in 1839, and cited by the American papers. To show the spirit in which the matter was discussed, I append some quotations.[4] It is clear that

[4] 'There have been some thoughts of proposing to Mexico that it should endeavor to cancel the English debt, which now exceeds $50,000,000, by a transfer of Cal. to the creditors. This would be a wise measure on the part of Mexico if the govt could be brought to lay aside the vanity of retaining large possessions. The cession of such a disjointed part of the republic would be an advantage. In no case can it ever be profitable to the Mexican republic, nor can it possibly remain united to it for any length of time, if it should even be induced to rejoin it. But would the English creditors accept of it? I think they might, and I think they ought. They have lately displayed an inclination to treat and to receive lands as a part of the debt where no land exists belonging to Mexico...in Texas in which Mexico does not own an acre and in New Mexico which is--God knows where...If Cal. was ceded, the creditors might be formed into a company, with the difference that they should have a sort of sovereignty over the territory, somewhat in the manner of the East India Co. This in my opinion would certainly bring a revenue in time which might be equal to the interest of the debt, and under good management and with an English population would most certainly realize all that has been predicted of this fair country.' *Forbes' Hist. Cal.*, 152–3. (See also note 2.) Mention of the proposed cession as probable and very desirable for England in *New Orleans Bulletin*, Feb. 19, 1840, and other papers of the same city. *Niles' Register*, March 7, 1840, lviii. 2. 'Nothing would be more probable than that Mexico would willingly part with a territory which she cannot occupy, and to which in the course of things she could not long extend even a nominal claim. The policy of the English govt looks toward nothing more favorably than to the acquisition of territory. The possession of Cal. would strengthen her in carrying out her pretensions to the Oregon territory, which she not only claims, but already occupies. The whole coast of the Pacific would thus be in the grasp of a powerful nation—a nation that never lets slip an occasion of extending the limits of her domain. That any foreign (not U. S.) power would ever be able permanently to hold such a position we do not believe, but it might cost much trouble to effect a dislodgment if once the possession is allowed. *Baltimore American*, in *Id.* 'The transfer by Mexico to such a power as Britain would be alike unopposed and unopposable unless some point of etiquette with regard to old Spain stood in the way. Such a transfer, however, at this time of day is not likely to take place after all, although hard cash might be considered by all men a fair enough equivalent, and although nothing but good would probably follow to the Californians. But Russia and the U. S.—whose mighty tide of population is perpetually rolling inward and southward—may not be so scrupulous, and may take the land without any trouble about transfers.' *Chambers' Edin. Journal*, August 24, 1839, in a review of Forbes' book. 'Russia and the U. S., the latter especially, the only just govt that has ever existed less scrupulous than Great Britain. This is too pleasant! Our unsettled debt of grievances against the Mexicans happily puts us in a situation to insist upon their refusal of the proposition which has indubitably been made them by the British govt. Let us profit by it, nor suffer, if we can help it, our ancient mother to acquire a possession which no American can fail to

Englishmen favored the scheme, and equally clear that Americans were bitterly opposed to it, predicting that the United States must one day extend to the Pacific, and gravely asserting that it would be easier to prevent another nation from getting California than to dispossess that nation later. Not that England had not a right to acquire the country; but the United States had also a right to prevent it through their influence on the weaker sister republic. There is, however, no evidence that either government at this time took part in the schemes of its patriotic subjects. We shall see that the matter did not end with 1840, but had a still more potent interest in later years.

Meanwhile the policy observed within the limits of California was by no means oppressive to foreign residents. In 1836, before the revolution, Gutierrez and Chico called for registers of foreign residents, requiring them to appear before the local authorities to prove their right to be in the country. This, though it caused a degree of inconvenience and discontent, was in accordance with the laws, and with instructions from Mexico calling for a full report. The orders

perceive at a glance would in such hands be a source of difficulties to us and a stumbling-block to our posterity... Fifty years, were we left to extend ourselves without impediment, would inevitably see us in possession of Upper Cal. The interest of the south-west would call for it, and its purchase from Mexico, should Mexico still retain it, would put us where the surf of the Pacific would be our safe and proper border, not the forts of a nation whose very kindred renders them, through jealousy, the least amiable of neighbors. It were not wise to leave this to contingency.' *New York American*, in comments on the preceding. *Niles' Reg.*, lviii. 70. Account of the negotiations for securing debt by lands, from *New Orleans Picayune*, in *Id.*, lxiii. 243. 'France has long looked with jealous eye upon the movements of Great Britain in relation to Mexico... England has chipped off two or three little bits from Mexico, and is now about to make final arrangements for taking possession of the whole territory of Cal... To check this France recognizes Texas... and Texas lays claim to Cal.' *N. Y. Herald*, in *Honolulu Polynesian*, Nov. 21, 1840. Proposition to transfer Cal. in 1839 for the British claim of $50,000,000 mentioned in *Minerva*, May 20, 1845. See also *Lancey's Cruise*. Dec. 26, 1837, Vallejo to Alvarado. Has good reason to believe that Californians will soon become North Americans. The Mex. govt has offered Cal. to England in payment of debts, and England has ceded her right to the govt at Washington. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 368. Dec. 14, 1837, prefect Moreno to Zacatecan padres. Soon perhaps they may set out for their college, since P. Perez writes that Mexico contemplates the cession of Cal. to a foreign power, 'lo que Dios no permita.' *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 59.

were generally obeyed, and fortunately for us, since the result was a very complete list of foreigners at the beginning of this period.[5] After the revolution and down to the time that California returned definitely to her Mexican allegiance, there was no interference with foreigners, even to the extent of enforcing the regulations respecting passports, except that deserters were sometimes returned to their vessels as an act of favor to the captains, that foreign like native criminals were sometimes mildly prosecuted, and that there were troubles from time to time, particularly with foreign horse-thieves.[6] This policy was the result partly of the civil strife which occupied the exclusive attention of the authorities, and was in part due to the Californians' feeling of gratitude and friendship toward the men who had aided them.

1836

The result of this non-interference during 1836–8 was bad in every way. The worst element of the foreign population was largely increased by desertions from vessels on the coast; the vagabond allies of In-

[5] Orders of April–May 1836, in *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 100, 105; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 46; *Id., Monterey*, iii. 64; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 55.

[6] Sept. 1836, Doyle and his band of horse-thieves. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 133; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 29. Oct. 1837, Alvarado alarmed at the boldness of trapper horse-thieves in all the interior valleys, some of whom appeared at Sta Inés in Oct. He fears they may attempt a revolution; but has taken steps to balk their plans, and to protect property. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 322. April 1837, reports of trade in stolen cattle by American trappers in the Tulares. *Id.*, xxxii. 84. Nov. 1837, foreign vagrants, deserters, etc., about S. Rafael must be arrested and sent to Sonoma. No stranger to be permitted to remain in that region without a pass. *Id.*, iv. 343. 1838, region about S. F. Bay infested with robbers. Store robbed at S. F. in Oct., two foreigners being among the thieves. *Id.*, v. 60, 62, 204. Depredations at S. Luis Obispo. Six Englishmen among the Indian robbers. *Id.*, v. 220. Foreign merchants accused of sowing discord among people of their own tongue with sinister views. Vallejo to Alvarado, Sept. 1st. Sutter, *Person. Remin.*, MS., 4, gives an idea of the kind of men who wanted to come to Cal. when he says that at Wind River volunteers were numerous who wished to accompany him with a view to plunder the missions and ranchos. May 1838, Vallejo recommends the chartering of a vessel to send out of the country all the turbulent element causing so much trouble. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiv. 24. 9 French hunters in the Tulares. *Id.*, v. 12. Dec. 18, 1839, two foreigners banished for robbing Spear's store. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 110. Foreigners very favorably received in Cal. *Forbes' Hist. Cal.*, 322–3. Adventurous immigrants crowding in, chiefly deserters. *Laplace, Campagne*, vi. 191–2. 1840, pursuit of horse-thieves in the region of Los Angeles. *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., iv. 99–106.

dian horse-thieves in the interior valleys became more numerous and bold; foreign interference in Californian politics came to be regarded as a natural and legitimate thing; foreign conquest or annexation was a common topic of conversation; and the men who had personally aided Alvarado became intolerably familiar, insolent, and lawless, even if they did not actually plot against the government. The interests of all good citizens, native and foreign, at home, as well as orders from Mexico, required a renewal of the old precautions in 1839–40.[7] It was deemed necessary, however, to go somewhat further than to compel new-comers to comply with the laws, by sending away many who had entered the country illegally, together with a few who had some right to remain but were accused of plotting revolution. Hence the exile of nearly fifty persons in 1840. Enough has already been said about this affair; and the reader is well aware that though technically an outrage in the case of certain individuals, and not very wisely managed in all respects, it was yet a legitimate measure of self-protection on the part of the Californians, approved more or less fully by the best foreign residents, and in no sense the outgrowth of an oppressive foreign policy, as it was represented in certain quarters for political effect.

[7] Many orders of various dates in 1839–40 requiring compliance on the part of foreigners with the laws. No foreigner to land, remain, or travel in Cal. without the necessary naturalization papers, passports, cartas de seguridad, or other legal documents. Also orders for new lists and registers of foreigners. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 107, 128–36; xv. 1–2; *Id., Ang.*, iv. 110; v. 6, 56; xi. 9, 118; *Id., Mont.*, iv. 22; *Id., S. José*, v. 72; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, xi. 72; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 15, 38, 71; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 13; xvi. 10; *Sta Bárbara, Arch.*, MS., 5; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 252–66; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 27; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 39; *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 5–6; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, MS., i. 257, 265. Aug. 16, 1839, decree of Jimeno requiring deserters from whalers to be arrested and sent back; also forbidding the men to remain on shore after sunset without a pass from the juez de paz. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 18; *Hunt's Merchants' Mag.*, iii. 461–2. It is charged by some, perhaps without much foundation, that a system of 'shanghaeing' was practised at Monterey. Captains in want of sailors would apply to Larkin, at whose request an order would be issued to put every sailor about the place in the calabozo so that the captains could have their pick, the rest being released. 1839, Gen. Vallejo to pres., min. war, and others, urging the importance of taking measures to prevent the encroachments of Americans and Russians. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 28; viii. 333; *Id., Ord. de la Com. Gen.*, 17.

In 1836, as has been shown in an earlier chapter, the foreign male population of the territory, including only men whose residence was in a sense permanent, was approximately three hundred, most of whose names are mentioned in one record or another of the half-decade 1836–40, though some are only known to have been in California earlier and later. For items of information about these men during this and other periods, I refer the reader to the Pioneer Register at the end of these volumes.[8] Of them as a class there is not much to be said beyond the fact that they constituted an influential and highly respected element of the population, largely controlling the commercial industry of the country. Many were naturalized, married to Californian wives, and the possessors of lands in their adopted country; while many more counted on securing all those advantages at an early date. All were enthusiastic in their admiration of California's natural advantages and in their predictions of her future greatness. In business they were as a rule straightforward, reliable men, and though they had lost, especially those who no longer followed the sea, something of their old activity, and were fast learning how to 'take things easy,' they were yet

[8] Extensive lists of resident foreigners for the period of 1836–40 are found in the naturalization records. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. xx., passim; *Larkin's Accounts*, MS., i.–v., passim; *Larkin's Papers*, MS., a collection of miscellaneous commercial correspondence; *Spear's Papers*, MS., a similar collection; and also in the various county histories that have been recently published, and from which I have obtained many useful items. From the reminiscences of many pioneers I have also derived much aid. See also chap. iii. of this vol., for annual lists of vessels and their masters. For 1836 I may refer to the following special lists: For Monterey district, *Monterey, Padron, 1836*, MS.; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 190; *Id.*, xxxii. 14, etc. For Los Angeles district, *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., i. 87, 100–1, 121–4; *Los Angeles, Hist.*, 19, 57–8; *Los Angeles Express*, Mar. 2, 1872, the first including a list of foreigners concerned in the affair of the vigilantes. For Sta Bárbara district, *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 156–60; *Pico, Papeles de Misiones*, MS., 83; and for S. Diego, *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xii. 15. For 1840 see the following: Names of over 100 persons concerned in the Graham affair, in chap. i. of this vol.; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 10; some general lists in *Pico, Papeles de Mis.*, MS., 47–51; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 58–9, 77. Angeles, *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 23; Sta Bárbara, *Id.*, xviii. 62; S. Diego, *Id.*, *Angeles*, i. 1; iii. 39; S. José, *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 43; Branciforte, *Id.*, xviii. 71–3; S. F., *Duflelle's Colon. Hist. S. F'co*, add., 72–3.

wonderfully energetic as compared with the natives. Socially they were rough and hearty in manner, hospitable as the people among whom they had come to live, and ever ready to entertain a stranger, but in most cases manifesting by far too strong a liking for intoxicating drinks. In politics, especially in comparison with the new-comers of the period, of whom I shall speak presently, they formed a conservative element, avoiding partisan interference. While deploring the evident evils and weaknesses of the governmental management, and quietly supporting such measures as seemed to promise reform, they avoided controversy with officials and leading men of the department, and especially of the localities where they resided. They were not the men who talked loud of foreign interference, though most of them foresaw a change of flag in the not very distant future. They furnished but ten or twelve of the forty-seven men sent away for the country's good in 1840. Individually, Isaac Graham was more prominent, especially in respect of what has been said and written about him, than any other man in the list, though by no means among the most worthy of a favorable prominence. Chief among his comrades were Chard, Carmichael, and Morris. Captains Cooper and Fitch combined the vocations of trader, ranchero, and mariner. David Spence retained his influence at the capital. Richardson, Leese, Spear, and Davis developed the latent glories of San Francisco. Stearns speculated and indulged his propensity for contraband trade at Los Angeles and San Pedro. Prudon organized the vigilants and showed his skill with the pen. Hartnell worthily filled several high positions under the government. Larkin slowly built up his fortunes at Monterey. Robinson travelled incessantly from point to point in the interests of the Boston merchants. Hinckley cracked his jokes and defied the revenue officers from north to south. Among traders who followed the sea to some extent, but had commercial and other inter-

ests in California as well as elsewhere, I may name Jones, McKinley, Park, Robbins, Scott, Snook, Steel, Stokes, Thompson, and Wilson. At Monterey Watson and Allen maintained a show of competition with Larkin in trade; Fitch was for the most part without rivals at San Diego; Temple and Johnson were established at Los Angeles. Prominent citizens of Santa Bárbara and vicinity, more or less engaged in commercial pursuits, were Branch, Burton, Dana, Elwell, Hill, and Sparks; at San José were Bowen, Forbes, and Gulnac; and Bolcof at Santa Cruz. Vignes and Wolfskill tilled their vineyards at Los Angeles, and Williams and Reid had ranchos in the same region. Gilroy and Livermore lived on their farms in what may be called the San José district; while located north of the bay were Alexander, Black, McIntosh, Martin, Murphy, Read, and Yount.

Of new-comers during 1836–40, that is, of such as are properly classed as pioneer residents, I shall have occasion to name in annual lists about 150, of whom 140 remained in California after the end of the period, some 30 being men more or less prominent in these and later years.[9] The total population of foreign adults, therefore, in 1840, not including roving trappers and horse-thieves in the interior, was in round numbers 380 souls, of which number 120 had come before 1830, and 240 before 1835. This was not in any sense a period of immigration. If few stayed in the country, still fewer came with the intention to stay; though Marsh, Wolfskill, and a few others came with such an intention from New Mexico, as did Sutter, Wiggins, Lassen, and a few others by way of Oregon. Most arrivals were in one way or another accidental. There was no direct immigration over-

[9] Such are Nicholas Allgeier, F. D. Atherton, Ed T. Bale, Frank Bedwell, Nic. A. Den, D. D. Dutton, Phil. L. Edwards, Thos J. Farnham, Eliab Grimes, W. D. M. Howard, Sebastian Keyser, Peter Lassen, John Marsh, James Meadows, Ezekiel Merritt, Francis Mellus, Henry Naile, Henry Paty, John Paty, Robert Ridley, Alex. Rotchef, Pierre Sainsevain, Jared Sheldon, Peter Sherreback, John Sinclair, John A. Sutter, J. J. Vioget, and John R. Wolfskill.

land to California, and so far as can be known not a single person crossed the sierra in the track of Smith and Walker of earlier times. In the last years of the period there was a degree of excitement on the subject in Missouri and the states of that region, which will be noticed in connection with its results in 1841 and later. Before 1840 it sent about a dozen people over the mountains to Oregon, thence to seek a way to California either by sea or land.

Of about a hundred new names of foreigners that appear in the records of 1836 only thirty-one are those of men who may be classed as pioneers, and are named in the appended list.[10] Atherton, Den, Marsh, and Rotchef were the men most widely known. An important matter in the year's annals was the part taken by foreigners in the vigilance organization at Los Angeles. Still more interesting was that of the position taken by foreigners of different classes in support of Alvarado's revolution against the Mexicans, and of the foreign company of sailor *rifleros* that served in the Californian ranks; but these topics have been fully treated in preceding chapters, as the *Peacock's* visit and a resulting book will be in the one to follow.

I name twenty-five pioneers for 1837 out of seventy-five foreigners whose names appear for the first time in the records of this year.[11] Bale, Edwards, Merritt, the Patys, and Vioget were the ones who in one way or another attained a degree of provincial

[10] Pioneers of 1836: Faxon D. Atherton, John Bancroft, James R. Berry, Jeffrey Brown, F. M. Cooper, Henry Cooper, John Cooper, Daniel (?), Manuel Demarante, Nic. A. Den, James Doyle, John H. Everett, Nic. Fink, M. Frazer, Wm Hance (?), Thos Jewitt, Francis Johnson (born in Cal.), Sam Loring, John Marsh, Juan Moreno, Henry Naile, Thos A. Norton, Joseph Pope (?), John Price, Geo. Roberts, Geo. Rock, Alex. Rotchef, Wm C. Stout, Wm R. Warren, Sant. F. Watson (born in Cal.), and J. F. R. Wescott. See these and other names in Pioneer Register at end of vol. ii.–v., this work.

[11] Pioneers of 1837: Wm Anderson, Ed T. Bale, Manuel Carrion, Charlefoux, Octave Custot, Phil. L. Edwards, Fred. Hugel (?), John Levick (?), Wm McGlone, Henry McVicker, James Meadows, Ezekiel Merritt, Morgan, Elijah Ness, James Orbell, Henry Paty (?), John Paty, John J. Read (born in Cal.), John Reed (?), Wm Reed, A. B. Smith (?), John Smith, Jean J. Vioget, John Wilson, and Francis Young

fame. The foreign military company still continued in the Californian service, contributing, for patriotism and three dollars a day, to the maintenance of Alvarado's power among the unwilling sureños. Subsequently it aided in retaking Monterey from the Mexicans. The coming of a party from the Columbia in quest of cattle for Oregon reintroduced Ewing Young, the old trapper, to the Californians, and originated a new branch of trade. It also left an unpublished narrative of the visit, including an overland trip to the north, as recorded in the preceding chapter. The Englishman Belcher, and Petit-Thouars the Frenchman, were the foreign visitors of 1837 whose observations were published.

My pioneer list of 1838 contains but twenty names out of a total of about forty visitors;[12] and only John R. Wolfskill is entitled to especial mention as a prominent citizen still living in 1884. It was a most uneventful year in all that concerned foreigners, the only noticeable item being the tragic fate of Captain Bancroft, the otter-hunter, at Santa Catalina.

The year 1839 brought to the coast fifty foreigners, of whom twenty-five are entitled to a place in my list of residents,[13] a list containing such names as those of Howard, Mellus, Sainsevain, Sinclair, and Sutter. The coming of the last-named pioneer, and his establishment of a colony on the Sacramento, form so important a topic in the annals of the country that a full narrative is deferred to the next chapter, in which I shall speak also of Laplace's visit, and of the publication of Forbes' history. This year brought across

[12] Pioneers of 1838: Henry Austin, Joseph Bowles, Joel P. Dedmond, Olivier Deleissèques, John Finch, Wm Goche, Eliab Grimes, Humphrey Hathaway, Wm Jones (?), John Lucas, James O'Brien, James Peace, Hardy Peirce (died), John Perry, John Saunders, Eli Southworth, Wm Williams, J. C. Williamson (?), John R. Wolfskill, and S. Wolfskill.

[13] Pioneers of 1839: Wm Barton, Wm Burns, John Chamberlain, John Daniels (?), John C. Davis, Thos Duncan, Henry Eaton, Geo. Hewitt, W. D. M. Howard, Henry Kirby, Joseph Leroy, Francis Mellus, Paul Pryor (? born in Cal.), Rich. Read (? born in Cal.), Felipe Reid, José D. Reid (?), Wm J. Reynolds, Geo. Robinson, Pierre Sainsevain, John Sinclair, C. G. Sullivan (?), John A. Sutter, Wm Swinburn, John Tierney, and Francis J. Westgate.

the continent to Oregon a dozen or more people who subsequently came to California; and it is said that Graham and Naile attempted to organize a company to cross the mountains eastward, for exactly what purpose is not apparent; neither is it important, as they did not succeed.

New arrivals in 1840 numbered one hundred and forty, or at least such was the number of new names appearing for the first time in records of this year, a few having doubtless come a little earlier. Of all these, forty-six have a place in the appended list,[14] and all are named in my Pioneer Register elsewhere. New-comers of 1840 best known in later times were Allgeier, Dutton, Farnham, Keyser, Lassen, Ridley, and Sherreback. The great topic of the year, elsewhere treated, was of course the Graham affair, involving the exile of forty-seven undesirable foreign residents, and supplemented by the visits of the French man-of-war *Danaïde*, under Rosamel, and of the U. S. *St Louis*, under Forrest. Another matter of considereable interest was the arrival of the *Lausanne* at Bodega, with resulting complications. A controversy between the Californian authorities and the Russians was the most important phase of this affair, and will be noticed in its place. Its interest for the reader of this chapter arises from the fact that the vessel brought several immigrants. Some of the *Lausanne's* passengers were men who had crossed the continent with John A. Sutter in 1838; others had come overland to Oregon by the same route in 1839. There were perhaps ten or twelve in all, and all intended apparently to stop in California; but the

[14] Pioneers of 1840: Walter W. Adams, Nic. Allgeier, Aug. A. Andrews, John Armstrong (?), Frank Bedwell, Dan. M. Burns, Anthony Campbell, Colin Campbell, Geo. H. Card, Geo. Chapel, Charles H. Cooper, Francis Day, Pierre Dubosc, Dav. D. Dutton, Thos J. Farnham, Wm T. Faxon, Gulnac (3 sons born in Cal. about these years), Wm Houptman, Francis Johnson, James Johnson, Jr (? born in Cal.), Wm Johnson, Sebastian Keyser, Wm Langlois, Peter Lassen, Nath. S. Leighton, Wm Lewis, Peter Lyons, Geo. Patterson, Paul Richardson (?), Robert Ridley, Robert Robertson, Josiah Settle (?), Jared Sheldon, Peter Sherreback, Antonio Silva (?), Major Sterling (?), Ed Stokes (?), Paul Sweet (?), Thos A. Warbas (?), John Warner, 'Scotch Whally,' Thos White, Wm Wiggins, and Alvin Wilson.

only persons who did so, and whose names are known, were William Wiggins, Peter Lassen, and David D. Dutton. Their arrival at Bodega, in July, becoming known to General Vallejo, he objected to their remaining in the country, especially in view of the recent troubles with foreigners. Accordingly, some of the number who had a little money or credit prevailed on Captain Spalding to carry them to Honolulu; but Wiggins, Lassen, and two or three of Sutter's old company, having less means or less fear of Mexican officials, determined to remain. The Russians, between whom and Vallejo's men a quarrel had arisen about the touching of the vessel at Bodega and other matters connected therewith, seem to have afforded some protection to the fugitives, entertaining them for a week or more at Ross, and perhaps furnishing horses for their journey to the interior. At any rate, they arrived at Sutter's place on the Sacramento about the middle of August, and were not thereafter molested.[15]

[15] I have many original communications of the time about the affair of the *Lausanne*, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 183, 191–8, 300–28; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 14. But about the foreigners they reveal nothing beyond the fact that they landed, that four of them came at one time to Sonoma, and that Rotchef, taking offence at Vallejo's action, afforded them some aid. See chap. vi., this vol., for details of the controversy. Most information extant about the arrival of this party comes from the statement of Wm Wiggins, still living in 1880. *Wiggins' Reminiscences*, MS., 1-2; *Id., Pac. Coast in 1839*, copied from the *S. F. Examiner* by the *S. José Pioneer*, April 6, 1878; and an account—taken mainly from the newspaper article cited—in *Solano County Hist.*, 57–9; and *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 61–2. There is, I think, no truth in the statement that the Russians told Alf. Piña and his men who came to prevent the foreigners from landing, 'to leave, be shot down, or go to prison;' nor do I have much faith in the genuineness of the following letter published in the county histories cited: 'Port Bodega, July 25, 1840. To the American Consul of California. Dear Sir: We, the undersigned, citizens of the U. S., being desirous to land in the country, and having been refused a passport, and been opposed by the govt, we write to you, sir, for advice, and claim your protection. Being short of funds, we are not able to proceed farther on the ship. We have concluded to land under the protection of the Russians; we will remain there 15 days, or until we receive an answer from you, which we hope will be as soon as the circumstances of the case will permit. We have been refused a passport from Gen. Vallejo. Our object is to get to the settlements, or to obtain a pass to return to our own country. Should we receive no relief, we will take up our arms and travel, consider ourselves in an enemy's country, and defend ourselves with our guns. We subscribe ourselves, most respectfully, David Dutton, John Stevens, Peter Lassen, Wm Wiggins, J. Wright.' Dutton and Wright only are named as passengers by the newspaper that records the arrival of the *Lausanne* at Honolulu. In relation to the arrival of these men in Oregon, see *Hist. Or.*, i. 238, this series.

CHAPTER V.

SUTTER'S FORT—VISITS AND BOOKS.

1836–1840.

JOHN A. SUTTER'S EARLY LIFE—COMES TO CALIFORNIA VIA OREGON, HONOLULU, AND SITKA—RECEPTION AT MONTEREY—PURCHASES ON CREDIT—TRIP UP THE SACRAMENTO—NUEVA HELVECIA FOUNDED—RELATIONS WITH SONOMA—ANNALS OF 1839–40—INDIAN POLICY—CATTLE, BEAVER-SKINS, AND BRANDY—SUTTER'S PLANS—PHELPS' VISIT—RECRUITS—SUTTER A MEXICAN CITIZEN—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FOREIGN VISITS—THE 'PEACOCK'—RUSCHENBERGER'S NARRATIVE—THE 'SULPHUR'—BELCHER'S NARRATIVE—SURVEY OF THE SACRAMENTO—SLACUM'S VISIT—THE 'VÉNUS'—PETIT-THOUARS' VOYAGE—FORBES ON CALIFORNIA—THE 'ARTÉMISE'—LAPLACE, CAMPAGNE—PHELPS' FORE AND AFT—FARNHAM'S LIFE IN CALIFORNIA—J. F. B. M.

A PROMINENT place must be given to Sutter's arrival and settlement in California, as he was for years in several respects the leading foreigner in the country. He was likewise closely connected with many events of current history in 1841–8, and more honored with words of eulogy than any other Californian pioneer down to the day of his death in 1880. Moreover, his settlement on the Sacramento was not only the first in a broad and important territory, utilized by trappers only down to 1839; but was destined to be a leading factor in the political changes of 1846, and a direct medium of an event which transformed California and startled the world—the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill in 1848.

John Augustus Sutter—or Johann August Suter, as the name was originally written—was of German origin, having been born in February 1803, perhaps

of Swiss parents, at Kandern, a little town of Baden. At the age of sixteen years he removed to Switzerland, attended school for a time at Neufchâtel, and attained his citizenship at the little village of Rünenberg, Basle. He subsequently went to Burgdorf, canton of Bern, where he embarked in business, and where in 1826 he married Annette Dübeld, by whom in the next six years he had three sons and one daughter. Meanwhile he was a soldier in the Swiss army, like every young and able-bodied man in that republic, and was for a time an officer in the force of citizen-soldiery, held ever ready for active service. The story so widely circulated in books and newspapers that Sutter served in the French army, as captain of Swiss guards, "mingling with the élite of French society in the court of Charles X.," is pure fiction. Of his commercial ventures at Burgdorf we have no details, save his own statement that he was engaged, perhaps at an earlier date, in bookbinding and the sale of newspapers. The young merchant must have had some money or credit; but neither his capital nor his experience was at all commensurate with his enthusiasm and ambition, and the result was bankruptcy. Discouragement, however, found no place in his nature, and he determined to retrieve his fortunes in the New World. Leaving his family in straitened circumstances, and to his creditors the task of settling his affairs, Sutter sailed for America in the early summer of 1834.[1]

[1] The best authority extant on Sutter's early life is *Schlagintweit, Californien Land und Leute*, 219–21. The author, Robert von Schlagintweit, is a well-known German traveller and writer, who on this subject not only read what has been written about Sutter in Cal., but also had access to other sources of information. He cites the statements of persons at Liestal who knew the family, especially Herr Martin Birmann-Socin; also an article in the *Basellandschaftlichen Zeitung*, Aug. 28, 1868. He gives the date of Sutter's birth as Feb. 15, 1803. His children were John A., Jr, born in 1827; Anna Eliza, in 1828; Emil Victor, in 1830; and Wm Alphonse, in 1832. He states that the business affairs were so complicated that they were not fully settled until 1862. In his *Personal Reminiscences*, MS., carefully dictated to me by Sutter at his residence in Penn. a few years before his death, he corrects the story of his service in the French army, but goes only slightly into details of his early life. He says, however, that he was a cadet at Bern. I

Landing at New York in July 1834, our young adventurer went immediately westward, with two Germans and two Frenchmen, all agreeing to learn no English so long as they kept together; but they parted in Indiana, and Sutter went on to St Louis, where and at St Charles he spent the winter. Looking about him for a chance to advance his fortunes, he fell in with the Santa Fé traders, with whom he went in the spring of 1835 to New Mexico. He claims to have had at this time some means, but his capital doubtless consisted mainly in his pleasing address, his sanguine temperament, and his personal energy. Already master of the German and French languages, he shortly acquired in his new surroundings enough of English and Spanish for his business purposes.[2] Respecting his commercial ventures in Missouri and New Mexico during the years 1835–7, ventures consisting largely in trade with the Indians, there is but little information extant. That little is not favorable to Sutter's reputation; but there are reasons for not even repeating here the definite charges against him, and for believing that those charges were to a certain extent unfounded. Then, as before and later, Sutter was an enthusiast, and he had the faculty of imparting his enthusiasm to others. His schemes were always far beyond his means and abilities. He rarely hesitated to incur any obligation for the future, and he was rarely able, in financial matters, to keep his promises. He induced certain Germans and others to invest their money in his projects, which after their failure were denounced

need not specify here the numerous biographical sketches that have appeared in books and newspapers. One of those most widely circulated in various forms is that in *Dunbar's Romance of the Age*, 11–21. The most accurate of all in many respects is that given in *Shuck's Representative Men*, 11–21. This sketch presents Sutter as the son of a Lutheran clergyman, which is not improbable; and I think there may be some doubt about his having been a Swiss. It has often been said that Sutter's plan on leaving Europe was to establish a Swiss colony in America; but this under the circumstances is unlikely. His plan was to make a fortune as best he could. He says, 'My object in coming to America was to be a farmer.'

[2] He never wrote French correctly, though much better than either Spanish or English. He had but slight occasion in his California correspondence for the German, which was his native language.

as swindles by the victims. It is fair to suppose, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that their accusasions of swindling were exaggerated, and other more serious charges invented, by reason of their disappointment. At any rate, Sutter saved a little money, and determined to seek his fortune still farther west.[3]

In New Mexico Sutter met several men who had been in California, from whom—and especially from a Canadian alcalde at Taos named Popian—he heard much in praise of that country's climate, lands, and cattle. Therefore he resolved to visit California, and formed a party of seven men, consisting of three Germans, two Americans, a Belgian, and a Mexican servant. By the advice of Sir William Drummond Stewart, as he says, and perhaps for other reasons as well,[4] he decided not to go by the Santa Fé trail, but to take a northern route. They started from St Louis in April 1838, and travelled by the rendezvous in Wind River Valley, Fort Hall, Fort Boisé, Walla Walla, Dalles, and Willamette Valley mission, arriving at Fort Vancouver in October, six months after leaving St Louis. The journey need not be more fully described here; in fact, little is known about it. From missionaries and trappers in Oregon, and especially

[3] Sutter, *Personal Remin.*, MS., 2–3, says practically nothing of his experience during these years, save that he bought a piece of land in Mo. and visited Sta Fé; and the same silence is to be noted in the current sketches. Some writers state that he obtained papers of naturalization while in Mo., and Sutter himself, *Petition to Congress*, says he applied for such papers. Schlagintweit simply states that he went to Sta Fé, and drove a flourishing trade with the Indians. In the MS., *Graham and Sutter in N. Mexico, some facts by a Pioneer of 1841*, MS., p. 3–7, are recorded a few details. Schmölder, in his *Neuer Prak. Wegweiser*, 74–6, written in 1848, states that Sutter induced the emigrant company from Giessen, Germany, settled in Warren Co., Mo., to form a trading caravan to New Mexico in 1835. About 50 joined the company; but on account of inexperience, lateness of the season, etc., the enterprise was a failure. After the dissolution and the return of most members, Sutter established himself in business at Sta Fé; but his former partners' raids on his capital prevented success. He did not like New Mexican life, and he resolved in 1838 to seek the west coast.

[4] In his *Petition to Congress*, Sutter says: 'The difficulties of crossing the mountains from New Mexico were represented as impracticable, and he determined, on his second return to Missouri, to reach the Pacific "by a northern route."' This of course is absurd, since the southern route at the time presented no great difficulties, and at Sta Fé was the one best known.

from Douglas and other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, Sutter added much to his stock of information about California, and must have had his attention directed especially to the Sacramento Valley, the region with which most of his informants were best acquainted.[5] He also had an opportunity for the exercise of his peculiar talent for inspiring confidence, and succeeded in obtaining credit to a considerable amount from the company, the debt remaining unpaid for many years.

There being no vessel soon to sail for California, the journey overland requiring a delay over winter before starting, and Sutter being not averse to a voyage by sea, he took passage on the *Columbia*, which left the mouth of the Columbia River November 11th, and arrived at Honolulu December 9th.[6] It was five months before the sailing of any vessel that would take him to his destination; but the delay gave him an opportunity to become acquainted with several men who could aid him by their influence in California. So good an impression did he make on the merchants, that William French agreed to send him as supercargo of a vessel to the American coast, an arrangement that would not only secure him a passage, but would leave him a margin of profit. More-

[5] *Sutter's Personal Remin.*, MS., 3–9, with some details of experience on the way and in Oregon. *Sutter's Diary*, published in the *S. F. Argonaut*, Jan. 26, 1878, gives the facts more briefly. This document, though interesting, is evidently not a diary kept at the time, but a series of memoranda made at a later period—at least, such is the case in respect of the earlier portions. In *Gray's Hist. Oregon*, 177, it is stated that Sutter came with the author and a party of missionaries to Walla Walla, but Sutter says nothing of it, though he probably met Gray, as he later wrote a letter about him while at Honolulu. From the Dalles to the Willamette, Sutter travelled part of the way with Lee, the missionary, and his party. The journey is described in *Lee and Frost's Ten Years in Or.*, 155–60, but without mention of Sutter. Schlagintweit says he left Ft Independence with Capt. Ermatinger, 5 missionaries, and 3 women, in June, arriving at Ft Vancouver in September. Schmölder, *Neuer Wegweiser*, 74–6, repeats this, and gives July 29th as the date of his arrival at Ft Hall. From St Louis to the Rocky Mt. rendezvous, he travelled with Capt. Tripp of the Amer. Fur Co. *Sutter's Petition.*

[6] Arrival noted in *Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1838. In the same paper of April 6, 1839, is a letter from Sutter denying the truth of a report that a Frenchman had commanded a party of Indians that had attacked the missionary Gray on his way overland.

over, Sutter was enabled through the influence of his new friends to engage two or three men in addition to the one German he had brought with him, the others having been left in Oregon, and eight or ten kanakas for his Californian rancho. He finally sailed on the English brig *Clementine*, Captain Blinn, on April 20, 1839, for Sitka.[7] The voyage was without notable incident, and at Sitka, where most of the cargo was landed, Sutter remained several weeks, making new friends among the officers of the Russian American Company, and having the honor to dance with the governor's wife, a born princess. The voyage of the *Clementine* down the coast was rather rough; but on the 1st of July she entered San Francisco Bay; and our adventurer, by a somewhat circuitous route from Switzerland, was at last in California. He was, however, allowed to remain only forty-eight hours for repairs, in accordance with the revenue regulations; and was obliged to forego even the festivities of July 4th to present himself and his vessel at the capital.[8]

Arriving at Monterey on July 3d, Sutter lost no time in making known his project, declining an invi-

[7] *Honolulu S. I. Gazette*, April 27, 1839, in which Capt. Sutter, A. Thompson, two German cabinet-makers, and 9 kanakas are mentioned as passengers. In his *Personal Remin.*, MS., 11, 19–20, 27, Sutter says he brought 4 white men, and 8 kanakas, two of them with their wives, whom the king gave him for 3 years at $10 per month. He had also taken from Oregon an Indian boy whom he bought of Kit Carson for $100. He claims to have been the owner of the vessel, which I think cannot have been the fact. Both versions have been given in the current sketches. In his petition he says he 'shipped as supercargo without pay on an English vessel chartered by some American citizens of these isles.'

[8] *Sutter's Pers. Rem.*, MS., 12–14; *Sutter's Diary*. The date of arrival at S. F. is generally given as July 2d; but there is proof that the vessel arrived at Monterey on the 3d. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 200; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i 233. She paid duties on about $3,400. Bartlett, *Narrative*, ii. 68–70, represents the voyage to have been via S. Blas or Mazatlan. Several writers state that Sutter went to the Hawaiian Islands to engage in raising oranges; others have it that, starting from Honolulu for Sitka, he was driven luckily by the gales to S. F.; nobody suggests that he went to Alaska to investigate the prospects for manufacturing ice! 'Il fit quelques opérations commerciales à la Nouvelle Archangel,' says *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 457–8. In a letter of Nov. 20, 1877, to the *S. José Pioneer*, Dec. 14, 1877, Sutter objects to a statement by some orator that 'prior to 1841 a few restless and adventurous spirits had come to California, scarcely knowing how or why;' and claims that at least himself and Marsh had come with the deliberate intention to settle.

tation to join in the festivities of the 4th, and regretting that the celebration would postpone his interview with the governor, the guest of American residents on that occasion, until the 5th. He had made good use of the friendships he had formed on his travels, and came provided with the most flattering letters of introduction to governor, general, and prominent citizens, from Douglas and other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver, from Russian officials of the Russian American Company at Sitka, and from leading merchants of Honolulu.[9] He had doubtless represented himself, and still did so, as having been an officer of the French army; and was known from the first as 'Captain' Sutter—a harmless enough deception from certain points of view.[10] Introduced by David Spence to Alvarado, he was cordially received. His pleasing manners, his apparent energy, his unexceptionable recommendations, and the reasonable and beneficial nature of his project made the way perfectly clear. He wished at first to obtain a tract of land as an empresario de colonizacion; but Alvarado showed him the impracticability of this method for so small a colony. He advised Sutter to announce his intention of becoming a Mexican citizen, to go into the interior and select any tract of unoccupied land that might suit him, and to return to Monterey in a year, when he would be given his papers of naturalization and a grant of his land. Gladly adopting this plan, Sutter obtained additional letters of recommendation to Vallejo, and hastened back to Yerba Buena, where he arrived July 7th on the *Clementine*, which craft was despatched for Honolulu about a week later.[11]

[9] One of these letters, dated April 18, 1839, from John C. Jones, U. S. consul in Oahu, to Gen. Vallejo, is preserved in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 446. Sutter is introduced as a 'Swiss gentleman of the first class among men of honor, talent, and estimation,' worthy of all confidence and support.

[10] In the *Honolulu S. I Gazette*, April 6, 1839, Sutter distinctly claims to have been an officer in the French service; he is called captain in Consul Jones' letter; and Larkin in 1846, *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 108–9, states that he had been a captain in the Swiss guard of Charles X.

[11] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 206, etc.; *Sutter's Pers. Rem.*, MS., 15–16; *Id., Diary; Id., Petition.* July 3d, Spence to Vallejo, introducing Sutter and

From San Francisco late in July, he made a visit to Vallejo at Sonoma, and thence by land, by McIntosh's rancho and Bodega, to Rotchef at Ross. He was kindly received by both gentlemen, who politely wished him success in his enterprise. He says that Vallejo and others wished him to settle in Sonoma, Napa, or Suisun valleys, rather than go so far from civilization; but he declined, ostensibly because he wished to settle on a navigable river, but really because he wished to be at a convenient distance from Spanish officials and Spanish neighbors.[12] He had already decided in favor of the Sacramento Valley in consequence of information received in Oregon and at Sitka; and doubtless one of his strongest motives for this preference was a desire to be independent of the Californians. He was willing to become a Mexican citizen and to obey Mexican laws only so far as his own interests might require it. He wished to be beyond the reach of all interference with his Indian policy, his methods of obtaining laborers, his trading ventures, his trapping operations, and his relations with foreigners. He believed there was money to be made out of the Indians; he hoped to make his establishment a trading-post and rendezvous for trappers; he shrewdly foresaw that even the roving vagabonds and horse-thieves of the valleys might be useful allies in possible emergencies.

Back at Yerba Buena, Sutter pushed forward his preparations, making arrangements with rancheros round the bay to supply him in the near future with cattle—always on credit. He had brought on the

announcing his plan to settle on the northern frontier. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vii. 290. July 4th, Alvarado to Vallejo, highly recommending Sutter. *Id.*, vii. 302. This would indicate that both Sutter and Alvarado are wrong in speaking of the first interview as having been postponed until July 5th. Arrival at S. F. July 7th. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 16. The vessel still retained a part of her cargo, which had proved unsalable; and a guard was put on board to see that no part of these goods should be landed before she sailed, about July 13th, for Oahu. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 233–4.

[12] *Sutter's Pers. Rem.*, MS., 21–7. Hall J. Kelley, *Hist.*, 69, claims that it was his report and earlier project that carried S. to Cal. and determined his choice of a site.

Clementine, or had purchased here, a four-oared pinnace; and he chartered from Spear and Hinckley their schooners, the *Isabella* and *Nicolás*, commanded by William H. Davis and Jack Rainsford, for his trip up the river.[13] On these craft Sutter embarked with his eight or ten kanakas, his three or four white men who had come with him, and two or three others engaged at San Francisco, besides the crews. The vessels were also loaded with stores of provisions, ammunition, implements, and three small cannon which had been brought from Honolulu.[14] When all was ready, a farewell dinner was given to our adventurer on board a Boston ship, doubtless the *Monsoon*, from alongside of which vessel the little expedition set out on or about August 9th, Sutter going in advance, as he states, in the smallest boat, manned by his kanakas, and touching only at Martinez' rancho en route to Suisun Bay.

Sutter has always said, and the statement has been constantly repeated, that it took him eight days from Suisun Bay to find the mouth of the Sacramento, no one at San Francisco knowing anything of that region beyond the fact that there were large rivers there. This is of course an absurd claim, even had no one at Yerba Buena known of the explorations by Kotzebue and Belcher. True, this party might have spent eight days, or eight weeks, in exploring the San Joaquin and the sloughs of that region; but I suppose that, as Davis says, they were eight days in making the trip from San Francisco to the site of the modern Sacra-

[13] In his *Pers. Rem.*, MS., Sutter claims to have bought a schooner from Spear & Co., a yacht from Hinckley, and a pinnace from Capt. Wilson; and the statement that he owned the fleet has been oft repeated; but in his *Diary* he speaks of having chartered the *Isabella* and purchased several small boats; in his *Petition*, that he 'chartered a schooner with some small boats;' and Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., p. 11, gives the version in my text. Davis was in charge of the fleet, representing Spear & Co., the owners.

[14] Letter of Sutter, July 12, 1879, to Cal. Pioneers, in *S. F. Bulletin*. He says he got six larger cannon in 1841 from the captain of an American vessel who brought them from South America expressly for him; one brass field-piece only from the Russians; and a few others, including 2 brass pieces, from other vessels at different dates.

mento.[15] They moved slowly, closely examining the banks and anchoring at night. The Indians, not appearing until the last day of the voyage, were friendly when promised gifts, and furnished guides, who, being ex-neophytes, could speak Spanish. The schooners anchored at or below the mouth of the branch now called Feather River, up which Sutter in his pinnace went some fifteen miles, taking it for the main stream, and then rejoined the others. Next morning, or that same afternoon according to Davis, the fleet dropped down the Sacramento and entered the American River,[16] on the southern bank of which stream the cargoes were unloaded, the tents pitched, and the cannon mounted. The schooners started in the morning on their return, carrying back several of the men who had intended to remain, and were saluted at parting with nine guns, which made a sensation among Indians, animals, and birds.[17]

Sutter was now left to carve his fortunes in the wilderness, his companions being three white men whose names are not known, ten kanakas including two women, an Indian boy from Oregon, and a large bull-dog from Oahu. A site for permanent settlement was at once selected about a quarter of a mile from the landing on high ground, where two or three grass

[15] The date of starting is given by Davis as Aug. 9th; and that of arrival by Shuck as Aug. 15th; by Dunbar as Aug. 16th; and Sutter, *Diary*, Aug. 12th, *Petition*, Aug. 15th. Little reliance is to be placed on the accuracy of these dates; but I accept Aug. 9th to Aug. 16th as approximately correct.

[16] The Rio de los Americanos is named by Alvarado in Oct. 1837 as a place frequented by trappers of revolutionary proclivities. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 322.

[17] *Sutter's Pers. Rem.*, MS., 28–36; *Id., Diary; Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 11–14. Sutter says the landing-place was several miles up the American, and again that it was about a quarter of a mile from the later site of the fort. He states that he wished to explore the Sacramento above, but was prevented by discontent and danger of mutiny among his men. A writer in *Hutchings' Mag.*, iv. 4, speaks of the *Isabella* as the first sailing vessel that made the voyage up the river—a voyage interrupted by hostile Indians! *Sutter's Petition to Congress* (39th cong. 1st sess., Sen. Miscel. Doc., 38, is a narrative from which many current sketches have been drawn; for which as for various other statements made by him the *Diary* was a series of memoranda; and which in some respects is more accurate than his *Personal Reminiscences*, MS., though in it he claimed to be a native of Switzerland, and to have received a military education. He says the landing-place was where he later built his tannery, on the south bank of the American River.

and tule houses were built by the kanakas, more or less in the Hawaiian style, on wooden frames put up by the white men. Such were the primitive structures of California's later capital, and they were ready for their occupants early in September. But before the winter rains began, Sutter tells us that he had completed an adobe building roofed with tules. It was about forty feet long, and divided into three apartments, in one of which the captain lived, while the others served as kitchen and blacksmith-shop. Meanwhile the Indians had not failed to come for the promised gifts of beads and other trifles, and were duly impressed by the occasional discharge of the cannon at a target. They soon began to bring in stolen horses for sale; and they were easily induced to make themselves useful in the manufacture of adobes or in other work. They were disposed to pilfer to some extent, and perhaps formed plans to kill the strangers and obtain their property; but if this were so, their plots were frustrated through strict vigilance, an overruling providence, three cannon, and the teeth of the bull-dog.[18] Before the end of 1839 the vessel, spoken of as boat, pinnace, launch, schooner, and even sloop in these years, though a new and larger boat may have been obtained after the first trip, made one or two voyages to San Francisco and back with Sutter on board, bringing several new recruits for the colony; a drove of cattle and horses, purchased of Martinez on credit, arrived in October.[19] Meanwhile the work of improvement went on; meat was plentifully obtained by the hunters; preparations were made for trapping operations the next season; gardens were

[18] *Sutter's Petition to Congress*, p. 3. In the *Pers. Rem.*, MS., 39–40, Sutter relates that on one occasion the dog caught the leader of a party that came to kill him in the night; but this seems to have been later. I think there were no serious troubles in 1839.

[19] According to *Sutter's Petition*, p. 3, the cattle numbered 300, horses 30, and mares 30; and 8 white men joined the colony. In the *Diary*, 2, it is stated that the cattle arrived Oct. 22d, requiring 8 men—probably the new recruits—to drive them. He seems to speak of two trips to S. F., one taking 16 days and the other a month.

planted with various seeds; and a road was cut through the woods to the embarcadero on the Sacramento.

At the first I suppose, though there is no formal record and the name is not used until the next year, the new establishment was christened, in honor of Sutter's adopted country, Nueva Helvecia, or New Switzerland.[20]

On December 26, 1839, General Vallejo wrote to the comandante at San José: "We must not lose sight of a settlement of foreigners in the direction of the Sacramento, said to have been made with permission of the departmental government, though contrary to law and to the latest orders from Mexico. That establishment is very suspicious, and respira síntomas venenosos."[21] Vallejo had always urged the importance of making settlements on the northern frontier; but he fully understood the danger to be apprehended from such a colony as that of Sutter, if independent of Mexican control, which could not fail to become a rendezvous of the department's worst foes. Moreover, the idea of a power in the north which might rival his own was not a pleasing one, especially when that power was founded and likely to be constantly favored by his enemies at Monterey. There can be no doubt that the favor shown to Sutter at Monterey from the first by Alvarado and others, especially by Jimeno Casarin, the governor's secretary and adviser, was all the more cordial from the expectation that there might be a rivalry between the magnates of Sonoma and the Sacramento. At any rate, the concession made to Sutter without consulting the general was an insult to Vallejo, and it is not strange that he did not feel kindly toward the new-comers. Yet there was no open quarrel, nor

[20] Which form of the name should properly be used here is a puzzle. Sutter probably called it Nouvelle Helvétie—since he always affected the French, and not the German—rather than Neu-Helvetien; but he was a Mexican official, and wrote the name officially in its Spanish form, Nueva Helvecia, as did the Californians; while later, with the predominance of American settlers, it became New Helvetia. Probably it never occurred to anybody to write it all in Latin—Nova Helvetia.

[21] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 395.

special manifestation of ill feeling on either side, in these earlier years, so far as the records show.[22]

The annals of Nueva Helvecia in 1840 are neither extensive nor complicated. In the spring a party was sent out to search for pine timber, which was rafted down the American River from a distance of about twenty-five miles. Adobes were also prepared, and in the autumn a beginning was probably made on the fort, which will be described later, and the construction of which occupied about four years. Of agricultural operations at this time we have no record, though they were doubtless conducted on a limited scale, as other industries promised larger and more speedy returns. Sutter's growing herds were increased by the purchase of a large number of cattle from Antonio Suñol, besides horses from Joaquin Gomez and others. Some animals were obtained also from Dr Marsh and Robert Livermore. The launch, now in charge of Robert Ridley, made frequent trips to Yerba Buena and to the bay ranchos, always with requests for grain, poultry, implements, or supplies of some kind to be paid for later in beaver-skins. Sutter's creditors, of whom Martinez and Suñol were chief, as yet showed no marked signs of impatience, and prospects therefore seemed flattering.[23]

In the industry of beaver-trapping, from which Sutter expected the greatest results in the future—and with reason, since for several years it was with

[22] Alvarado, however, informed the Mex. govt in 1842 that Sutter could get no aid from Vallejo, though he made repeated requests for such aid. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 9–10.

[23] In *Sutter's Diary*, 2–3, the number of cattle bought of Suñol is said to have been 1,000. March 18th is given as the date of first sending out men for timber. In his *Pers. Rem.*, MS., 48, Sutter speaks vaguely of beginning work on the fort, implying that the adobe building was burned in the winter of 1839–40, or probably 1840–1, since it was seen by a visitor in July 1840. The *Sutter-Suñol Correspondence, 1840–6*, MS., is a collection of copies and extracts from original letters in the possession of the Suñol family, which originals were furnished for my use by Mr P. Etchebarne of S. José. The collection contains three of Sutter's letters of 1840, in one of which he credits Suñol with $295 for cattle sent through Sinclair. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 224, states that as early as April 1840, Martinez wrote to him complaining of Sutter's failure to keep his promises.

beaver-skins, supplemented only with deer-fat and brandy, that he paid such of his debts as were paid at all—not much was accomplished this season for want of experienced hunters, suitable traps, and articles of traffic adapted to the needs of the free trappers; yet an encouraging beginning was made. It was from the services of his own hunters and those of others who trapped for themselves without license that the captain expected his profits, and not from the trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who could not sell their furs. He accordingly, by virtue of his authority as a Mexican official, of which I shall speak presently, notified that company in the summer of 1840 that Laframboise and his band of hunters must suspend their annual visits to the Tulares.[24] Another industry introduced this year, and from which Sutter had great hopes of future profits, was the manufacture of brandy from the wild grapes which grew in great abundance in the region of New Helvetia, and in the gathering of which the services of the Indians could be utilized.[25]

At the end of July Sutter's establishment was visited by Captain W. D. Phelps of the Boston ship *Alert*, anchored at Yerba Buena, who went up the river in his cutter, with six men, impelled not only by curiosity, but by the mistaken idea that this was "the first passage of a ship's boat on that river," and by the other belief, well founded I think, that this was "the first time the stars and stripes waved over its waters." Phelps found a party of Sutter's Indian fishermen at work at the embarcadero, whence he went on horseback to New Helvetia, being welcomed with a salute from the cannon and a gay display of flags. He was hospitably entertained, enjoyed an elk-hunt with his

[24] So said Gov. Douglas, *Journal*, MS., 71-2, to Alvarado in Jan. 1841. No attention had been paid to Sutter's prohibition. Alvarado admitted that he had authorized Sutter to request, not order, Laframboise to withdraw his operations farther from the settlements.

[25] Letter of Oct. 7, 1840, in *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 1, in which he says he will know in a few weeks the result of his attempts.

host, visited Sinclair's farm, spent a week in explorations farther up the river, and then returned in three days to his ship. In his book he gives no description of the establishment as he found it.[26] Soon after this visitor's departure, there arrived others on August 17th from Bodega. They were Peter Lassen, William Wiggins, and several others whose names and number are not known, but who had crossed the continent with Sutter. They came down from Oregon on the *Lausanne*, and were aided by the Russians to cross the country—stealthily from fear of interference by Californians—to New Helvetia, where all but the two named above remained to strengthen Sutter's force.[27]

Later in August Sutter went down to Monterey and obtained his papers of naturalization as a Mexican citizen, for which he made the preliminary application in July 1839. These final steps were begun on August 27th before David Spence as justice of the peace, and completed the 29th, the applicant proving by documents and by three witnesses, Estrada, Watson, and Spence, that he was a Swiss catholic, and of good character.[28] Captain Sutter was duly author-

[26] *Phelps' Fore and Aft*, 254–9. Geo. H. Card seems to have been one of the men who accompanied Phelps.

[27] In his *Diary*, Sutter says that 'the men who crossed with me the Rocky Mountains,' implying that the number included all 5 of them, arrived Aug. 17th. There were not, however, so many, since on Oct. 19, 1841, Sutter writes that he is expecting overland from the Columbia 'several men who crossed the continent with me and wish to enter my service.' *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 11. Wiggins, *Reminis.*, MS., 1–3, says there were 'some half-dozen of us' who took passage on the *Lausanne*, and implies that all accompanied himself and Lassen from Ross to Sutter's place, a journey of 12 days. Two men, however, are known to have gone to Honolulu on the vessel; and as in the controversy between Vallejo and the Russians only 4 foreigners are mentioned as going inland, I suppose that not more than 2 or 3 of Sutter's old companions arrived at this time. In a contribution to the newspapers, however, Wiggins says there were 6—4 besides himself and Lassen—who went inland. *S. José Pioneer*, April 6, 1878. Wiggins found Sutter living, as at the end of 1839, in the adobe house of three rooms, the fort being not yet begun.

[28] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 115–16. Sutter in his various statements has said nothing of this visit to Monterey, implying that his naturalization, etc., was effected at the time his land grant was made in 1841. It was on this trip, doubtless, that he carried Lassen and Wiggins down to the bay, as mentioned by the latter.

ized by Jimeno Casarin, on September 1st, to represent the departmental government at Nueva Helvecia, being endowed with all the civil authority necessary for the local administration of justice, the prevention of robberies by "adventurers from the United States," the repression of hostilities by savage Indians, and the checking of the illegal trapping and fishing carried on by the 'Company of the Columbia,' for which purposes he might even resort to force of arms if necessary. In fact, he was constituted, as he soon had occasion to sign himself officially, Encargado de justicia y representante del gobierno en las fronteras del Rio del Sacramento.[29]

The Indians gave some trouble this year, and Sutter was obliged on several occasions, respecting which chronological and other details are not satisfactory, to use force against them, once as he claims attacking a large body of them on the river of the Cosumnes, and killing thirty of their nnmber.[30] His Indian policy was undoubtedly a wise and successful one, its chief features being constant vigilance, prompt punishment of offences, and uniform kindness and justice, especially to those tribes near home. He had unusual tact for making friends of all men, irrespective of race, and he not only kept the Sacraménto Indians, as a rule, on friendly terms, but succeeded by his liberality and tact in obtaining from them a large amount of useful service. He strengthened his position by aiding his Indians against their foes. In September, soon after his return from Monterey, he had an opportunity to advance his own interests in this way. Acacio and fifteen other Indians came with a pass from Mission

[29] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 20; xvii. 86; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 129.

[30] *Sutter's Diary*, 2–3; *Id., Petition*, 3; *Id., Pers. Rem.*, MS., 40–1. Four or five distinct cases of plots or hostilities seem to be alluded to this year. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 224–5, claims to have discovered in April a plan to attack New Helvetia, and to have prevented it by arresting the chief, Alarico, and keeping his two sons as hostages. This author, *Id.*, 37–46, represents Sutter's establishment as having been in territory of the Ochecames, whose chief, Narciso, had formerly been a neophyte, and who favored the strangers. Sutter also names Narciso and the Ochocumnes.

San José to visit relatives among the Ochecames, or Ochocumnes. They were permitted by Sutter to purchase *coritas* and *plumeros*, and also to obtain women peaceably with the consent of all concerned. They however attacked a ranchería of the Yalesumnes, many of whom, under Pulpulé, were working at New Helvetia, and killing seven of the men, stole all the women and children. Sutter was blamed at first, and accused of treachery, but he at once joined Pulpulé, freed the captives as they were being dragged on board rafts on the river, and killed one who refused to give up his captives. Seven of the Cosumnes engaged in this affair and three Christians were subsequently shot in the presence of all the Indians; and such others of the San José neophytes as were caught were delivered to the authorities.[31] Sutter doubtless became somewhat less careful in his treatment of the natives as he became stronger. From the first he was in the habit of seizing Indian children, who were retained as servants, or slaves, at his own establishment, or sent to his friends in different parts of the country. But he always took care to capture for this purpose only children from distant or hostile tribes, and he generally treated his own servants with kindness.

Sutter had probably a force of nearly twenty white men at New Helvetia by the end of 1840; but I am able to name but few. Robert Ridley, as we have seen, was in charge of the boat which made regular trips down and up the river; William Daylor was here in 1840; and it is likely enough that half a dozen or more of Sutter's men, recruited at Yerba Buena and other places in California, have been named in my annual lists. William Burns seems to have been one of the original two or three who came

[31] Sept. 20, 1840, Sutter's report to Capt. J. J. Vallejo at San José, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 129. In his *Pers. Rem.*, MS., 44–6, Sutter says the Indians surrendered at a lake about thirty miles south of the fort, and that 14 were put to death. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 166–8, relates that in consequence of this outrage by the S. José Indians, a force of Californians was sent several times to the valley, rescued many captives, and took about 80 prisoners.

with Sutter from Honolulu; but who were his companions, who were the two or three that came with Lassen on the *Lausanne*, who were gathered in from the vagabond trappers of the valleys, or who, besides Nicholas Allgeier and Sebastian Keyser, had come overland from Oregon, we have no means of knowing. Some of the names to be given at their first appearance on the records in later annual lists should doubtless be accredited to these years, but which ones it is impossible to say. Meanwhile, however, John Sinclair had come from the Hawaiian Islands, and was found by Phelps in July 1840 living on a farm across the American River, and a few miles north of Sutter's place. I may add that at the time of Graham's arrest and the general excitement about foreign plots, no effort seems to have been made to interfere in any manner with those living at New Helvetia.

I have constantly cited in foot-notes the authorities on each point presented for this as for earlier periods, thus forming a complete bibliographical record. Nine tenths of the authorities cited have been original records in public or private archives; but many of the rest, being the writings of foreigners, pertain somewhat to my present topic. Of these, however, only a few require notice here as belonging almost exclusively to this period of 1836–40, and affording an opportunity to describe more fully than has been done the visits or voyages that brought them into existence. And in this connection special mention should be made of *Niles' National Register* of Baltimore, and to the *Sandwich Islands Gazette* and *Polynesian*, two papers published at Honolulu. The files of these publications I have found to be of the greatest service, not only for the maritime records so fully given in the Hawaiian journals, but as reflecting the spirit of the American and European press on matters affecting early California annals.

Richard H. Dana, Jr. did not leave the coast until

1836, but his most fascinating narrative of *Two Years before the Mast* has already been noticed under the year of the author's arrival. The book was, however, published for the first time in the last year of this period.[32] The only other visit of 1836 resulting in a book was that of the U. S. ship of war *Peacock*, Kennedy commanding, 600 tons, 22 guns. The *Peacock* left New York in June 1835, her primary business being to convey an embassy for the ratification of certain treaties in Muscat and Siam. Her course was to Rio Janeiro, round the Cape Good Hope; up the eastern coast of Africa, to Muscat, Hindoostan, Ceylon, Java, and Siam; to the Chinese coast; to the Bonin and Sandwich Islands; thence to California, the Mexican and South American coasts; and round Cape Horn, arriving at Norfolk in October 1837. Dr W. S. W. Ruschenberger was surgeon to the expedition, and wrote the narrative, only a small portion of which pertains to California.[33]

Commodore Kennedy, being at the Islands in September 1836, received from the merchants of Honolulu a memorial in which he was urged to visit the coast of California and Mexico, on the ground "that many serious outrages and unjust acts have been committed by the governmental authorities of those countries upon American vessels and seamen, and great losses and damages sustained in consequence." Moreover, "we believe that no vessel of the U. S. has for many years visited Upper California; and we have confidence that were a naval force to appear on that coast, it would render valuable service to our citizens residing in those countries, would afford needed succor and protection to American vessels employed there, and be attended with results peculiarly advantageous to the general interests of our national commerce."[34]

[32] Notice of *Dana's Two Years before the Mast*, in chap. xiv., vol. iii., of this work.

[33] *Ruschenberger's Narrative of a Voyage round the World during the Years 1835–37;*...London, 1838, 8vo, 2 vol., with illustrations. The matter on California is on pp. 380–4; and chap. xxi.–ii. p. 402–26.

[34] The seizure of the *Loriot* at S. Francisco in 1833 was one of the out-

In accordance with this request, the *Peacock* was directed across the Pacific and anchored at Monterey the 24th of October. The visit was not eventful, nor is much known of it in detail, no notice of the arrival even appearing in the archives. The author found Governor Gutierrez and his forces "nightly on guard, expecting an attack from some disaffected rancheros and Indians.' He visited the deserted mission at Carmelo; was visited by some trappers, who recounted their inland exploits, expressed proper amazement at all on shipboard, and exhibited their marksmanship; and met the old veteran, Captain William Smith. Then after six days, "the commodore having done all that was necessary in relation to the subjects of complaints under the existing circumstances," he got under way for Mazatlan on the 30th, just in time to avoid the revolution—of which, and the part to be taken in it by foreigners, the commander knew nothing, perhaps—but not until he had received from American residents and supercargoes a letter of thanks for his kind interference, and the 'highly salutary' influence of his visit.[35] There is no record of his investigation of abuses, if he made any.

Ruschenberger gives a slight description of the town and bay of Monterey. He notes some facts respecting the commercial interests of the country; records his observations briefly on several Californian institutions; speaks of the ruinous condition of San

rages complained of; and another vessel belonging to John C. Jones was believed to be at present detained unlawfully. The signers of the memorial, many of whom were known in Cal., and all engaged more or less in the Cal. trade, were as follows: Peirce & Brewer, Jos. Moore, Wm Paty, Ladd & Co., Sherman Peck, Hinckley & Smith, A. H. Fayerweather, Thos Cummins, Henry P. Stevens, Eliab Grimes & Co., Thos Meek, Henry Paty & Co., J. Peabody, Eli Southworth, Jos. Navarro, D. Owen, Sam. F. Shaw, A. C. Davis, John Paty, Sam. A. Cushing, Wm French, J. R. Thomas, J. Ebbetts, Steph. D. McIntosh, Wm H. Pearce, Cornelius Hoyer, Nelson Hall, Chas Titcomb, Wm C. Little.

[35] The letter, dated Oct. 28th, was signed by Nathan Spear, F. D. Atherton, John Meek, Thos A. Norton, Thos O. Larkin, Josiah Thompson, Wm S. Hinckley, Wm M. Warren, A. G. Tomlinson, John H. Everett, Ed H. Faucon, Jos. Carter, and Wm French. It was addressed to 'Com. Edmund P. Kennedy, commanding East India Station, U. S. ship *Peacock*.'

Cárlos; illustrates by an anecdote the methods of administering justice; gives much attention, comparatively, to the trappers; and finally adds a short historical chapter, the matter of which was drawn from Venegas, and pertains almost exclusively to Baja California. Except as a record of the visit, this book is of no special importance in its relation to California, though well written, and of real value in its information on other parts of the world.

Thomas Nuttall, an English botanist, who had crossed the continent to the Columbia River in 1834, came to California apparently early in 1836, on a vessel from the Hawaiian Islands. Dana records his trip down the coast to San Diego in April, on the *Pilgrim*, and his sailing on the *Alert* for Boston in May. "That during this limited period Mr Nuttall should have accomplished so much for California botany speaks volumes to his credit," says a recent writer; but what he accomplished, and how and when it was made known, are matters that have escaped my research.[36] Ferdinand Deppe, a German naturalist and supercargo, visited California on the *Rasselas*, in October of this year, on his way to Honolulu; but I have no record of his scientific labors here.

Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R. N., in command of H. M. S. *Sulphur*, with the *Starling* under Lieutenant Kellett, visited California in 1837 and again in 1839. Captain Beechey had left England at the end of 1835 in command of the expedition; but on account of his illness Belcher came out to succeed him, and took command at Panamá in February 1837. The route was up the coast to San Blas, to the Hawaiian Islands, to the north-west coast of America, to California, to the Mexican and Central American coasts, to Callao, and back to Panamá in October 1838. The second cruise was for the most part a

[36] *Parry's Early Bot. Expl.*, 414; *Dana's Two Years*, 335–7; *Townsend's Narr.*, 233.

repetition of the first until the navigator left Mazatlan in January 1840 for the South Sea Islands and Singapore; thence to China, where most of the year 1841 was passed; and homeward to England round Cape Good Hope, arriving in August 1842. Belcher himself was the historian of the voyages, and the surgeon, R. B. Hinds, added an appendix. According to the published instructions to Beechey and Belcher, the main object of the expedition was the completion of a hydrographic survey of the western coasts and islands of America; and it is in its information on this and cognate topics that the value of the narrative chiefly consists; though general and miscellaneous observations on the regions visited are by no means neglected.[37]

Coming from Nootka, the *Sulphur* anchored at Yerba Buena about midnight on October 19, 1837, leaving the *Starling* outside the heads to enter next day.[38] Belcher had visited San Francisco before in 1827, and both here and at Santa Clara, where he went in a vain search for supplies, as later at Monterey and elsewhere, he noted the striking evidences of deterioration and decay. Nowhere did he find any encouraging feature. "Another fate attends this country. Their hour is fast approaching. Harassed on all sides by Indians, pestered by a set of renegade deserters from whalers and merchant ships, who start by dozens and will eventually form themselves into a bandit gang and domineer over them; unable from

[37] *Belcher, Narrative of a Voyage round the World, performed in Her Majesty's Ship 'Sulphur,' during the years 1836–1842...by Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R. N., C. B., F. R. A. S., etc., Commander of the Expedition.* London, 1843, 8vo, 2 vol., illust. and maps. The portions relating to California are in vol. i., 'hydrographic instructions,' p. xviii., and text, pp. 114–37, 312–28; and vol. ii., Appendix, '*Hinds's The Regions of Vegetation*,' *California Region*, p. 345–8. No illustrations or map for California. Scientific publications resulting from this expedition were: *Hinds's Botany of the Voyage of H. M. S. Sulphur...Botanical Descriptions by George Bentham, Esq.* London, 1844, 4to; and *Hinds's Zoölogy of the Voyage*...London, 1844, 4to, 2 vol., with plates. Mammalia, by J. E. Gray; Birds, by J. Gould: Fish, by J. Richardson; Mollusca, by R. B. Hinds.

[38] The arrival is also mentioned by Capt. Richardson in a letter to Vallejo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 328.

want of spirit to protect themselves, they will soon dwindle into insignificance." "The missions, the only respectable establishments in this country, are annihilated; they have been virtually plundered by all parties." "They sadly want the interposition of some powerful friend to rescue them. To Great Britain their hopes are directed; why I cannot learn, but I am much inclined to think that it is rather from a pusillanimous fear and want of energy to stand by each other and expel their common enemies than from any friendly feeling to Great Britain. Besides this, they look with some apprehension upon a power daily increasing, an organized independent band of deserters from American and English whalers. These men, headed by one or two noted daring characters now amongst them, will, whenever it suits their purpose, dictate their own terms and set all law at defiance"—a prophecy of the troubles with Graham and his band in 1840. Belcher's own crew contributed some half-dozen men to this army of deserters, and besides, he found it difficult to obtain needed supplies.

The main object in entering San Francisco Bay was to complete the survey begun by Beechey by making explorations beyond the strait of Carquines and up the great rivers to the head of navigation. They started October 24th with the *Starling*—which, however, was left about 36 miles beyond the strait—pinnace, two cutters, and two gigs. He did not find the Jesus María and San Joaquin—the former because there was no such stream distinct from the Sacramento, and the latter because its mouth and course were much farther south than he had been led to suppose, as indeed he finally concluded, though pronouncing it "certainly not navigable nor entitled to be named as a river in conjunction with its majestic neighbor." As they advanced up the Sacramento the Indians became more and more shy, until at last it was found impossible to communicate with them. The highest point, reached on the 30th, and deemed the

head of navigation about one hundred and fifty miles by the windings of the stream, was at a branch beyond which there was not water enough in either channel for the lightest boats, located in 38° 46′ 47″ and named Point Victoria, or Elk Station. This location is altogether unintelligible to me. Much descriptive matter is given about the soil and vegetation of the banks, as well as of the animals and natives of the Oneshanate tribe. The broad plain was said to be bounded in the east by the Sierra Nevada, and on the west by the Bolbones and Diablo mountains. The trigonometrical survey was completed down the river and connected with that of Beechey, the task not being completed, with hard and constant work, until November 24th, a full month in all. No chart of the survey is given, though a copy was promised to General Vallejo.[39]

At the end of November the vessels sailed, and anchored December 2d at Monterey, which town Belcher found "as much increased as San Francisco had fallen into ruin. It was still, however, very miserable, and wanting in the military air of 1827." Nothing was done here, so far as is shown by the narrative; and on the 6th the *Sulphur* sailed for San Blas, as the *Starling* had done some days before.

Coming again from the north, Captain Belcher arrived on September 20, 1839, with his two vessels at Bodega, but at once made a trip of 48 hours to San Francisco and back, in the *Sulphur*.[40] A description of the Russian establishment is given, though the commander was so busy in surveying the port that

[39] Nov. 30, 1837, autograph letter of Belcher to Vallejo, in which he expresses regret at not meeting him; promises a copy of his chart—which he would leave now but for the fact that it is so confused as to be of no use; and complains of the desertion of his men. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 355. Dec. 26th, Vallejo issues orders for the capture of the deserters. *Id.*, iv. 366.

[40] Sept. 21, 1839, Belcher to Vallejo—in Spanish and not autograph—urging him to capture and return the 11 deserters of the former visit. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 164. He says nothing of the chart of the Sacramento. An order was promptly issued for the capture of the deserters. *Id.*, viii. 185; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 206. The result does not appear; but it is probable that some of Belcher's men were among the exiles of the next year.

he had no time to visit Ross in person. The survey completed, the vessels proceeded to San Francisco for supplies and the completion of certain observations, touching for one day only at Monterey, the 5th of October. Thence the expedition moved down the coast, touching at Santa Bárbara the 9th; at San Pedro the 11th; at San Juan the 13th. One of the vessels visiting Santa Catalina Island, they arrived at San Diego on the 17th, and five days later sailed for the southern coasts.

In connection with this cruise down the Californian coast, some local descriptive matter is given in the narrative, which for both visits contains occasional references to the unfortunate condition of the country and the ruin of the missions. Hinds, in his appendix on the 'regions of vegetation,' gives three pages only of general remarks on the extent, physical character, climate, and flora of the Californian region—including the country between the Columbia and the Colorado. In the absence of charts to show the details of the hydrographic survey, Belcher's book cannot be said to have much value so far as California is concerned.

William A. Slacum was commissioned by the U. S. government to obtain information about the Pacific coast, particularly Oregon. He came down from the Columbia in the spring of 1837 on the *Loriot*, with Young and Edwards' party of cattle-buyers, a party which he aided in fitting out. We have no details of his experience in California from February 19th, when he arrived at Ross, to March 2d, the date of his leaving Monterey for San Blas; but in his report to the secretary of state, dated March 26th, he gave an account of Young's enterprise, and a good description of the Russian establishment, at the same time promising another report on California, which I have not seen.[41] This report was published in 1839, and with

[41] *Slacum's Report, 1837*, in *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 25th cong. 3d sess., House Rep., no. 101, p. 29–46. Slacum notes a material change in the climate of the coast. Formerly from May to Oct. the prevailing winds had been from n. w. to w., and in Nov. to Apr. from s. w. to s. s. w.; but for three

it another by Hall J. Kelley, whose visit, already described, had been in 1834. This writer devotes half a dozen pages to a "brief geographical account of the northern portion of High California," not very inaccurate, considering Kelley's limited opportunities of observation.[42]

The voyage of the French frigate *Vénus*, commanded by Captain Abel du Petit-Thouars, who was also the historian of the expedition, lasted from December 1836 to June 1839. The route was from Brest to Brazil, round Cape Horn, to Callao, to Honolulu, to Kamchatka, to California, down the coast to San Blas and Valparaiso, to the South Sea Islands, and home by Cape Good Hope, meeting Belcher's expedition at several points. The primary object was to investigate the whale-fisheries of the North Pacific, with a view

years past (since 1834) the winds had been exactly reversed, making the winters much colder. Thermometer at Ross, Oct. 1836, 43° to 66°; Nov., 38° to 72°; Dec., 36° to 62°; Jan., 1837, 38° to 58°; Feb., 43° to 56°. Feb. 12, 1837, Vallejo to Alvarado. Is informed that a U. S. commissioner is expected on the *Loriot* to survey the coast. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 75.

[42] *Kelley's Memoir on Oregon and High California*, dated Jan. 31, 1839, and published in the same document as Slacum's report, p. 47–61. Kelley speaks of California, 'because it has been and may be again made the subject of conference and negotiation between Mexico and the U. S.; and because its future addition to our western possessions is most unquestionably a matter to be desired.' 'There is one continuous line of prairie extending from the gulf of Cal. to the 39th parallel, sometimes 100 miles wide and seldom less than 10, opening to the ocean only at the bay of San Francisco'—very fertile, but probably not fitted for profitable cultivation on account of alkali and asphaltum. 'The coast is always healthy; but during the heat of summer the prairies of the interior are pestilential, and diseases abound.' The only harbors visited and described are Sta Cruz and S. F.—the latter the best harbor in N. W. America, except one in the strait of Fuca. Of the S. Joaquin: 'This tranquil river must eventually become productive of vast benefit to California, not merely as a convenient and ready inlet for commercial purposes, but as a great outlet through which shall be drained those superfluous waters by which so much of the prairie is converted into a marsh and rendered fruitful only of disease and death. It is indeed a vast canal, constructed by an almighty architect, and destined, I doubt not, in future ages to transport the countless products of a mighty empire.' The 'Sacrament' is also described as 'navigable for vessels of small burden to its first fork, about 80 miles from its mouth.' 'When I remember the exuberant fertility, the exhaustless natural wealth, the abundant streams and admirable harbors, and the advantageous shape and position of High California, I cannot but believe that at no very distant day a swarming multitude of human beings will again people the solitude, and that the monuments of civilization will throng along those streams and cover those fertile vales.'

to the further development of that industry and the protection of French interests. The presence of a national vessel on the western coasts of America was expected to have a good moral effect by inspiring respect for the French flag; and the commander was instructed not only to encourage and protect the commercial interests of his country, but also to acquire all possible information respecting the actual condition of the various countries visited. The members of the scientific corps were to seize every opportunity for making observations on hydrographic and other special matters. The voyage was prosperous in most respects, and the results were published in 1840.[43]

The *Vénus*, coming from the far north with a force of over three hundred men, anchored at Monterey October 18, 1837.[44] Many of the men were sick with scurvy, but through the kindness of David Spence a vacant house on shore was furnished for a hospital as well as observatory, and all were cured but one man, who was buried with military honors at San Cárlos. The frigate saluted the fort, and was saluted in turn with an equal number of guns. Governor Alvarado received the navigators with his usual hearty politeness, sending on board some baskets of grapes, and granting every facility for making observations and obtaining needed supplies. A grand ball was given to the strangers during their stay, which affair, with a visit to the mission of San Cárlos, to which the

[43] *Petit-Thouars, Voyage autour du monde sur la frégate La Vénus, pendant les années 1836–1839. Publié par ordre du roi, sous les auspices du Ministre de la Marine, par Abel du Petit-Thouars, capitaine de vaisseau, Commandeur de la Légion-d'Honneur.* Paris, 1840–4, 8vo, 5 vol., map. The author in his preface speaks of charts of all the ports in which the *Vénus* anchored, and also of an *Album Pittoresque* in folio of drawings accompanying the narrative; but I have not seen either. The portions relating to Cal. are as follows: tom. ii. p. 77–144, narrative of visit and historical account; tom. iii. p. 328–31, condensed narrative in a report presented on the return to France; 345–92, occasional slight mentions in a report on the whale-fishery; also in sheets at end of volume, accounts of supplies furnished, etc.; tom. iv. p. 1–33, Cal. documents in *Notes et Pièces Justificatives;* tom. v. p. 177–85, 430–1, scientific notes, with some memoranda on events of the visit, in *Journal des Observations Détachées.*

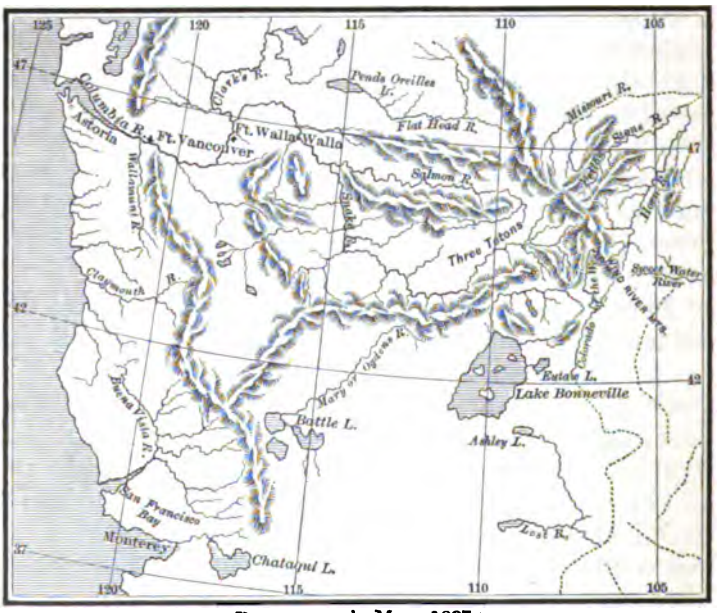
[44] I have found in the archives nothing about the presence of this vessel.

Frenchman was prompted by the narrative of La Pérouse, are the only events of the visit recorded, except such as were connected with the making of scientific observations and the obtaining of supplies. This latter was attended with some difficulty. Notice of the arrival had been sent in advance from Honolulu, and it was hoped to find provisions prepared for sale. But such was not the case. Flour was scarce, and the ship's bakers, establishing themselves on shore, had to work day and night to provide a supply of biscuits. The sum paid for provisions, including twenty-two beeves, was about $8,000.[45] Captain Hinckley's vessel, the *Kamamalu*, was chartered to go to San Francisco for provisions and water. The trip took from October 20th to November 2d; and M. M. Chiron, Tessan, and Mesnard took advantage of it to complete their scientific survey of San Francisco. The *Vénus* finally left Monterey the 14th of November.

Petit-Thouars' work is a much more valuable one, so far as California is concerned, than that of Belcher. In addition to the brief narrative of the visit itself, to scientific observations of different kinds not particularly important in this part of the voyage, and to very complete descriptive matter on the only part of the country visited, the French navigator gives an excellent sketch of Californian history for the ten years preceding his visit, especially of the revolutionary troubles then in progress, and of the actual condition of the country, its people, and its institutions. Naturally the author fell into some errors. But from no other single work, I think, could so complete and accurate an idea of the subject be obtained. He was the first of visitors to collect original documents, ten of which, relating to the revolution, and

[45] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 314–16, states that Petit-Thouars, on being solicited by some of the officers who without Alvarado's knowledge wished to purchase powder in exchange for beeves, refused to sell, but landed the powder, about 500 lbs, in the night as a gift, being willing to favor secretly the cause of the Californians.

for the most part unknown to other writers, are presented, with translations. True, later writers have not utilized these documents, and they are of little use to me, as I have the originals; yet this in nowise detracts from the credit due M. Petit-Thouars. His map of the world, so far as it shows California, is of no importance here. It shows only the coast on a small scale, and in the broad interior the four great rivers Columbia, Colorado, Rio Grande, and Arkan-



BONNEVILLE'S MAP, 1837.

sas rising in the same region. But I copy here a reduction of Bonneville's map of 1837, the accuracies and inaccuracies of which need no remark.[46]

In 1838 there is neither foreign visit nor book to be noted here; but 1839 gave the world a most excellent résumé of Californian history, written by

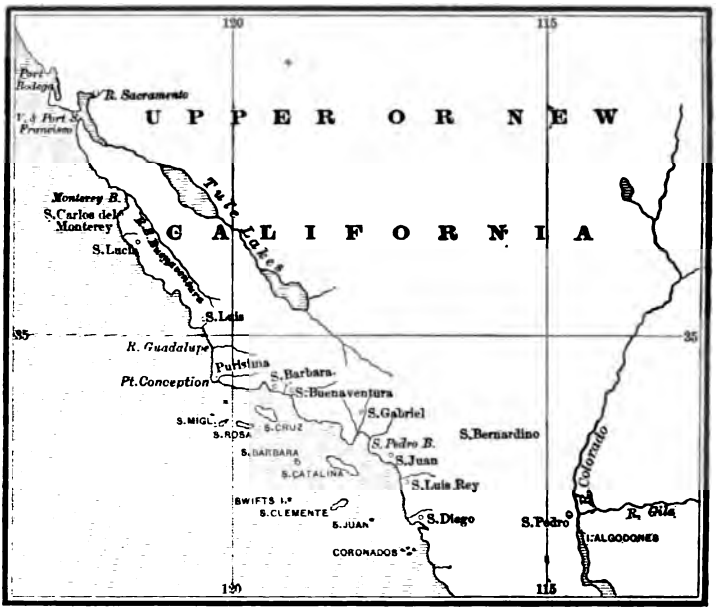
[46] *Warren's Mem.*, 34, pl. iv.

Alexander Forbes and edited by John Forbes, a brother of the author residing in London.[47] The author was an English merchant, long a resident of Tepic. He had never visited California, so far as I know, but he was brought constantly in contact with intelligent men who were familiar with the country, being also in correspondence with prominent Californians, notably with José Bandini, from whom in the form of letters he derived much of the information published in his book.[48] The manuscript was completed and sent to England in October 1835; but the publication being delayed, additional material was supplied by the author and others, bringing the narrative in a sense down to 1838. I have given the title and contents in full in a note. Of course in so small a volume nothing but the merest outline of history could be given, as drawn from Venegas and Palou for the earlier times, with only here and there a salient point of later annals. It was not in any sense as a history of the past that the book has value, but rather as a presentation by an intelligent

[47] *Forbes, California: A History of Upper and Lower California from their first discovery to the present time, comprising an account of the climate, soil, natural productions, agriculture, commerce, etc. A full view of the missionary establishments and condition of the free and domesticated Indians. With an appendix relating to steam navigation in the Pacific. Illustrated with a new map, plans of the harbors, and numerous engravings. By Alexander Forbes, Esq.* London, 1839, 8vo, xvi. 352, pl. and map. Part i. 1–75, relates to Baja California exclusively. Of part ii., chap. i., 79–130, contains a résumé of the early history of Alta California down to 1784; chap. ii., 131–53, presents very briefly indeed the 'Recent history of Upper California, present political condition and prospects,' down to 1838; chap. iii., 154–79, on topography and natural productions; chap. iv., 180–98, on the Indians; chap. v., 199–245, on the missions; chap. vi., 246–80, on agriculture and live-stock; chap. vii., 281–308, on commerce and navigation; chap. viii., 309–25, on California as a field for foreign colonization. Appendix, i., Remarks on the harbors of California...by Capt. John Hall (from a visit in 1822); ii., Letter to the editor on steam navigation in the Pacific; iii., Various extracts on the same subject. Illustrations, chiefly by Capt. Wm Smyth; portrait of Padre Peyri, a native Indian, view of Monterey Bay, S. F. Harbor, Sta Bárbara, Indian bath, S. Cárlos Mission, presidio and pueblo of Monterey, S. F. Mission, Throwing the lasso and S. José Mission, Map of California with plans of the harbors of Bodega, S. F., Monterey, Sta Bárbara, S. Pedro, and S. Diego, the maps of John Hall, except that of S. F. copied from Beechey.

[48] See *Bandini, Carta histórica y descriptiva de Cal., 1828,* MS. This is a long letter directed to Barron, Forbes' partner, and was doubtless obtained and used for Forbes' book.

man of business of the country's actual condition, capabilities, institutions, and prospects. Forbes' book was not only the first ever published in English relating exclusively to California, and more than any other the means of making known to English readers the country's advantages, but it has always maintained its reputation of being one of the best extant on the subject. I reproduce a portion of Forbes' map.



FORBES' MAP, 1839.

In 1839, also, another French voyager visited California. This was Captain Cyrille Pierre Théodore Laplace, commanding the frigate *Artémise*, of 50 guns and 450 men. Her voyage round the world was in 1837–40; her mission substantially the same as that of the *Vénus;* and her route was round Cape Good Hope, to the Sandwich Islands, to California, and home by Cape Horn. The narrative of the expedi-

tion was written by the commander, and though the first volume was published in 1841, the last, containing the part in which we are interested, did not appear until 1854.[49]

Coming from Honolulu, Laplace anchored at Bodega on August 11, 1839, soon proceeding to Ross, where he was entertained by Rotchef for some nine days, being shown all there was to be seen in that region, and regaled with many details respecting the operations and prospects of the Russian American Company. On the 20th he sailed for San Francisco, where he arrived next day, and remained probably four days.[50] Here he anchored near the fort, and spent his short stay apparently in waiting to get away. He visited the presidio and Yerba Buena, and at various points on the peninsula mused at some length on the surrounding desolation. There was no genial comandante with a family of beautiful daughters to entertain him, as they had some French navigator of earlier times; and San Francisco had no charm for him—nothing but fogs, fleas, winds, and sterility. Some provisions were with difficulty obtained. The visitors would not pay the price demanded for horses on which to visit the surrounding regions; they could not wait to see a bull-fight; and after gleaning some information from conversation with an English captain, probably Richardson, Laplace sailed for Monterey.

[49] *Laplace, Campagne de Circumnavigation de la frégate l'Artémise pendant les années 1837, 1838, 1839, et 1840, sous le commandement de M. Laplace, capitaine de vaisseau*... Paris, 1841–54, 8vo, 6 vol. The portion relating to Cal. is in vol. vi., and is divided as follows: p. 41–178, stay at Bodega and Ross, with descriptive matter and very long digressions upon matters in the far north; p. 180–230, general history and condition of California; p. 234–70, stay at S. F.; p. 272–84, at Sta Cruz; and p. 285–305, at Monterey.

[50] Aug. 21, 1839, French frigate *Amistice* arrived from Ross; will sail for Monterey in 4 days. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 50. Aug. 23d, Guerrero to prefect. The *Artemisia* arrived on the 21st. Would not go to Yerba Buena, but anchored near the fort (?) Asked if any Frenchmen had complaints to make; had just come from giving the protestants a lesson at the Islands, and had recovered $20,000 for outrages to French missionaries. Guerrero has taken the precaution to place a guard in the fort. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 107. Laplace, clearly by a typographical error, says he was ready to sail Aug. 20th, but was prevented by fogs, etc., until two days later.

At Santa Cruz, where the *Artémise* anchored for an afternoon and night,[51] all looked well from a distance. Here surely the Frenchmen would receive the delicate and hospitable attentions of which a perusal of La Pérouse's journal had caused him to dream; but the illusion vanished on nearer approach when "un spectacle de misère et d'abandon s'offrit à mes regards." Not only was there no welcome nor entertainment nor offer of gratuitous supplies, but the farmers of the region demanded prices so exorbitant for their provisions that no purchase was effected. True, one pretty *ranchera* redeemed the reputation of Santa Cruz, and made herself a general favorite by offering to sell all kinds of produce at low rates; but this *jolie fermière* disappeared at sight of the ferocious priest, and failed to deliver her supplies at the shore as had been promised.

It was perhaps the 27th of August that the frigate anchored at Monterey, where she remained a week. Here, although there was some difficulty in obtaining provisions, Laplace was pleased with all he saw. Enthusiastic over the natural beauties of the site, he also found artificial improvements, the existence of which had never been suspected by previous visitors. The ladies of the capital, moreover, were charming. All the best people were entertained over and over again on board the *Artémise;* and the officers were always welcome at the best houses on shore. The men regained their health in rides and walks over a charming country; while the commander wandered about the town studying the peculiarities of the people and holding long conversations with 'un gentleman écossais,' David Spence, of course, who was the source for the most part of all the Frenchman's informrtion on Californian history and condition. Spence's theory respecting the means by which the country might hope to escape the fate of American invasion was, that the governor

[51] Aug. 1839, Bolcof to prefect. Announces the arrival. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., ix. 17.

should follow more implicitly the counsel and depend more on the support of respectable foreign residents, as there was no other way to protect himself and California against Mexican imbeciles and American adventurers. Alvarado was absent when Laplace arrived, but came to town the next day with a most cordial greeting, notwithstanding the current troubles between Mexico and France—troubles which Laplace chose to ignore during his visit. The same night Alvarado became dangerously ill, and his life is said to have been saved by the ship's surgeon. A strong reciprocal admiration was developed between the navigator and the governor, and neither in his narrative has anything but praise and compliments for the other.[52] The expedition embarked September 5th, but could not leave the bay till five days later, not touching elsewhere in California.

Laplace was a man of much ability in a literary way, some of his descriptions being very fine; and he was also an intelligent observer. The value, however, of his published work, so far as it affects California, is seriously impaired by his habit of drifting constantly into the by-ways of long and fanciful speculations; and also by the fact that it was published after the discovery of gold, so that the author's impressions and predictions of 1839 are inextricably blended with the knowledge of later years. His general view of the country's condition is accurate enough; and should any student ever have the leisure time to classify and condense his diffuse material, the result would probably be a sketch similar in many respects, though less complete, to that of his predecessor, Petit-Thouars.

[52] Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 200–2, iv. 172–81, tells us that while on his way to Sta Clara to be married—the marriage was by proxy on Aug. 24th—he got a note from Jimeno that Laplace wished to see him on important matters, and hastened to Monterey. He received a sword from the Frenchman at parting. He declares that they had several private interviews, at which Laplace warned him of hostile intentions on the part of the United States, assuring him also that France, while not at liberty to take the initiative, would favorably receive a proposition for a protectorate.

In 1840 the visits of the French frigate *Danaïde*, and that of the U. S. vessel *St Louis* on special service, gave origin to no published narratives. W. D. Phelps, who came to the coast this year in command of the Boston ship *Alert*, published thirty-six years later a journal of his numerous voyages to different parts of the world, including this and later ones to California. The book is not only well written and fascinating, a good specimen of an excellent class of publications, but it gives information of some value on several historical points. Such points, however, have been or will be treated in the proper place, so that here the book calls for no further notice.[53]

The only other visitor of this last year of the period whose book I have to mention was Thomas J. Farnham, an enterprising American who crossed the plains to Oregon in 1839, visited the Hawaiian Islands and California in 1840, and returned to the United States through Mexico the same year, coming back westward in time to die at San Francisco in 1848. He wrote a book on each of the three subdivisions of his journey; and the volumes were often republished in various forms and admixtures.[54] He came from Honolulu on the *Don Quixote*, arriving at Monterey April 18th, sailing ten days later, and touching at Santa Bárbara from April 30th to May 5th. During his brief stay he was largely occupied with matters pertaining to the imprisoned foreigners, as elsewhere related; so far as his personal observations are concerned, his book contains but little on any other subject. It is a readable work, the writer having an attractive way of expressing his ideas. That is about all that can be said

[53] *Phelps, Fore and Aft; or, Leaves from the Life of an old sailor. By Webfoot. With Illustrations by Hammatt Billings.* Boston, 1871, 12mo, 359 p. The parts relating to Cal. are p. 236–76, on voyage of 1840–2, being chap. xxi., A California cruise; chap. xxii., California in 1840; chap. xxiii., The Com. Jones war, 1842; chap. xxiv., The Hudson's Bay Co.; p. 277–321, on a voyage of 1845–6, being chap. xxv., How California became ours; chap. xxvi., Taking possession of the country; chap. xxvii., The war continued; and p. 322–52, chap. xxviii.–ix., The last voyage, 1854.

[54] *Farnham's Travels in the Great Western Prairies.* Ed. of 1841, 1843 (2), and London, n. d. *Id., History of Oregon Territory.* Ed. of 1844 and 1845. *Id., Mexico: Its Geography, etc.* Ed. of 1846, and n. d.

in its favor. The reader already knows what value to place upon Farnham's statement respecting the Graham affair. His estimates and descriptions of Californians, against whom he conceived a bitter prejudice, are as a rule absurdly false; and the same prejudice seriously impairs his version of Californian history and condition during 1836–40. He added a long sketch of Lower California, historical and descriptive, and a briefer one of Upper California, after the manner of Forbes; and these parts of his work are by far the least faulty, since he took all his material from a few well-known sources, was an intelligent compiler, and was comparatively free from his anti-Mexican prejudice; yet many inexcusable inaccuracies appear even in these parts, and the book had a circulation and popularity which it by no means deserved.[55]

Another American passenger on the *Don Quixote* was J. F. B. M., who also wrote a narrative of his voyage, with his experiences at Monterey, Santa Bárbara, Mazatlan, and the overland journey from San Blas to Mexico. He wrote in a pleasing style, and his observations were those of an intelligent man, but his opportunities in California were not great. He reflects Farnham's views on the Graham affair, though in more moderate tone, having personally visited the exiles at Tepic. From Cárlos Carrillo at Santa Bárbara he obtained a peculiar version of late political events in California.[56]

[55] *Farnham's Life and Adventures in California, and Scenes in the Pacific Ocean*, N. Y. 1846, 8vo, 416 p. This is the edition I have used. *Id.*, N. Y. 1847; *Id., Travels in the Californias, etc.*, N. Y. 1844, 8vo, 416 p. The earliest edition of the work, which is exactly the same except in title. *Id., Life, Adventures, and Travels in Cal., to which is added the Conquest of Cal., Travels in Oregon, and History of the Gold Regions*, N. Y. 1849; *Id.*, 1850; *Id.*, 1853; *Id., Pictorial Edition* (Hist. of the Gold Region omitted), N. Y. 1855; *Id.*, 1857. The pictures must be seen to be appreciated. They would fit any other subjects quite as well as the ones they purport to illustrate. All the editions, except possibly one or two that I have not seen, are alike in paging up to p. 416. The author's experiences and matters connected therewith occupy p. 50–116, 402–16. The rest is historical and descriptive.

[56] *M. (J. F. B.), Leaves from my Journal*, in *Honolulu Polynesian*, ii. 77, 86, 89, 93, 97. Oct.–Nov. 1840. I do not know the author's name. He was not allowed to land at Monterey till after the exiles departed; and returning from a visit to S. Cárlos, he was arrested for crossing the bridge on horseback, being saved from the calabozo by Spence.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RUSSIANS IN CALIFORNIA.

1831–1841.

YEARLY VESSELS—RÉSUMÉ—REPORT OF 1831—KHLÉBNIKOF'S MISSION—VICTORIA'S POLICY—FIGUEROA'S DIPLOMACY—VALLEJO'S MISSION TO ROSS—WRANGELL AND BEECHEY—ANNALS OF 1834–9—KOSTROMITINOF SUCCEEDED BY ROTCHEF—WAREHOUSE AT SAUZALITO—WRANGELL'S PLAN OF EXTENSION—HIS FAILURE IN MEXICO, 1836—RESOLVE TO ABANDON ROSS, 1838–9—PROPOSED SALE TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—AFFAIR OF THE 'LAUSANNE,' 1840—VALLEJO AND KUPRIANOF—PROPOSED SALE TO VALLEJO—LAND AND BUILDINGS—ABSURD INSTRUCTIONS FROM MEXICO—SALE TO SUTTER—CONTRACT AND DEED—NO LAND PURCHASED—RUSSIAN TITLE TO ROSS—THE MULDROW CLAIM OF LATER YEARS—DEPARTURE OF THE COLONISTS—HOW THE DEBT WAS PAID, 1845–50.

YET further foreign relations remain to be presented here—the annals of Ross or of the Russians in California. I have already given a description of Ross and its various institutions, applying, so far as such a sketch has any chronology, to the whole period of the colony's existence, but suspending the historical record at the year 1830.[1] Later occurrences I have thought best to leave until now, to be treated collectively in one chapter, because they are of but slight importance in their relation to the general history of the country. And now I propose to continue the subject to its end, the abandonment by the Russians of their Californian possessions in 1841.

Vessels of the company continued to come annually, one or two each year, from Sitka and Ross to San Francisco for grain, occasionally for some special pur-

[1] See vol. ii., chap. xxviii., for descriptive sketch and annals of 1821–30. For earlier annals of Ross, see chap. iv. and xiv. of the same volume.

pose extending their trips to Monterey. During the decade of 1831–40 the *Baikal* made at least five visits; the *Sitka*, four; the *Urup*, three; and the *Elena* and *Polifemia*, two each; in addition to the *Nikolai*, which touched on her way to Europe in 1840.[2]

We have seen that as early as 1820 the company had offered to give up the colony in exchange for unrestricted trade; and that in 1827 the managers had pretty nearly abandoned all hope of final success at Ross. During the Mexican revolution Russia might probably without much difficulty have secured and extended her Californian possessions, but took no steps to do so. Patriotism had moved the Mexicans to agitate the old questions of Russian intrusion to some extent, but in the north the agitation was exclusively one of pen and paper, altogether without effect in disturbing relations with Ross, which became in some respects more friendly than ever before. Governor Echeandía had not only extended the contracts for otter-hunting on shares, but he had even recommended to his government to recognize the legitimacy of the colony on condition that Russia would formally acknowledge Mexican sovereignty over the territory. Still the Russians could see no chance for ultimate security. The governor stated in his report of April 30, 1831, that Ross with its present limits was worth no sacrifices to retain; if it could be extended two hundred versts inland and southward so as to include an anchorage on San Francisco Bay, it would be a possession of great value.[3]

About this time the colonists made an effort to extend their agricultural operations south-eastward, but without success, on account of opposition from the Californians.[4] On the *Baikal*, which arrived at the

[2] See the maritime lists at end of chap. xiii., vol. iii., and chap. iii. of this vol.

[3] *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 28–30. In the same report he says that two boats were being built as gifts for P. Narciso Duran at San José. Zavalishin thinks this making of presents had no other effect than to confirm the Mexicans in their 'pretended rights.'

[4] Jan. 1, 1831, P. Amorós to president. Has made a tour from S. Rafael

end of 1830, Baron Wrangell, the new governor of Russian America, sent Khlébnikof to treat in general for a continuance of friendly commercial relations, but more particularly for a renewal of the otter contracts, and for a reduction in the current price of grain. In the latter object Khlébnikof seems to have been successful, largely on account of threats of going to Chili for wheat, as they had done once or twice before; but Victoria refused to allow any continuance of otter-hunting. Both in his letter to Wrangell and in his report to the government, however, he expressed the most friendly feelings toward the Russians, and a wish to favor them in every legal way, especially in preference to the dangerous Americans. He told Wrangell that he believed Mexico would gladly approve a most liberal treaty, if Russia would consent to recognize the independence and abandon Ross. Wrangell wrote a courteous and flattering letter in reply, but expressed the opinion that a treaty on the terms proposed should be discussed by national and not colonial authorities; especially as the matter was not urgent—"for the company, having discovered other means of providing for the needs of the colonies, no longer finds itself in the unavoidable necessity of causing embarrassment to the Californian government."[5]

among the pagans. His arrival caused the Russians who had come 12 leagues from Ross to till the soil at Santiago, to change their plans. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 183. Jan. 8th, Echeandía, with the expressed view of checking Russian encroachment, grants Sta Rosa to Rafael Gomez. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 7–8. May 6th, Gov. Victoria to min. of war. He learns that the Russians with 40 armed men and some Indians had come near Solano, and begun to till the soil. Will consult with the gov. of Sitka. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., ix. 129. May 6, 1833, two years ago the Russians made some plantings at Tamalanica, 3 l. from Bodega, and 5 l. from Ross. But the place was abandoned on account of the remonstrances of the comandante at S. F. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 140. It seems that some time in 1831 J. M. Padrés was sent to Ross; and he was accused by Victoria of having slandered the Cal. govt during his visit. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., ix. 144.

[5] Oct. 20, 1830, Wrangell from N. Archangel to gov. of Cal. So sure was he of success that he sent some Aleuts with their bidarkas on the *Baikal*, with Khlébnikof. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 138. April 13, 1831, Victoria to min. of war, announcing his refusal, and that Khlébnikof has taken away his hunters. Has received vases, mirrors, etc., as presents for the pres. of Mexico, but retains them, as they are not worth paying the freight. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., ix. 121–2. March 5th, V. to W. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 189. Sept.

There is nothing to be said of the Russian establishment in 1832, except that it was mentioned in the instructions issued to Figueroa, who was to report in detail on the force maintained at Bodega, and on the designs entertained by the strangers; also favoring in every possible way the foundation of northern settlements to check possible encroachments.[6]

The enterprising and diplomatic Figueroa soon began his investigations, by methods peculiar to himself. In April 1833 he sent Alférez Vallejo to Ross to negotiate for the purchase of arms, munitions, and clothing for the Californian soldiers, and at the same time to secretly acquaint himself with the exact condition of the colony.[7] Vallejo carried letters from the governor to Manager Kostromitinof and to Wrangell, who as was thought might have arrived. These letters were filled with expressions of cordial good-will, and of a desire for closer relations of friendship and commerce with all foreigners, and especially with neighbors so highly esteemed. The colonial authorities were also urged to use their influence with the court of St Petersburg to promote the recognition of Mexican independence by the tsar.[8] Having thus expressed his kindly feelings toward the Russians, Figueroa only two days later wrote to the national government, denouncing those highly esteemed neighbors as intruders who had trampled upon the laws of

*17*th, W.'s reply to V. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 322–4. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 345, says that Wrangell's threat of going to Chili produced the desired effect; and the *Urup* obtained 2,300 fan. of wheat at $2 in money and $3 in goods; and from that time shipments of provisions became more punctual and satisfactory.

[6] *Figueroa, Instrucciones Generales, 1832*, MS., art. 7, 11. Deputy Carrillo in his exposicion to congress in 1831, had spoken somewhat bitterly against the Russians, whom he charged with a disposition to defend their usurpation by force of arms.

[7] April 11, 1833, F. to V., specifying the articles to be purchased, including 200 rifles or muskets, 150 cutlasses, 200 saddles, shoes, lead, etc. He is to assure the Russians of the Californians' good-will, etc., but is not to enter into any diplomatic questions. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxix. 33–5. Figueroa's confidential instructions on the investigation to be made are not extant.

[8] April 10, 1833, Figueroa to Kostromitinof and Wrangell. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 312–15; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiii. 467.

nations and of Mexico, and aimed at territorial encroachment. Wrangell was expected at Ross, as it was said, to found a new settlement at Santa Rosa, and with the same object in view the desertion of neophytes from San Rafael was being encouraged.[9] Vallejo made his visit to Ross, succeeded in purchasing most of the required articles, and rendered on May 5th a confidential report on what he had been able, acting "con el disímulo que me fué posible y con una indiferencia aparente," to see and hear during the trip. The report did not indicate any new or dangerous designs on the part of the Russians.[10]

Wrangell finally came in person to Ross in July, and Hartnell went there at his invitation for an interview, and was employed as an agent to obtain cargoes of produce, and, if possible, certain exemptions from the payment of duties.[11] While at Ross Wrangell addressed to Figueroa a letter in which he warmly defended his company against the charges of the English navigator Beechey, charges which he declared altogether without foundation to the effect that the

[9] April 12, 1833, F. to sec. of war and navy. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 302–6. The writer's idea was doubtless to exaggerate the dangers, so as to claim for himself the greater credit for averting them. Popularity was Figueroa's constant aim from first to last. The idea of Wrangell's purpose to occupy Sta Rosa came from Vallejo, who in his letter of March 31st had urged the formation of new settlements and the stationing of a competent person on the frontier to conduct negotiations with the Russians. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 28; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 310. Later in the year Padre Mercado at S. Rafael complained to the gov. that the Russians were enticing away and protecting fugitive neophytes, buying stolen cattle, and invading Mexican rights in various ways. *Id.*, ii. 319–20; *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., i. 36.

[10] *Vallejo, Informe Reservado sobre Ross*, MS. The descriptive part has already been utilized. April 28, 1833 (the date of Vallejo leaving Ross), Kostromitinof to Figueroa. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 68. May 15th, 17th, F. to V., acknowledging receipt of report thanking him for his services and expressing his satisfaction at the good disposition of the Russian officials. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 146, 311. This affair is also recorded in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 206–8, and *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 198–9.

[11] July 14, 1833, Wrangell to Hartnell. He wanted to load 170 tons of salted meat and 14,000 lbs of salt at S. F. free from anchorage dues. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxi. 21. Aug. 3d, H. to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., v. 104. Aug. 17th, somebody at S. Diego to Figueroa, arguing against the exemption from dues. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., ii. 20–2. Sept. 6th, H. to W. Memorandum of cargo shipped on the *Baikal* and of another to be sent on next vessel. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxi. 40.

Russians had grievously wronged the Californians by killing otter illegally, by engaging in contraband trade, and by even taking possession of the Santa Bárbara Islands. Other foreigners had certainly done these things, but his people never, protested the baron; they had always conformed strictly to the laws, and had always refused, greatly to their own loss, to enter into contracts with less scrupulous foreigners who wished to hunt otter in defiance of the Californians. He must have smiled as he wrote these statements with a knowledge that they were but remotely founded on truth; but the politic Figueroa, equally aware of the falsehood, fully confirmed all the baron's assertions, and exonerated the Russians from every suspicion of ever having given the Californians grounds for complaint.[12]

The Russian annals of 1834–9, so far as actual occurrences in California are concerned, may be briefly disposed of. The vessels came regularly to San Francisco, generally securing without much trouble a cargo of provisions; though there were occasional misunderstandings on minor points of revenue, as there were now and then complaints on other matters of slight importance.[13] In 1836 Manager Kostromitinof was

[12] July 24, 1833, W. to F. Dec. 23d, F.'s reply. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 84–7; xix. 15–18; *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 10–12.

[13] Jan. 14, 1834. Vallejo complains that 3 men went without permits to Ross. This is forbidden by Figueroa. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 141. Documents of different dates in 1834–6, showing troubles about duties on goods brought to S. F. Bay on lighters, one of which craft was seized with its cargo by orders of Angel Ramirez. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 115, 118, 167–71, 225–6, 229. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 33–4, complains that the Satiyomi were found to be armed with weapons bought at Ross. 1836, no intercourse with Ross or selling of cattle or hides without a specific document from the comandante at Sonoma. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 100, etc. Sept. 11, 1836, Kostromitinof asks for a pass for a lighter to touch at S. F. *Id.*, iii. 235. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 346–7, tells us that in 1835 the shipment of breadstuffs was only one third of the requirements, owing to a failure of crops; and in 1836 they had to go to Chili again for a supply; but later enough was again obtained each year in Cal. Feb. 24, 1838, Capt. S. Vallejo sent to Ross to bring back persons who had gone there without permits. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., v. 32–3. The gov. of the colonies expected at Ross in Aug. 1838. Vallejo hopes to meet him. *Id.*, v. 138. 1839, minor matters of commerce and revenue *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 243–5; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 1, 3, 5;

succeeded by Alexander Rotchef, who is spoken of in complimentary terms by all who met him, as a gentleman of courteous manners and of much administrative ability. The ex-manager now seems to have succeeded Hartnell as active agent of the company at San Francisco, where he spent much of his time for several years.[14] He obtained, apparently from Chico, but possibly from Figueroa just before that ruler's death, permission to erect a warehouse for the company's use on any site which he might select. With Captain Richardson's consent, he decided to build at Sauzalito, on what was known as the Puerto de Balleneros, or Whalers' Harbor. Before any use was made of the concession, however, the diputacion took up the matter, deciding that the governor had no power to grant such a privilege, and that it was not expedient to allow a foreign company to secure such a foothold in a Mexican port. Accordingly Gutierrez issued an order in September that no buildings should be erected, though grain might be collected at Sauzalito for that one year.[15] Subsequently, in 1839, Rotchef petitioned for the privilege of building a warehouse at Yerba Buena, next to Leese's place; but I have no record of the result.[16]

During this period Sonoma was founded as a pueblo; and several citizens, chiefly of foreign birth, were permitted to occupy ranchos on the northern frontier, all with a view, among other objects, to check the

Id., Ben. Mil., lv. 16. April 1839, nails and copper for repairs to the *California*. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 365. May, Alvarado authorizes V. to sell the Russians 300 heifers. It won't do to encourage trade between them and the rancheros. *Id.*, vii. 33.

[14] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 345–6.

[15] June 30, 1836, Vallejo approves the scheme. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 121. July 7th, Aug. 30th, action of the dip. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iii. 25–6. Sept. 12th, Gutierrez's order. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iii. 236. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 107–10, says Kostromitinof came to Monterey to try and change his mind as one of the strongest opponents; but he refused to favor his plan, though he offered to advocate a grant of the privilege to K. or any Russian who would become a Mexican citizen.

[16] May 10, 1839, Rotchef to gov. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 326–8. The building was to revert to the Cal. govt after 10 years; and might meanwhile be used by that govt free of charge for storage. Rotchef also wished permission to pay anchorage dues at S. F. rather than Monterey.

apprehended advance of the Russians. In 1837 a Mexican soldier named Miramontes is said to have brought from Ross to Sonoma the small-pox, which caused great ravages among the natives. Again in 1839 Vallejo warned the Mexican government of danger from the Russians, which might be averted only by an increase of the force at Sonoma.[17] In 1837 Ross was visited by Slacum, and in 1839 by Laplace, each of whom published a description of the establishment, the latter devoting much space to the subject.

Meanwhile Governor Wrangell became more and more firmly convinced that unless his company and nation could obtain the country eastward to the Sacramento and southward to San Francisco Bay, the original possession on the coast, even if its confirmation could be secured from Mexico, was not worth keeping.[18] Moreover, this extension must be effected without delay, since the most favorable opportunities had already passed, and the influx of settlers, native and foreign, was daily lessening the chances of success. It does not appear that there was any thought of occupying the territory against the will of the Californians; indeed, such a step would have excited strong opposition from foreign powers as well as from Mexico, and would have been practicable only with the direct national support of Russia, a support that could not be counted on, because the imperial government had never manifested anything but indifference respecting the acquisition of territorial possessions in California.

Baron Wrangell's hope and purpose—and there is no evidence that there was any element of opposition among the officers of the company either at Sitka or Ross—was to conciliate still further the good-will of

[17] Feb. 6, 1839, Vallejo to min. of war. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., vi. 218.

[18] According to Zavalishin the baron repeated these views in his report of April 10, 1833. This author says that Count Nordvinof also entertained the same views.

the already friendly Californians, a work in which he believed himself to have made much progress in his correspondence with Figueroa, not knowing the man. He desired further to present in a strong light, as the Russians had been doing for years, the danger of encroachment by other foreigners, especially the Americans; also the marked contrast between the past conduct of his people and those of other nations, and the manifest advantage of preferring such friendly and orderly neighbors rather than the turbulent horde of adventurers who were sure to get possession of the northern frontier.[19] He would like to so far interest the court of St Petersburg in his scheme as to bring about diplomatic negotiations, and a recognition of Mexican independence; and finally, he wished to go in person to Mexico, to secure from the authorities of the republic a concession or sale of the desired territory. The plan was the best that could have been devised under the circumstances. How much confidence the author really had in its success we have no means of knowing.

The company having approved Wrangell's plan, and agreed to pay for the establishments of San Rafael and Sonoma in case Mexico would consent to cede the territory,[20] the baron resigned his position as governor of the American colonies, and obtained permission to return to Russia by way of California and Mexico,[21] with authority to represent the colonial government in negotiations with the republic. His instructions, which came in 1835, were disappointing. The emperor, while desiring the continuance of friendly

[19] In the report of April 28, 1834, according to Zavalishin, the coming of a band of 163 armed men with their wives and children is mentioned. The origin of this rumor is not known. In a report of April 10th (?), Wrangell states that the only obstacle to the extension of Ross is the envy of foreigners, who will intrigue to secure the opposition of Mexico. *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Rossi*, MS., 8–10, 14.

[20] Report of April 13, 1834, from head office. *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Rossi*, MS., 28–9.

[21] Nov. 19, 1834, Wrangell to Figueroa, announcing his purpose to visit Mexico at the end of his term of office, and asking for information about route, etc. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.* MS., ii. 320.

relations, would not agree to recognize Mexican independence, but merely allowed Wrangell as a representative of the company to negotiate a commercial treaty providing for a free entrée of all ports, collection of duties only on goods actually sold, release from anchorage dues, free exportation of salt, hunting on shares, and permission to take turtles and obtain woods on the coast—terms all for the advantage of the Russians, without apparent recompense to the Californians. He was also empowered to ascertain if Mexico would confirm the old possessions at Ross and Bodega, if there was any hope of acquiring the new territory desired, and if so, on what conditions and at what expense. Possibly he might hold out a hope of future recognition, though he could not promise it. His enthusiasm must have been great indeed if it survived these instructions.[22]

With his instructions there came a successor to Wrangell in the person of Ivan Kuprianof;[23] and the ex-governor sailed at once on his mission. He arrived at Monterey on the *Sitka* in December 1835.[24] Here he was greatly disappointed at learning the death of Figueroa, on whose assistance he had counted, especially in the furnishing of letters to prominent men in Mexico. Of his negotiations with other Californians at this time we have no record. He sailed early in January 1836 for San Blas, where he had some trouble with local officials, who declared his passport invalid; but by the aid of the English consul, Barron, a pass was obtained,[25] and Wrangell pro-

[22] *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 16–19; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 362–4. The former does not imply that Wrangell had any right even to speak of the recognition of Mexico as a possibility.

[23] Nov. 20, 1835, Kuprianof to Figueroa, announcing his accession and desire for a continuance of friendly relations. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 321. Similar note to Gov. Chico and the latter's very courteous reply. Date not clear. *Id.*

[24] The only definite mention of his arrival that I have found, except in Russian writers, is in *Dana's Two Years before the Mast*, 271–2. Dana found the vessel and ex-gov. at Monterey on Dec. 27th; and the latter kindly offered to take New-Year's letters from the Yankee sailors, to be forwarded from Mexico to Boston, where they arrived safely.

[25] Zavalishin, *Delo o Kolonii Ross*, MS., represents the English as hav-

ceeded to Mexico. Here with some difficulty he obtained an interview with Vice-president Barragan, and after the latter's death with other high officials. Naturally, under the circumstances, he met with no encouragement, the Mexican authorities being of course unwilling to treat with a man who had no credentials as a representative of his government. To use substantially the words of Wrangell in his report to the company, "the Mexican republic has been formally recognized by England, France, and other powers; her natural pride is increased by diplomatic correspondence, and she is not disposed to treat for acknowledgment with powers that do not meet her half-way. Moreover, foreign representatives work constantly against the interests of their commercial rivals, especially Russia. Hence it is not strange that Mexico not only will not listen to propositions from a mere commercial company, but would be offended if such propositions were made without diplomatic mediation."[26]

The only result obtained seems to have been a semi-official assurance that Mexico, desiring friendly relations, would favor a commercial treaty if properly negotiated by duly accredited agents of the two governments.[27] Possibly some encouragement was given verbally that a concession of the original possessions at Ross might be obtained; but evidently an extension of territory, if proposed at all, was considered with no favor.[28] The whole subject was then referred to the

ing been in these years very favorable to the Russian scheme, though of course from interested motives.

[26] *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 19.

[27] Tikhménef, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 364, says that a written communication to this effect was carried to St Petersburg by Wrangell.

[28] In 1836 Kuprianof reported the coming of American immigrants to occupy farms near Ross, thus threatening to deprive the company of all chance of extending their lands. The reply from the general administration, founded on the counsels of the imperial vice-chancellor, was the advice not to think of extension, but only of holding the land already occupied. *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 355. Scala, *Influence de l'ancienne Comptoir Russe*, has something to say about the events and negotiations of these times; but his statements are so absurdly inaccurate as to merit no attention. In June 1837, reports were sent to St Petersburg of the continued encroachments of foreigners and their part in the revolution of 1836. *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross*, MS., 14–15.

Mexican minister at London, who was instructed to consider such propositions as might be made by representatives of the tsar. No such propositions were ever made, as the government on the receipt of Wrangell's report at St Petersburg simply decided to take no further steps in the matter. The negotiations had attracted but little attention; yet I find some evidence of rumors growing out of them which reached California and the Hawaiian Islands.[29]

With the failure of Wrangell's mission, every motive for retaining possession of Ross disappeared. Accordingly the company decided to abandon it. I give the substance of the council's report rendered to the minister of finance at the end of 1838, or early in 1839, as follows: The accounts of the company show expenses in 1825–9 to have been 45,000 roubles per year, while the annual product, almost exclusively from furs, was 22,000 roubles. In 1837 expenses had increased to 72,000 roubles, and receipts had fallen to 8,000 roubles. As otter-hunting failed, the company had a hope of acquiring lands for agricultural and stock-raising purposes. This hope being lost, there is no motive for further occupation. Politically, the possession has no importance, since "it is not supported by any formal acts, or by the acknowledgment of any other power;" neither has it any strategic

[29] In May or June 1837, Luis Castillo Negrete wrote to Zamorano that the tsar was negotiating for the purchase of Monterey and San Francisco, with all the country from 35° to 42°. This news came via Madrid. Zamorano to Alvarado in August. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxii. 106; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 276–7. March 12, 1837, the U. S. consul at Honolulu sent to Washington a slight sketch of the Russian establishment, with the information that the Californians in revolution against Mexico had applied to the Russians for aid, which would probably be given on the condition of permission in case of success to extend their limits to S. F. Bay. This patriotic American thought his govt ought to know 'by what right the subjects of so powerful an empire as Russia, undoubtedly under the sanction of the emperor, have formed a settlement on the very borders of its territory, if not within the limit of what ought to be in justice its own possession.' Original blotter in *Savage, Doc.*, MS., ii. 174–6. Zavalishin, *Delo o Koloniy Ross*, MS., 31–3, declares that negotiations with Mexico were useless, because, 1st, In them her right was tacitly acknowledged, not only to Cal., but to New Albion; 2d, Nothing that could be proposed had any value to Mexico; 3d, The company and not the govt was treating; and, 4th If it came to a purchase, the U. S. could easily outbid the company.

advantage, because even if any other power should care to hold such an inaccessible rock as Ross, its occupation could not possibly harm any Russian establishment. Therefore the council has determined to abandon so useless and expensive a possession, dividing the servants and all movable property among other posts of the colonies, and selling or exchanging for wheat in California such property as cannot be conveniently removed. This determination received the imperial sanction April 15, 1839.[30]

Manager Rotchef at Ross heard of the determination to abandon the establishment perhaps at the end of 1839, and certainly early in 1840, during which year he made some preparations for departure, sending a full cargo and thirty-three persons of the colony to Sitka on the *Elena*.[31] At a conference between Kuprianof and Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company, held at Sitka in April, a proposition was made to sell the Ross establishment for $30,000. "Of course," writes Douglas in his journal, "they cannot sell the soil, but merely the improvements, which we can hold only through a native." An answer was to be given in the autumn, after consultation with McLoughlin; and as nothing more is heard of the matter, I suppose the English company decided that the purchase was not advisable—very likely fearing to displease the Californians, and to cause troublesome complications with the United States.[32] This nego-

[30] *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 19–21; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 365–6. A note of M. Pinart makes the date of the council's report March 20, 1839. Cronise, *Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 38, gravely assures us that in 1835 the British govt. called upon the U. S. to insist upon the removal of the Russians under the treaty of 1824; and it was in compliance with the request of the U. S. that Ross was abandoned in 1841! Bidwell, *Cal.*, MS., 94–6, had an idea that the colony was withdrawn on account of the charter being about to expire.

[31] Etholin's letter of Sept. 9, 1840. The *Elena* had arrived at New Archangel on Sept. 3d.

[32] *Douglas' Journal*, MS., 16. About this time it seems that some arrangement was made for the bringing of supplies to Sitka in the vessels of the H. B. Co. to avoid the necessity of sending Russian vessels to Cal. *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 347; *Simpson's Narr.*, 269–70.

tiation having failed, in November the company notified Alvarado of their intention to quit Ross, and proposed that he should buy the property. The governor asked for further information respecting the nature of the property offered, and made haste to inform the Mexican government of the impending change.[33] A correspondence, more bulky than important or interesting, on the coming of the *Baikal* to San Francisco for grain in March, and the non-payment of tonnage dues by the *Nikolai* in October at the same port,[34] is the only other item of local annals to be mentioned in this year, except the somewhat exciting affair to be now narrated.

Josiah Spalding, master of the American ship *Lausanne*, coming down from the Columbia in July, conceived the brilliant idea that as Bodega was a free port belonging to Russia, he might land his passengers there, and perhaps accomplish something in the way of trade, without paying anchorage dues or other duties. In the past, it would seem that the Russians had never permitted such operations, or at least no charges to that effect had ever been made; even on this occasion there is some evidence that Manager Rotchef told Spalding that he must not trade or go by land to San Francisco as he wished.[35] But acting very carelessly, if not with intentional disregard of his duties, Rotchef set out for San Francisco and Monterey, leaving the *Lausanne* at Bodega, and the captain, crew, and passengers free to do as they

[33] Dec. 10, 1840, Jimeno Casarin to min. of int., with contents of Kuprianof's note of Nov. 23d, from S. F. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 69–70. Kuprianof's note of Nov. 23d, in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 34–5. Dec. 18th, Jimeno to Kostromitinof, in reply to a note of the latter proposing the sale. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 133.

[34] *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 250–2, 297–9, 315–16, 319, 323–4, 329–30; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 12–15; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 289. Simpson, *Narr.*, 306, affirms that Timothy Murphy and Padre Quijas went to Ross for brandy, or bullocks, or something, 'against all rule and precedent,' and this coming to Vallejo's ears, he had them lodged in the calaboose.

[35] So Rotchef reported to Etholin, as the latter states in his letter of Sept. 9th, and Alf. Piña in his letter of July 20th from Bodega says that Rotchef had not permitted the captain to accompany him to S. F. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 191.

pleased, as there was no Russian guard or officer nearer than Ross. Then Spalding also started for San Francisco, obtaining the services of McIntosh as a guide. Four of the passengers went to Sonoma to ask Vallejo for passports which should enable them to remain in the country. Vallejo was naturally startled at the sudden appearance of these armed foreigners, with the news that Bodega was practically abandoned by the Russians, and that a foreign vessel was lying there free from all restrictions in respect of contraband trade or of landing passengers. He immediately despatched Alférez Lázaro Piña and a guard of soldiers to Bodega, with instructions to reëmbark all persons who had landed, and to enjoin upon those in charge of the vessel to land no goods on penalty of being treated as smugglers, Monterey being the only port open to foreign trade. Piña was to remain at his post, prevent all traffic and intercourse, keep a strict watch, and report. Subsequently he was directed to collect tonnage due on the *Lausanne* at the rate of $1.50 per ton.[36]

Spalding, accompanied by several persons from San Francisco who were travelling without passports, called at Sonoma on his return to Bodega. His companions were not allowed to proceed; and the captain was called upon by Vallejo to pay his tonnage dues. He declined to do so on the ground that Bodega was a free port belonging to Russia; but after discussion he agreed to pay the demand if it should be decided by the proper authorities to be a lawful one. He was then allowed to depart, with an order to Piña to return to Sonoma as soon as the vessel had sailed. As Spalding had cited the manager at Ross in confirmation of his claim that Bodega was a Russian port,

[36] July 19, 1840, the original instructions to Piña. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 183. One clause of this document will receive special notice later. July 19th, V. to Spalding, warning him that Bodega is not a port of entry, and holding him responsible for illegal trade, according to the treaty between the U. S. and Mexico. *Id.*, ix. 184. July 23d, V. orders Piña to collect tonnage dues. *Id.*, ix. 191.

Vallejo instructed Piña to state clearly to Rotchef that Bodega belonged to Mexico, and in no sense to Russia, though the use of it by Russian vessels had been tolerated; that the commander of Ross had no control over it except by permission from the Californian government; and that he had no right to find it strange that Californian troops were stationed there, especially when he was in the habit of travelling in the country without asking permission and in disrespect of the frontier authorities, of representing to visitors that Bodega was a free port, and of taking the liberty of permitting foreigners to enter the country in defiance of law.[37]

Meanwhile Rotchef came back from Monterey, and was filled with wrath when he found the soldiers on guard, and read a copy, made by a subordinate in his absence, of Vallejo's instructions to Piña. He was violent and insulting in his anger. He raised the Russian flag, defying the Californians to pull it down, and offered his protection to some of the foreign passengers, who went with him to Ross.[38] Piña made no resistance, but reported to Vallejo. The latter sent a communication on the matter to Rotchef, and another to be forwarded to the governor at Sitka. Rotchef refused to receive the documents, declaring that he would have no intercourse with a man who had so grievously insulted him. Vallejo subsequently issued an order forbidding Rotchef or any of his men to travel in the country without licenses.[39] The *Lausanne* sailed away about July 26th, leaving five or six foreigners, who were aided by the Russians to reach the Sacramento. Piña, by Vallejo's orders, did not attempt to

[37] July 24–5, 1840, Spalding's statement; and Vallejo's orders to Piña. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 193–7.

[38] Wiggins, one of these men, says—and the statement has been widely circulated—that Rotchef ordered the soldiers to depart or be shot. This is in itself improbable, and any such occurrence would of certainty have been mentioned in the later correspondence.

[39] The refusal of Rotchef to receive the official communications rests on Vallejo's statements later in the year; and the order forbidding travel seems not to have been issued until Nov. 4th, according to a blotter copy in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 305.

interfere beyond warning Rotchef that he would be held responsible for the entrance of the men.[40]

In reporting the affair to his superior at Sitka, Rotchef stated that Vallejo had sent an armed force with impertinent instructions, including one to arrest the manager himself and send him to Sonoma, which insult to the national honor caused him to send away the Californian force at once.[41] It was the order for his own arrest that particularly angered the Russian commander. Otherwise he himself had been the one at fault, and Vallejo had in no respect transcended his powers or failed in courtesy. But at an order of arrest, Rotchef had reason to be angry; for though Vallejo had perhaps the legal right to arrest him for proper cause, yet to have done so under the circumstances would have been a most impolitic, discourteous, and unjustifiable act. But Vallejo certainly never intended to send, and probably never did send, such an order, as we shall see.

At the end of October, Ex-governor Kuprianof, retiring from his office and homeward bound on the *Nikolai*, arrived at San Francisco,[42] where he remained a month, giving his attention chiefly to an investigation of the *Lausanne* affair. Presumably his object was to reconcile Vallejo and Rotchef, since, under existing circumstances, when the abandonment of Ross had been decided on, it is hard to understand why he should have desired a quarrel. He first stated his business through a letter from Kostromitinof, and Vallejo replied with a concise statement of his acts, and those of Rotchef, in July. Kuprianof next wrote himself, in courteous terms, inviting Vallejo to come to San Francisco for a personal conference, hinting mysteriously at certain grave measures to be taken

[40] July 24th–25th, Vallejo to Piña. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 195, 198–9.

[41] Etholin's letter of Sept. 9, 1840, in *Russ. Amer. Mat.*, MS., vol. i. Etholin, who succeeded Kuprianof, says he has sent a small reënforcement to the garrison, and apprehends no further trouble from Vallejo.

[42] *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 249–50; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 296; xxxiii. 145; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 14.

unless the matter should be cleared up. The general's answer, equally courteous and much more frank, was an invitation to come or send an agent to Sonoma, which place his duties would not permit him to leave. He also defended his course at some length, calling attention particularly to the general state of alarm in which the country had been, early in the year, on account of the Graham affair. He could not see how any serious results could follow a mere performance of duty. He expressed clearly the position that no nation but Mexico had any authority at Bodega, offered every facility for arriving at the exact truth, and hoped that Rotchef would be duly reprimanded for his misdeeds. He declared, however, that the copy of his instructions made at Ross did not agree with the original; and suggested that the alterations, perhaps made designedly, might be to some extent the cause of the controversy.[43]

Kuprianof now sent Kostromitinof to confer with Vallejo, declaring, however, his perfect confidence in the man who made the copy, and rather impolitely refusing to believe in any error. An examination revealed the fact that the copy was inaccurate in the very point that had chiefly excited the controversy, the order for Rotchef's arrest, the original not containing any such instruction. Vallejo now wrote somewhat sarcastically, and expressed his confidence that the Russians would hasten to make amends for their unjust criticism of his conduct. Kuprianof, however, chose to continue the controversy, still maintaining that the copyist had not erred designedly, even doubting that he had erred at all, and insolently asking that the original be sent to him. He regarded the conference as unsatisfactory on account of Kostromitinof's want of familiarity with the Spanish language, questioned Vallejo's veracity on several points, and even

[43] Nov. 2, 1840, Kostromitinof to Vallejo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 300. V.'s reply of Nov. 4th. *Id.*, ix. 304. Nov. 6th, 10th, Kuprianof to V. and reply. *Id.*, ix. 305, 308. Some of the Russian official's letters are the originals in French, and other translations into Spanish by a clerk.

asserted that Bodega was a Russian port, over which the general had no authority. This brought out a forcible but dignified reply, dated November 25th, which terminated the correspondence, so far as it has been preserved.[44]

It is to be presumed that Rotchef's anger was appeased to a great extent, as he and Vallejo were on tolerably good terms during the next year. The manager at Ross had been originally in the wrong, though justified in deeming himself insulted by the general's instructions as he understood them. Vallejo's course from the first was remarkably judicious and free from error; and in the war of words he won a signal victory by his strong positions, and his uniformly frank and dignified utterances. Kuprianof, though always protesting his desire to avoid discord, and though he had no apparent advantage to gain from a quarrel, was insolent from the first, and especially at the close of the correspondence. It is fair to say, however, that his suspicions, though it would have been more expedient and in better taste for him to conceal rather than express them, had a possible foundation in the very instructions that had caused the trouble, as is shown by the original of that document in my possession and is more fully explained in the appended note.[45]

[44] Nov. 13th, 21st, Kuprianof to Vallejo; Nov. 16th, 25th, V. to K.; Nov. 22d, 25th, K. to V. and reply. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 313, 316, 321-2, 328.

[45] A clause of the instructions reads, 'Si como es factible el comandante de la factoría Rusa volviese con algunos comerciantes del puerto de San Francisco [*los* crossed out] regresará [*á estos* interlined] á este punto sino trajesen los pasaportes legales; pero de ninguna manera se los permitirá embarcarse;' or, 'If, as is likely, the Russian commandant should return with some traders from S. Francisco, you will cause [*them* erased and *the latter* interlined] to turn back to this place unless they have legal passports; but by no means will you permit them to embark.' Now the exact changes made in the Ross copy are not known; but Kuprianof may have had his suspicions aroused when on questioning Kostromitinof he heard of interlineations in the original. It is certain, both from internal evidence in the instructions and from the circumstances under which they were written, that it was not Rotchef but his companions who were to be sent to Sonoma; and there is no good reason to doubt that the verbal changes were introduced at the time of writing to make the meaning clear, and not later; especially as at a later date it would have been equally easy and honorable, and much more effective, to rewrite the whole document. Moreover, the document in my possession may have

The intention of the Russians to abandon Ross and their wish to sell their property there had, as we have seen, been announced to Alvarado, and by him to the Mexican government, before the end of 1840. In January 1841, Vallejo, in reporting to the minister of war his controversy with Rotchef and Kuprianof, mentioned the proposed abandonment, taking more credit to himself than the facts could justify, as a result of that controversy. The Russians had consulted him as to their power to sell their buildings as well as live-stock to a private person, and had been told that "the nation had the first right," and would have to be consulted. The fear that impelled him at that time to answer thus cautiously was that some foreigner from the Columbia or elsewhere might outbid any citizen of California, and thus raise a question of sovereignty, which might prove troublesome in the future to Mexican interests. Vallejo also urged the government to furnish a garrison, and authorize the planting of a colony at the abandoned post.[46] In February, however, Kostromitinof, representing the company, proposed to sell the property to Vallejo himself for $30,000, payable half in money or bills of the Hudson's Bay Company, and half in produce delivered at Yerba Buena. The general expressed a willingness to make the purchase, but could not promise a definite decision on the subject before July or August.[47] Pending the decision, the Russian agent seems to have entered, perhaps secretly, into negotiations with John

been kept as a blotter, and a clean copy have been given to Piña; which would not only remove all grounds for suspicion, but all the *raison d'être* of this note.

[46] Jan. 1, 1841, V. to min. of war. Two communications. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 2-3. Jan. 14th, V. to Virmond, a letter in which he openly claims, as he clearly implied in that to the govt, that the abandonment had resulted from his victory over Kuprianof. *Id.*, x. 42.

[47] Feb. 16, 1841, Kostromitinof to V., and reply of Feb. 19th. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 60, 62. The property named included houses, mills, tannery, live-stock, and implements; but there is nothing said of land. Vallejo requires a delay in order to arrange about the H. B. Co. drafts; also wants to know when the produce must be delivered. He doubtless also hoped to hear from Mexico, and wished to learn whether the Russians had any right to sell the buildings.

A. Sutter, who at that time was not disposed to buy anything but the movable property.[48] Meanwhile a reply came from Mexico, though by no means a satisfactory one; since the government—evidently with some kind of an idea that the Russian officials had been frightened away, leaving a flourishing settlement to be taken possession of by the Californians—simply sent useless instructions about the details of occupation and form of government to be established.[49] In July Kostromitinof returned from Sitka, and negotiations were recommenced. Alvarado was urged to come to Sonoma, but declined; though he advised Vallejo that in the absence of instructions from Mexico the Russians had no right to dispose of the real estate. An elaborate inventory of the property offered for sale at $30,000 was made out, but Vallejo's best offer seems to have been $9,000 for the live-stock alone.[50]

Kostromitinof was greatly disappointed at his failure to close a bargain with Vallejo, a failure which he attributed, doubtless with much reason, to Alvarado's

[48] July 26, 1841, Rotchef to Sutter. Says Kostromitinof has decided that his offer cannot be accepted, since he wishes to buy only the cattle, and not the real estate, the agent having found purchasers for houses, ranchos, and cattle. Translation, from what source not stated, in *Veritas, Examination of the Russ. Claim*, p. 9. Aug. 10th, Sutter to Suñol. 'The Russians have found purchasers for their houses and farms. This shows the character of the Russians. They said very haughtily that they would rather burn their houses than turn them over to a native, and above all to Vallejo, who had insulted the Russian flag, etc.; and now for some $1,000 more they are not ashamed to make just such an arrangement. Only Russians could act like that.' *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 8.

[49] March 11, 1841, sup. govt order, received in Cal. June 21st, and sent to Vallejo July 2d. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 16–18; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 137; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 35, 41; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 193; xxxiii. 215.

[50] July 17, 1841, Kostromitinof at Bodega. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 205. July 27th, Vallejo to Alvarado. Say some of the Russians' terms are impertinent, some absurd, and most of them inadmissible. *Id.*, x. 227, 230; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 62. July 29th, A. to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 236. It was while the negotiations were pending that V. received A.'s letter communicating the despatch from Mexico. The inventory, *Ross, Propuesta de Venta*, MS., has been given so far as the real estate is concerned in chap. xxviii. of vol. ii. There was besides a lot of implements; and of live-stock there were 1,700 cattle, 940 horses, and 900 sheep. The inventory contains also the terms of the proposed sale. In *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 228, is what seems to be Vallejo's offer of $9 000 for the live-stock. It is an unsigned and undated form of agreement.

influence, and he went to Monterey to try and change the governor's mind, but in vain. Alvarado declared that the buildings being erected on Mexican soil with material produced on that soil could not be sold by a foreign company, and insisted that the Russians ought to leave the structures gratis for the use of Mexico. Indeed, he had formed the idea, which Vallejo shared, that no other customer could be found; and his only fear was, as he stated in a private letter, that the improvements would be burned to keep them from falling into Californian hands. But Kostromitinof, ironically asking if the comandante general had authority to receive a gift without obtaining the consent of congress, simply renewed his negotiations with Sutter.[51]

Sutter, like Vallejo, had at first wished to purchase the live-stock only; but he would perhaps have bought anything at any price if it could be obtained on credit; at any rate, after a brief hesitation a bargain was made in September.[52] The formal contract was signed by Kostromitinof and Sutter in the office of the sub-prefect at San Francisco, with Vioget and Leese as witnesses, December 13th. By its terms Sutter was put into possession of all the property at Ross and Bodega, except the land, as specified in the annexed inventory, and was to pay for it in four

[51] Aug. 11, 1841, Vallejo to Alvarado; replies of Aug. 14th, 18th. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., ix. 249; x. 246–8; xxxiii. 228. Aug. 27th, 28th, Kostromitinof to V. and reply, terminating the negotiations. *Id.*, x. 231–2; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 212–27.

[52] Hittell, *Hist. S. Fran.*, 89, states that Jacob P. Leese offered $20,000 for the property; $5,000 in cash, and $5,000 annually for 3 years; but Sutter's offer for $30,000 was preferred. Sept. 1st, Sutter to Suñol. 'The Russians have not been able to make any arrangement with Vallejo for the sale of their property. They have recommenced negotiations with me; but I intend to hold off for the present.' *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 10. In his *Diary*, 3, Sutter says that Rotchef arrived at his fort Sept. 4th, with whom he went by water to Ross and concluded the bargain for $30,000, 'which has been paid,' thus proving the so-called diary to have been written after 1850. Sept. 28th, he sent men to Ross to drive the live-stock, 100 animals out of 2,000 being lost in crossing the river. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 204, notes the arrival of the Russians on or just before Sept. 4th. Sept. 19th, Sutter to Vallejo. Has bought all the property, and asks permission for the passage of his men across the frontier to transfer the movable part of the purchase. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 282.

yearly instalments, beginning September 1, 1842. The first and second payments were to be of $5,000 each, and the others of $10,000; the first three were to be in produce, chiefly wheat, delivered at San Francisco free of duties and tonnage; and the fourth was to be in money. The establishment at New Helvetia and the property at Bodega and the two ranchos of Khlébnikof and Tschernich, which property was to be left intact in possession of the company's agents, were pledged as guaranties for the payment.[53] It would seem that Alvarado, while insisting that the land did not belong to the company and could not be sold, had yielded his point about the buildings, perhaps in the belief that no purchaser could be found; for the Russians say that the contract was approved by the Californian government, and it is certain that there was no official disapproval of its terms.[54]

Alvarado and Vallejo in later years are inclined to accuse Sutter of having acted dishonorably toward them in making the purchase; but there is no evidence that they were offended at the time.[55] The land itself had of course no special value at a time when much better land was to be had for the asking;

[53] *Ross, Contrat de Vente, 1841*, MS. The document is in French, and is a copy of a copy certified by S. F. Popoff. It contains 11 articles. Spanish translation, in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 108–9. Rossi, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, 212–13, writing in 1864, speaks of this document, which he says was obtained by the American minister from the Russian archives, and which he, Rossi, translated at Sta Rosa. The inventory does not appear.

[54] Dec. 19, 1841, Kostromitinof writes to Alvarado that he has sold the property as before proposed and not objected to by the gov., the contract being legally ratified in the S. F. *juzgado;* and he quotes in full art. 9, by which New Helvetia and other property are mortgaged. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 251. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 366, says the payment of the $30,000 was guaranteed by the Mexican govt, which was of course not literally true. In his report to the sup. govt, dated Jan. 11, 1842, Alvarado said in substance: 'When I learned that Ross was to be abandoned and the property sold, I notified the govt, and was directed merely to occupy the place when evacuated. The Russian agent proposed to sell the property to the nation, which proposition I was not authorized to accept; or to sell it to a private individual, which I could not prevent, though always insisting that the land belonged to the nation. I have received the contract of sale to Sutter.' *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 8–10.

[55] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 229–35. He says Sutter did an ungentlemanly, contemptible trick, buying property which the Russians were about to give to parties to whom they were greatly indebted.

but the wily Sutter, perhaps thinking it might be of value in the future, sought some pretext for a title. He obtained from Manager Rotchef a certificate of transfer dated one day earlier than the contract, in which document the commander, having no responsibility, and feeling not very kindly toward the Californian rulers, was easily induced to include the lands as well as other property, which he solemnly certified to have been ceded by the company that had held them for twenty-nine years, for the sum of $30,000 to M. Le Capitaine Sutter, and delivered into his indisputable possession. This document in later years was paraded as Sutter's deed, and, in the absence of other documents to throw light on the Russian tenure, was made the basis of a somewhat plausible claim for possession of the land.[56]

The general question of what has been called the Russian title or right to possessions in California, of some interest in the past from prevailing ignorance respecting the facts, has little importance in the eyes of my readers familiar with those facts. It has been claimed—and some Russians in early times urged their government to take that position, and since the dis-

[56] Rotchef's certificate, in a letter of Etholin to the directors of the co., in *Russ. Amer. Mat.*, MS., v. Also in '*Veritas*,' *Examin., etc.*, 9–10. Sutter, *Pers. Remin.*, MS., 54–9, 82–4, gives a very inaccurate version of the whole transaction, saying among other things that he was to make annual payments of such produce as he could raise until the debt was paid, no time being specified. He says when he asked for a title to his land, it was refused, as he had no money to spend. 'Money made the Mexican authorities see anything.' He regrets that he did not leave New Helvetia and move to Ross. Bidwell, *Remin.*, MS., 82–3, understood that Sutter acquired a right to the land, consisting in an almost expired charter from Spain! Mention of the sale to Sutter in *Mofras, Explor.*, ii. 8–9; *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 191; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 120; *Randolph's Oration; Bidwell's Jour. to Cal.*, 20–1; *Streeter's Recoll.*, MS., 53; *Sutter's Diary*, 3; *Torres, Peripecias*, MS., 90–1; *Schmölder, Neuer Wegreiser*, 76. Simpson, *Narrative*, 269–70, after speaking of the Russian occupation and final lack of success, says: 'They have accordingly within these few weeks transferred their stock to a Swiss adventurer by the name of Sutter, and are now engaged in withdrawing all their people from the country.' Capt. Guerra, writing on June 14, 1841, to Mofras, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1100–1, says: 'It cannot indeed be satisfactory to people of foresight, that the Russians abandon their post; for they have always been good neighbors to us; and it is much to be feared, as you say, that, such a check being removed, the Indians will begin their lamentable raids.'

covery of gold have still defended the right to have taken that position—that the Spaniards, notwithstanding their prior discoveries and formal acts of possession on the Pacific coast, had no rights beyond their actual occupation; and, San Francisco being the northern limit of such occupation in 1812, the Russians, or any other nation, could acquire by settlement a perfect title from any point north of the bay. It has been claimed that the Russians did thus occupy Ross and Bodega; and that any objection on the part of Spain, Mexico, or California was as absurd in the eyes of the nations as would have been the claim of Spain to the whole of America by virtue of Columbus' discovery. Moreover, it has been sought to prove, from detached portions of the slight correspondence extant, that Spain either expressly or tacitly approved the act of the Russians; that their title was acknowledged virtually by Mexico and California for many years; and that in any event Russian sovereignty was confirmed by twenty-nine years of actual possession.

The reader knows that in fact there was never any approval, expressed or implied, of the Russian right to territorial possessions in California; but that the occupation of Ross was begun and continued under constant and oft-repeated protest on the part of the Californian officials as Spaniards and Mexicans, even when as individuals they were on the most friendly terms with the officers of the Russian American Company. Had Russia seen fit to assert a claim to a part of California, her claim would doubtless have been resisted by Spain and Mexico, and could have been maintained only by superior force. Had the question been submitted to any tribunal other than one of military power, it would have presented many points of interest; but the equities of international law would, I believe, have been in favor of the Spaniards. Spain had not been, considering the spirit of the times, excessively grasping in her claims on the northern coasts. She had preceded other nations in explorations up to

a high latitude, and so long as there was a prospect of controlling communication by water with the spice islands of India, the Atlantic, or with New Mexico, she would have fought for her prerogative in that direction. But as that prospect gradually disappeared, she lost her desire for possessions in the far north, and was content with a stretch of harborless coast between her northernmost port and the southernmost one of a foreign neighbor. She had not only discovered the whole northern coast, but, so far as Bodega was concerned, had sent to explore that bay and take formal possession the navigator who had given it his name; and she had even, on one occasion, sent a company of men both by land and sea to occupy the site which circumstances had obliged them to abandon temporarily. They fully believed that the region north of the bay was part of their territory, and they often signified by word and deed their intention to occupy it; but through lack of enterprise and other obstacles, their progress was slow. It is doubtless true that, in the case of an island or other definitely bounded region, mere discovery with the attendant act of possession, unless followed within a reasonable time by actual occupation, or at least by actions showing a definite and constant intention to occupy, would have created no title to be respected by the nations; but that the Spanish march of settlement up the Pacific coast, after repeated voyages of exploration, acts of possession, expressions of intention to occupy, and constant progress in that direction, could be suspended at any time by another European nation at any point a few miles beyond the northernmost permanent settlement, cannot be maintained consistently with the spirit of international law.

Russia had no right to occupy Santa Bárbara in 1769, or Santa Cruz in 1771; neither could she in 1812—not in an unbroken line of advancement from the north to meet that of Spain from the south, but by a jump over the possessions of other nations—come

to Bodega and acquire an equitable title by founding a settlement in spite of Spanish protests. All this, however, is mere theorizing about a claim that never had any but an imaginary existence. Russia never made any pretension to sovereignty over the Bodega region or any portion of the Californian territory. The officers of the company were, it is true, promised imperial protection in their enterprise at the beginning; but the necessity for such protection never arose, and it is idle to speculate as to the form it might have taken. It is absurd, moreover, to defend a Russian title never claimed by Russia or recognized by any other power. Not even the Russian American Company ever advanced a claim to territorial possessions in California. Their aim was to establish a post for fur-hunting and for trade. Their efforts were to conciliate the Californians, and to maintain friendly commercial relations. They wished to be let alone. They avoided discussion respecting their rights, talked always of the mutual interests of the company and California, and strove to keep the matter quiet at Madrid and St Petersburg. They would not have favored the assertion and enforcement by Russia of a territorial claim, since such a claim would have been prejudicial to their financial interests. It is true that individual Russians, including members of the company, sometimes asserted and defended the rights of their nation to the lands about Ross, but their views met no official approval. Finally, the company resolved, with a somewhat lukewarm approval from the government, to negotiate with Mexico for a concession of the Ross territory and its extension to the bay; but the negotiations resulted in failure.

The strongest claim in equity—though of no legal force in Spanish or Mexican law—which the company could have set up to the lands actually occupied at Bodega would have been one of individual ownership, based on purchase from the natives, and an uninterrupted possession for thirty years; but it would

have served no good purpose to urge such a claim in 1841, as the land had little or no value in itself, and opposition from the Californian government was likely to interfere with the sale. Alvarado would not recognize any title to the land. The company expressly excepted the land in their bargain with Sutter, and Sutter did not suppose that he had purchased any land. Under these circumstances, assuredly but one argument could be advanced to show that the Russian title was not dead—and that was, that it had never lived.

Yet, as we have seen, Manager Rotchef gave Sutter a certificate of transfer of the property that had been under his care, in which paper the lands were included. Rotchef was not the company's agent for the sale of the property, and could not have conveyed a title if there had been one to convey. But in later years when the lands had acquired greater value, and were in possession of settlers holding under Mexican grants of 1844, Sutter had the effrontery to produce the Rotchef document as a deed, and to dispose of his title to men who attempted to exort money from the settlers, and who are said to have been partially successful. This was in 1859–60. The affair gave rise to much local excitement, and to a general ransacking of the early annals. Public meetings were held, and ingenious arguments were presented on both sides. It is no part of my purpose to enter into the details of this transaction, by which fortunately only one or two men seem to have been victimized; but under no hypothesis that occurs to me can Sutter's action be regarded as that of an honorable man.[57]

[57] See *Veritas, An examination of the Russian grant from A. Rotcheff to John A. Sutter in 1841.* Sacramento, 1860; *S. F. Bulletin,* May 3, 4, 1860; *Petaluma Argus,* Feb.–May 1860. In *Sonoma County History,* p. 362–78, there is given a good descriptive and historical sketch of the Ross settlement, in which considerable attention is paid to the Sutter purchase and title; but in this part of his work the author goes far astray, representing Sutter as having been at the worst an innocent victim of Russian wiles. I quote briefly as follows: 'They persuaded Sutter into the belief that their title was good and could be maintained...The transfer was duly made, and Sutter became,

Manager Rotchef, with all remaining servants of the company, sailed on the *Constantine*, which was at San Francisco in December 1841, and probably left Ross early in January 1842. One Russian, and perhaps several, remained on the ranchos to look out for the company's interests.[58] Sutter sent Robert Ridley to assume charge for him at first; but John Bidwell took his place early in 1842, and was in turn succeeded by William Benitz late in 1843. Meanwhile most of the movable property, including the cannon, implements, and most of the cattle, was removed to New Helvetia. The few hundred cattle left behind soon became so wild that if meat was needed it was easier to catch a deer or bear.[59] The Californians made no effort to occupy the abandoned fortress; since, having virtually consented to the sale of everything but the land, the government had no property to be protected there; and if there had been soldiers to spare or money to spend, there were other points in more urgent need of protection.[60] The local

as he thought, the greatest land-holder in California. The grants given by the Mexican government seemed mere bagetalles compared with his almost provincial possessions. But alas for human hopes and aspirations! for in reality he had paid an enormous price for a very paltry compensation of personal and chattel property. It is apropos to remark here that in 1859 Sutter disposed of his Russian claim, which was a six-eighths interest in the lands, to Wm Muldrow, Geo. R. Moore, and Daniel W. Welty; but they only succeeded in getting $6,000 out of one settler. The remainder refused to pay, and the claim was dropped. Some of the settlers were inclined to consider the Muldrow claim a black-mailing affair, and to censure Gen. Sutter for disposing of it to them, charging that he sanctioned the black-mailing process and was to share in its profits; but we will say in justice to the general that there was no idea of black-mail on his part. He supposed that he did purchase a *bona fide* claim and title to the land in question of the Russians, and has always considered the grants given by the Mexican government as bogus; hence, in giving this quitclaim deed to Muldrow *et al.*, he sincerely thought he was deeding that to which he alone had any just or legal claim' (!). Comment is unnecessary.

[58] Mofras, *Explor.*, ii. 9, says that Rotchef sailed Jan. 1st, leaving M. Nikolai in charge of affairs.

[59] Bidwell, *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., p. 70–100, gives many interesting facts about occurrences of this time. See also *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 373, etc.

[60] Jan. 11, 1842, Alvarado suggests to the min. of rel. that it would be well to station 40 or 50 men at Ross to protect the frontier. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 8–10. But nothing more is heard of the matter. Castañares, *Col. Doc. Cal.*, 48–9, writing in 1844 says the Mex. govt has taken no steps to occupy Ross; the cannon have been removed by Sutter; and Stephen Smith was in possession of Bodega. Bustamante, *Gabinete Mex.*, ii. 109, speaks of the abandonment of Ross and the orders issued at Mexico to take possession.

annals of Bodega and the surrounding region after the Russians had departed do not belong to this part of my work.

The Russians had striven faithfully but in vain to make their Californian colony a success; and now they had set for themselves a task whose difficulties were scarcely less formidable than those of their original scheme of 1811, namely the collection of a debt from John A. Sutter. The records of their efforts and progress are not so complete as would be desirable; but for three years absolutely nothing was paid, while on account of certain expenses for which Sutter was responsible,[61] the debt had increased from $30,000 to $31,774. The vessel which came for produce in the autumn of 1845 succeeded in obtaining a small quantity of wheat, which reduced the amount of indebtedness to $30,219. At this time the government, in accordance with instructions from Mexico, entered into communication with Dionisius Zarembo, the company's agent, on board the *Nassledník*, with a view to learn the exact condition of the affair; and Zarembo, in turn, called on the authorities to compel Sutter to pay his debt. Fears of foreign encroachment were then rife, as we shall see, and it was deemed desirable to get possession of New Helvetia. As Sutter would not sell, except at an exorbitant price, and as his inability to pay his debts was well known, it was in contemplation to buy the Russian company's mortgage, as the cheapest and surest way to secure the post. Though the evidence is not quite clear, I think a bargain to that effect was made; but its consummation was defeated by the war with the United States, before confirmation could be obtained from Mexico.[62]

[61] In 1843 and 1844, Sutter also had some trouble to pay the tonnage dues on the Russian craft which had come for wheat. In 1843 his launch was seized by the revenue officers as security, and in 1844 his draft was refused at the custom-house. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 25; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 61.

[62] Sept. 12, 1845, Sec. Covarrubias to Prefect Castro, calling for an immediate report in accordance with the president's orders. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i.

In purchasing the Ross property Sutter had not deliberately intended to swindle the sellers. He had, as was usual with him, assumed a heavy obligation without consideration of his prospective ability to meet it. That he could make no payments at all within the time assigned for paying the whole sum did not seem to him an alarming state of affairs. There were excuses in abundance. Crops had failed from drought; civil dissensions had claimed his attention; creditors much nearer than Sitka had pressed him; and something was likely enough to turn up—as indeed something did, in the discovery of gold. Considerable grain seems to have been delivered in 1846 or 1847; for the company's accounts show[63] that by the latter year nearly one fourth of the original $30,000 had been paid, though by reason of expenses accrued the debt had not been much reduced. Meanwhile the company after the conquest had presented its claims to the new authorities, and renewed its mortgages under United States forms.[64] In 1848–9

154–5. Oct. 18th, Zarembo to sub-prefect, in reply to a communication of Sept. 15th, in Russian and English, stating the amount due, and enclosing the original contract of 1841. *Id.*, i. 178–9. Spanish translation by Hartnell. *Fernandez, Doc.*, MS., 45–6. Nov. 6th, Zarembo to prefect. Has seen Sutter, who will pay only 900 fan. wheat this year. Asks aid to collect this debt, and others amounting to $21,344 due from parties in Cal. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 218. Nov. 7th, Castro's reply. Will take steps to compel the payment. *Id.*, i. 221. Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 160–2, states, and I have no reason to doubt the statement, that he, as prefect, and Zarembo signed a contract at Yerba Buena on Nov. 24th. Dec. 13th, Zarembo to gov. Asks that Leidesdorff be recognized as the company's agent in the matter. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 135. Dec. 27th, —— to Forbes. Rough draught of the contract. It was simply an agreement to buy and sell the claim for $31,000, and the co. was allowed to receive what Sutter might pay that year—since it was known, as the writer adds in a note, that he had little or nothing to pay. *Id.*, v. 121–2. Dec. 29th, Covarrubias to prefect. Wants a copy of the agreement for the gov. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 64. Jan. 24, 1846, Forbes, English vice-consul, to governor's secretary. Speaks of the arrangement as advantageous, and thinks it should be confirmed by Mexico. A commissioner was to be sent at once. *Moreno, Doc.*, MS., 24–6. Larkin, however says that the Russian gov. told him that he did not favor any such arrangement, deeming Sutter a safer debtor than the govt! *Larkin's Notes on Personal Char. of Californians*, MS., p. 109.

[63] Copies by M. Alphonse Pinart from the originals at St Petersburg. Yet according to *Unbound Doc.*, MS., 301–2, Gov. Teberenof wrote, Dec. 15, 1846, to Capt. Mervine that only $3,812.71 had been paid; asks aid in collecting the debt. M. replies, Jan. 17, 1847, that Montgomery did all that was possible; but that Sutter cannot dispose of any property pending the report of a tribunal.

[64] Nov. 10, 1846, Sutter to Washington Bartlett. Demands to know his

Sutter, in order that some one creditor might not get an advantage over others, as is said, conveyed all his property to his son;[65] but in these years, or at least by 1850, as is shown by the company's accounts for that year, he was able to reduce the Russian debt by $7,000, and had made a definite agreement to pay the remainder to an agent at San Francisco. This promise seems to have been kept, as all agree that the debt was paid in full not long after 1850; but one Russian authority tells us that the company's agent absconded with the last payment of $15,000, to cap the climax of Russian misfortunes in California. Yet in the flush times following the discovery of gold, they were able to sell, at very profitable rates, one or two cargoes of articles deemed valueless that had been accumulating at Sitka for many years.[66]

authority for issuing an attachment on his real estate, and threatens a suit for damages against him and the company. *McKinstry's Papers*, MS., 24–5.

[65] *Burnett's Recoll.*, MS., ii. 1–3, 124.

[66] *Golovnin, Voyage*, 22–3, 123. No particulars are given by any authority about Sutter's last payment, but all state that the debt was paid during the flush times; though Bidwell tells us that the payment left Sutter but little available property. In the *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 372, it is stated that 'the last payment was made by Sutter through Ex-gov. Burnett in 1849. Sutter paid the entire amount in cash, and not a part in cash and the remainder in wheat and real estate, as has been stated. E. V. Sutter, a son of the general, is our authority for the above statements.'

CHAPTER VII.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND GENERAL CONDITION.

1841.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR—SMALL PART PLAYED BY CALIFORNIANS—APATHY IN POLITICS—A SEASON OF DROUGHT—AT THE CAPITAL—GOVERNOR ALVARADO—JIMENO ACTING RULER—NO SESSION OF THE JUNTA DEPARTAMENTAL—NO EXCESS OF GOVERNMENT—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—MISSION AFFAIRS—CONTINUED SPOLIATION—MOFRAS' STATISTICS—PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE ARGÜELLO—THE BISHOP'S ARRIVAL—INDIAN AFFAIRS—A TIME OF PEACE—MILITARY ITEMS—ALVARADO AND VALLEJO—POLICY AND MOTIVES OF THE COMANDANTE GENERAL—UNFOUNDED CHARGES—ACTION IN MEXICO—RECONCILIATION—CASTRO OR PRUDON—VALLEJO'S PLANS FOR REFORM.

THE first year of the new decade was by no means an uneventful one in the annals of California. In 1841 the Russians abandoned the establishment which for three decades had caused the Spanish and Mexican authorities much anxiety politically, but in other respects had been a benefit to the country. Not only did the Russian American Company depart, but the English Hudson's Bay Company came in its stead to effect a permanent establishment, to continue hunting operations, to purchase live-stock for the north, and, as many feared, to monopolize the Californian trade. New Helvetia absorbed the property of Ross, and by its peculiar position, its foreign character, and the temperament of its ruler, also succeeded Ross as a fomenter of political fears. Among the forty vessels of the year there were seven men-of-war, or national exploring craft; and the trading fleet, though hides and tallow were not so readily obtained as formerly,

paid $100,000 in duties on goods imported. It was in 1841 that the U. S. exploring expedition came to the Sacramento Valley by land and sea, that an attaché of the French government made a tour of observation through the country, and that California was visited by a prominent English navigator—extensive narratives being written as a result by Lieutenant Wilkes, M. Duflot de Mofras, and Sir George Simpson. In 1841 three great nations were cherishing hopes of supplanting Mexico in the possession of this western land. In 1841 not only did many exiles of the past year return, but the tide of overland immigration began to flow in across the snowy sierra.

In all this, however, it will be noticed that foreigners were the active agents. Each topic of foreign relations is to be fully recorded in the following chapters. In this one I have to write of what was done by the Californians; and it must be admitted that they did little except to wait and wonder what strangers would conclude to do with them and their country. Politically, it was a time of apathetic inaction, without a revolutionary symptom even on paper. In the south, especially, does the year present but a blank page in history. Except now and then a petty occurrence of purely local nature, there is nothing to be recorded of the region below Monterey. It is not to be supposed that the abajeños had forgotten their grievances, but they gave no sign of discontent. There were no protests or pronunciamientos from the versatile ayuntamiento of Angeles. José Antonio Carrillo was not accused, so far as I know, of political intrigue. Even Juan Bandini held his peace and wrote no long letters. In the north, except so far as the foreign element was concerned, the current of events was almost equally placid and monotonous. The season was one of drought, causing a partial failure of crops, and considerable loss in live-stock,[1] but there was no suf-

[1] Bidwell, *Journey to Cal.*, 23–5, 29, speaks of the drought of 1840–1, as do other immigrants; but he gives a table of the weather for each day in the

fering among the people, who were as prosperous as was possible with such an expenditure of energy as they were disposed to make. The drought, however, with the diminished productiveness of the mission estates, made it harder than usual for the traders to fill up their cargoes, and collect the amounts due from the rancheros; so that the country's lack of prosperity was somewhat exaggerated in their reports.

At the capital the governor and the clique of officials about him displayed a degree of zeal in the handling of departmental funds, if in nothing else. They received $100,000 from the custom-house, with a large but unknown amount from the ex-mission estates. There were current suspicions that the public money was squandered on various private and public *fiestas*, and that the residue was not quite impartially distributed; but there are no proofs that such was the case, nor any indications that they ever had difficulty in finding a use for all the moneys they could collect. Alvarado had been at his best in the revolution against Mexico in 1836 and in subsequent troubles with the south. In honesty and intelligence he had equalled, in energy and executive ability as in personal popularity he had excelled, the best of those about him; but he had now degenerated in several respects. The gross charges of rascality made against him by men like Farnham were unfounded. Alvarado was yet a courteous and well-meaning ruler, comparatively liberal and free from narrow prejudices. But he had lost much of his old enthusiasm for reform, and was content to let public affairs drift for the most part as they would, to perform carelessly the few routine duties devolving upon him, to deplore the non-progressive condition of the department, and cast the

season of 1841-2, indicating an average number of rainy days, 35 from Nov. 15th to March 31st. He says, however, that the winter was wet. Drought mentioned in *Honolulu Polynesian*, ii. 55; *Niles' Register*, lxi. 98; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 102; *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS., 16. The drought extended to the south also. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., v. 203. Larkin says not water enough fell to raise the streams an inch. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxvi. 214.

blame on circumstances, or fate, or Mexico. He gave himself up to convivial pleasures, drank deeply, was often unable from 'illness' to attend to official duties, and having injured himself severely by a fall when intoxicated, was obliged to turn over his office in September to Jimeno Casarin, as he had done several times before.[2]

The junta departamental did not assemble at all during the year, as a majority of the members when summoned excused their non-attendance on various pretexts more or less satisfactory to themselves.[3] Neither was there any session or organization of the tribunal superior, though the members of that body had been appointed the year before.[4] Andrés Castillero was representing California in congress, but he might as well have been in Patagonia for all that is heard of his public services at this time. The supreme government did nothing but forward certain warnings against foreigners, with a few routine orders and instructions to which no special attention was paid in the department.

Thus it will be seen that California, whatever may have been her misfortunes, was not suffering from too much government; and the result, so far as the gen-

[2] Jan. 1, 1841, A. assumed the govt. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 44. Sept. 21st, Jimeno becomes acting gov. on account of A.'s illness. *Id.*, xi. 127–8; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 18, 42–3; *Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 107–9. Dec. 31st, A. reassumes the office. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 28, 46; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 131. It was as 1st vocal of the dip. that Jimeno became acting gov., and meanwhile José Z. Fernandez acted as secretary. A.'s accident is noticed in print by Sir Geo. Simpson, in MS., by Janssens, and in conversation by many Californians.

[3] The junta had been convoked in Dec. 1840 to meet in Jan. Requena, Pio Pico, and José Castro excuse themselves on the plea of ill health; and Requena also argues that the junta expires legally on Dec. 31st and must be renewed *in toto*. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 34–6. Jan. 9, 1841, Santiago Arguello cannot attend on account of his duties as prefect, fearing disorders in his district. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 1. March 12th, Alvarado complains that all the vocales but one replied that there were 'legal impediments' to their attendance. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 280. June 21st, A. to min. of rel., complaining of a lack of interest on the part of the dip., which body will not even meet to discuss important matters. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 34.

[4] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. iii., chap. xx., this series. In a letter of June 5, 1841, Requena says the chief reason why the tribunal has not been opened is because the gov. is unwilling to give J. A. Carrillo an opportunity for intrigue. *Requena, Doc.*, MS., 2.

eral condition of the people was concerned, was not altogether unsatisfactory. Local matters were well enough managed, according to Hispano-American ideas, by prefects and jueces de paz; and in several instances the perpetrators of serious crimes were punished with a promptness almost unheard of in California. Doubtless there was room for great reforms in the administration of justice. Indian horse-thieves were becoming bold in their operations, petty thefts and drunken quarrels among vagabonds of the towns were too often unpunished; but it must be added that current statements of foreign visitors respecting the reign of crime and the utter lack of protection to life and property were grossly exaggerated.

The year brought no changes of a general nature in the administration of mission affairs, and the condition of the different establishments remained practically as in 1839–40.[5] No successor was appointed to Hartnell as visitador, and the majordomos in charge of the estates were responsible directly to the government. There are no accounts and little correspondence extant respecting drafts upon those estates in behalf of the departmental treasury;[6] but while it is impossible to estimate the amount obtained, there is no doubt that such drafts were freely made whenever mission products could be utilized. Foreign visitors allude in general terms to the destruction of the missions, but refer rather to the period than to the year; and in its general phases this subject has already received sufficient attention.[7] From the mass

[5] See chap. ii. of this vol.

[6] Feb. 1841, 1,100 sheep delivered by governor's order from Sta Clara to Douglas; in March, 50 cows to the same person. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., ix. 43. These animals were sold by the gov. to the H. B. Co.

[7] Jan. 29, 1841, Ethan Estabrook writes to Larkin: 'Should his Excellency continue in office, I have no doubt the missions will suffer till there is nothing left to suffer.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 122. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 390, 420, says that Alvarado took all the cattle left at Soledad, with all the iron-work, and the tiles for his own house, and gave everything remaining to his friend Soberanes. He also speaks of the deliberate plunder of Mission S. José by the Vallejo family.

of petty local items extant I judge that in 1841 there was less of abuse and robbery in the administration of these estates than in former years—either because of reforms introduced by Hartnell, a weeding-out of some of the worst administrators, greater vigilance on the part of the governor, or a lack of desirable property to be stolen; perhaps for all these causes combined. The padres, increased in number to twenty-three by the return of García Diego and the coming of Santillan and Ambris, novices who soon became priests, served as curates at their respective establishments, and nothing was heard of those in the south beyond an occasional protest against the conduct of an unmanageable majordomo, or against the granting of some mission rancho. In the north the Zacatecanos sustained and increased their unenviable reputation by the disgraceful conduct of the drunken Padre Quijas, and the hardly less apparent immoralities of certain others, which foreign visitors especially did not fail to notice and to write about.[8]

At or in connection with each of the southern establishments, as at several of those in the north, a small number of Indians were still living in community, on one basis or another, more or less completely under the control of administrators or padres, or both.[9] Mofras gives the number of Indians living in community in 1841–2 as 4,450, varying from 20 at Soledad and San Rafael to 500 and 650 at San Gabriel, San Diego, and San Luis Rey; but in these figures he must include at several places in the north many Indians who had no other connection with the missions than that of living somewhere in the vicinity.[10]

[8] Wilkes, Simpson, and Peirce speak in plain terms on the subject; still it must be admitted that so far as their personal observations went, P. Quijas was the one mainly responsible.

[9] July 26th, Alvarado by a decree releases an Indian from his condition of neophyte, allowing him to support himself and family as he pleases. *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 52. Prefect Argüello complains to Capt. Guerra of the scandalous immorality prevalent in the southern missions, some of which are little else than brothels. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vii. 82–3.

[10] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 320. This author gives a very good description of the condition of each establishment.

There is no satisfactory information respecting the Indian pueblos of the south;[11] and the only event of local annals requiring notice in this connection is the dissolution of the neophyte community at San Juan Capistrano. This action was taken by the governor in consequence of dissatisfaction with the majordomo, and of a petition from citizens of San Diego to have lands assigned them. The order was issued in July and the lands were distributed some months later. The Indians were given the preference in the choice of lands, and the new pueblo was named San Juan de Argüello.[12] Bishop García Diego arrived in 1841, landing from the *Rosalind* at San Diego with a suite of twelve persons the 11th of December; but his formal reception, together with the beginnings of the grand work he no doubt intended to accomplish for his diocese, belongs to the annals of another year.[13]

Bare mention is all that is called for in the matter of Indian affairs. Though fears were expressed that hostile gentiles might again possess the country,[14] and

[11] Feb.–April 1841, some dissatisfaction of the Indians at Las Flores, S. Pascual, and S. Dieguito, at the interference of the Picos. *Hayes' Mission Book*, 347, from *S. Diego, Archives.*

[12] Extracts from archives in *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 121–2, 126–8; *Janssens, Vida*, MS., 167–9; *Los Angeles Star*, Nov. 13, 1869; *S. Diego, Index*, MS., 137; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 54; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 46, etc.

[13] Dec. 12, 1841, Argüello to governor, announcing the bishop's arrival, and ordering some preparations for his journey to the presidio from some point not clearly defined. He was to start in a *silla de manos* as soon as the people had assembled, and was to lodge at Bandini's house. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 102–4. Nov. 5th, contract with Capt. Crouch of the *Rosalind* to carry the bishop and suite from S. Blas to S. Diego for $2,000 and all tonnage dues. *Id.*, vi. 80–1. July 29th, Alvarado to Vallejo, announcing that the bishop is on his way. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 236. His episcopal influence was felt before his arrival, as appears from an order of the alcalde of S. Diego on Sept. 1, 1840, to keep cattle out of the streets, as the bishop might arrive any day! *S. Diego, Index*, MS., 109. On Dec. 18th García Diego confirmed 125 persons. *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 45. Vallejo writes to Virmond on Dec. 1st: 'The coming of a bishop is going to cause much trouble. The priests are beside themselves with pride, and begin to fulminate sentences of excommunication, etc., relying on that prelate. Poor crazy fools, if they think they can browbeat the leading men in California. The age of theocratic domination is past. However, Californians who have never seen bishops will now know how they dress and observe their ceremonies. If they intended to plant new missions among the savages, some good might result; but nothing is further from the minds of the priests.' *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., viii. 335.

[14] Dec. 24th, Vallejo to chief of staff in Mexico. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 398.

foreign writers spoke in a general way of continual outrages, I find in records of the year nothing of details beyond the facts that several expeditions of citizen soldiers and friendly Indians were sent out from San José against the horse-thieves;[15] that there was a continuance of hostilities, or at least of warlike rumors, on the southern frontier, particularly from May to July;[16] and that the fierce Sotoyomes of the north were said to be planning a new attempt to destroy the gente de razon.[17] Thus even rumors of hostilities were less plentiful than usual; and while horse-stealing was a regular industry of the gentiles, often in league with Christians, and occasionally an Indian was killed in a conflict between the two classes, there was no real hostility in a warlike sense, and no special danger in any part of the country. General apathy in Indian affairs as in everything else.

The old military establishment of presidial companies was still kept up, nominally at San Francisco—or rather Sonoma—Monterey, and Santa Bárbara; but the company of San Diego had long since disappeared. The three companies had about one hundred men on their pay rolls, either in active service or as inválidos; and about $30,000 of the departmental revenues was devoted to their support.[18] An artillery force with a

The general's object was to get an increase of military force, and he doubtless exaggerated the danger. Alvarado in his letters to Mexico declared often that the Indians could be easily controlled.

[15] Jan. 24, 1841, gov. to prefect. In consequence of an encounter between pagans and a neophyte, bows and arrows are to be distributed; and Capt. Estrada is to go with the force. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 2. July 23d, J. J. Vallejo to com. gen. Robberies frequent. 25 citizens will start day after tomorrow. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 221. Feb. 19th, gov. orders payment of $20 to an Indian chief who has returned from his campaign in the Tulares. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 62. May-July, payment of $254 and other sums for monthly expenses of auxiliary forces against Indians. *Id.*, iv. 57-8.

[16] May–July, 1841, slight corresp. on reported rising of Ind. of the Sierra de Jamur and Sierra de Tuzmin. *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., vi. 32, 43; xii. 57; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 13; *Fitch, Doc.*, MS., 166.

[17] Vallejo to Alvarado, July 27th. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 230. Salvador Vallejo was about to march against the foe.

[18] For particulars, see local annals. I note the following military items: Jan. 1, 1841, Vallejo to min. of war. The Mazatlan squadron of 1819 has been for many years dispersed for want of resources, each man earning his

grand total of 24 men was also maintained; of which Captain Silva was made the commander, and respecting which certain reports were called for and made, with a view to increase its efficiency for the country's safety. The armament was forty-three cannon, or two to each gunner, to say nothing of seventeen useless pieces.[19] In addition to the military force already specified there was a temporary auxiliary or militia company organized for service against the Indians, but about which at this time little is known.[20]

Having thus briefly noticed several matters connected with the general condition of the country in 1841, I come back to that of politics, or to the only phase of politics outside of foreign relations that still offered something of interest or importance—the controversy between the comandante general and the governor.

At the beginning of the year Vallejo wrote again to the supreme government of his grievances and of the ruin that Alvarado's policy was bringing upon the

living as best he can. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 7. Jan. 11th, the gov. has bought 100 carbines from the *Catalina* to prevent their being sold to private persons. *Id.*, x. 2. March, Vallejo informs comandantes that he has been ordered to report on disabled officers, who are to be retired. *Id.*, x. 82. Aug. 3d, a lieutenant authorizes his attorney to collect from Ábrego $1,885, back pay for 4 years and 10 months. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 282. Aug. 7th, purchase of 100 carbines from Célis and 2,046 flints. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 239. Sept. 23d, $300 on account of the general's salary sent with money for the company. *Id.*, x. 288. Oct. 1st, V. says that in accordance with orders from Mexico he has appointed a comandante for the frontier (distinct from that of S. F.). *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxv. 3.

[19] June 1840, Silva appointed in Mexico to reorganize and command the artillery. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iv. 322-3. Feb. 19, 1841, min. of war calls for a report of guns and war material. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 63. April 17th, similar order. *Id.*, x. 116. May 12th, report of chief of artillery at Monterey on armament and its distribution as follows: Monterey, 18 guns, with captain, sergeant, 2 corporals, drummer, and 7 privates; S. Francisco, 6 guns and 1 man; Sonoma, 7 guns and 5 men; Sta Bárbara, 3 guns and 6 men; S. Diego, 9 guns and 1 man; besides useless guns and miscellaneous war material. *Id.*, x. 125-6.

[20] Feb. 16, 1841, general order in Mexico for organization of auxiliary companies. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, MS., ii. 169. June 28th, Alvarado consults Vallejo on the subject. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 181. Payments to auxiliaries for service. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 57-8. Sept. 5th, Capt. Estrada states that his troops have ceased to serve. *Id.*,

country,[21] expressing anew his conviction that relief must come from Mexico, and that the two commands should be reunited in one person. He also addressed a private letter to President Bustamante on the subject, explaining that the unfortunate interruption of friendly relations between the two men had rendered it impossible for him to exert any influence upon Alvarado, who had done nothing of late but create offices and multiply expenses. A reorganization of the public service in all its branches was imperatively necessary; at the least, a commissioner should be sent from Mexico to study and report on California's needs. He also hoped to be soon relieved of his command, and permitted to visit the national capital.[22]

Naturally, unworthy motives have been imputed to Vallejo. It has been thought that he not only desired to humble a rival, but to obtain the governorship for himself. Alvarado, as we have seen, had once gone so far as to suspect, or to pretend such a suspicion, that he was ready to effect his purpose by conspiracy with foreigners,[23] and other partisans of the governor held and expressed similar opinions.[24] A common

[21] Jan. 1, 1841, V. to min. of war. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 4–6, 9–11. Several communications. He says 'the civil govt in unskilful hands has sworn the destruction of the military branch, and has not even respected its property; declares the presidial companies must be restored, and given each its rancho—especially must the company of Sonoma have the rancho of Soscol; complains of an unjust distribution of the funds; states that Ábrego, having been appointed comisario without bonds, obeys Alvarado implicitly; says he has only just received his official despatches from the war department for 1837–40, all having been opened at the capital; charges that not only public but private mails are tampered with; that the *California* sailed without his correspondence, being despatched by the gov. without his knowledge. Abuses of every kind are constantly permitted, and relief can come only from the national govt, the orders of which at present are despised. Jan. 15th, to Virmond he writes that the governor's sycophants have caused confusion in every branch of the govt, and now, expecting soon to lose their offices, are destroying everything as fast as they can. *Id.*, x. 42.

[22] Jan. 15th, V. to pres. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 46. He says Guerra y Noriega is the only officer at all competent to take his place temporarily.

[23] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. iii., chap. xx., this series.

[24] Feb. 25, 1841, Joaquin T. Castro from S. Pablo to prefect Tiburcio Castro. Fears that Vallejo intends to get the command, and has good reason for his fears. The foreigners favor him, and Forbes says the Mexican govt has given him encouragement. Has never longed for Don José's presence more than now. Could say much more, but prefers to wait. Vallejo has threatened to make it hot for 'mas de cuatro' in case of success. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS.,

version of the matter among Californians is in substance that Vallejo, angry at not being allowed to control the government, strove to overthrow his rival and obtain his place, but overshot the mark, since both fell together.[25] These charges and suspicions are, however, greatly exaggerated if not wholly unfounded. I have already shown that at the beginning of the quarrel Vallejo was influenced not only by well-founded disapproval of the governor's acts, but by wounded personal pride and an exalted idea of his own authority. In 1839 he would have been flattered by an offer of the governorship, as an honor, a source of power, and as a means of humbling his foes; but I find no evidence that he ever openly or secretly sought the office, and I doubt that he would have accepted it at all in 1841. The whole tenor of his communications to the Mexican government is against the theory that he desired to be governor.[26] Naturally, he may still have felt some resentment toward Alvarado, or more specially toward his associates at the capital; but there are indications that his feelings in that respect were less bitter than formerly. He was tired of the estrangement and controversy, and he felt that under the unwise management of Alvarado and his advisers none of the reforms—political, military, commercial, and industrial—which he believed essential to the country's welfare were to be expected. He be-

x. 6-7. 'An idea has got abroad that he [Vallejo] is looking to the gubernatorial chair, and to be placed there by the same force that has raised Alvarado and himself to the posts they now occupy.' *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 210–11.

[25] Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 415–18, thinks the action of the govt at the first in writing a private letter to both officers did much to promote the quarrel, leading each to deem himself the favored one. Each tried, both in Cal. and Mex., to overthrow the other; but it is implied that V. was in the wrong because his office was a subordinate one. See also, in a similar strain, some inclining to one side and some to the other, *Botello, Anales*, MS., 95; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 120; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 61–2; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 109; *Galindo, Apuntes*, MS., 42–3; and many others. Narratives of foreign writers generally give a similar version.

[26] Alvarado himself, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 193–200, does not charge V. with having desired the office; though he does charge him with having been influenced in his opposition mainly by anger at not being allowed to manage the country. In his letter to Virmond of Jan. 14th, V. says his enemies believe he is trying to get the governorship, and is likely to succeed; but that such is not the case. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 42.

lieved that the department was drifting toward ruin; he saw no way of averting the danger under the actual régime, and he advised a change. His advice, from the standpoint of a Mexican official, was sound; and I am disposed to think, notwithstanding the current charges, that it was honestly given. Before the end of 1841, moreover, the general had doubtless become convinced that California was not destined to remain long under Mexican rule. He was an intelligent man, foresaw that the change was likely to be an advantage to his country and to his own interests, and was not disposed to look with dread upon the prospect; but being also a man of honor, with a due sense of his obligations as a Mexican officer, he continued in good faith to urge upon his government the imminence of the danger and the only means of averting it. As comandante general he was impelled by his pride and sense of honor to protect Mexican interests; but he preferred that the impending change should find neither himself nor his nephew in charge of the department.

During the summer, while negotiations for the abandonment of Ross were in progress, relations between the governor and general were not unfriendly, as we have seen; and in July letters were exchanged by the two, in which they expressed mutual regret for past estrangement, and a desire for reconciliation. A personal interview was proposed, Jesus Vallejo exerting himself particularly in the matter; but the magnate of Sonoma was unwilling to visit the capital, and Alvarado declared himself too unwell to come to Santa Clara.[27] It was also in July that there came,

[27] July 15, 1841, fragment of a letter from V. to A. 'No men were ever united by so many ties from infancy to manhood.' Hopes to get rid of his office, and thus to remove all grounds of rivalry, and, if it be impossible to renew cordial relations, at least to escape the ridicule of their friends. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiv. 29. July 29th, A. to V. Is glad to know that V. desires a restoration of harmony; and is at a loss to know exactly what interrupted it after their last meeting. *Id.*, x. 235. July 27th, V. invites A. to visit the frontier to have an interview and study the needs of that region. Denies the current charges that he desires to make himself a sultan and to ignore the

by the same vessel that brought back the foreign exiles from San Blas, a rumor that a new comandante general had been appointed, and was about to start for California with five hundred men. The rumor, though premature, had some foundation in fact, but was not credited by the governor.[28]

Meanwhile the government in Mexico replied in April to Vallejo's communications of January. In these replies, which seem not to have reached California until October, Vallejo was assured in the president's name that measures would be promptly dictated for the reform of abuses complained of. Alvarado was recommended to observe all due consideration for the general; both were urged to act in harmony, and mutually aid each other in the country's time of trouble which seemed near at hand.[29] About the same time José Castro came back from Mexico, very likely with verbal instructions from Bustamante to effect a reconciliation between the two chiefs. At any rate, he took some steps in that direction, as it was evidently feared that a crisis was at hand when the general's coöperation would be needed. Writing to Vallejo, he protested that his friendship was undiminished, denied that he had tried to compromise the general in Mexico, cursed the men who had kept their rulers at loggerheads, hoped he would, by coming to Monterey, teach those false friends a lesson, urged him to forget all personal differences for the country's good, and invited him to come to Mission San José for an interview. "The good begun by us for California must be carried to completion, and our foes confounded"![30] Alvarado also wrote, expressing his

political authorities. He has the force to do so if he wished, but has never entertained such unworthy ideas. *Id.*, x 230.

[28] July 22d, Comandante Flores at Monterey to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 220. July 29th, A. to V. *Id.*, x. 236.

[29] April 6, 15, 1841, min. of war to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 98–9, 103–4. April 12th, min. of rel. to A. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 19. March, June, reports called for on state of affairs in Cal. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 137; *Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 68–70.

[30] Oct. 5th, 25th, Castro to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 301, 315. The general's letters are not extant; but he seems to have made some charges against José.

willingness to obey the president's instructions by reducing the number of civil servants, attending to the organization of a military force, and taking counsel of Vallejo and others respecting the course to be followed, "so far as policy and circumstances could be reconciled with duty." [31]

Vallejo came down to Mission San Jose in November as requested,[32] and had an interview with Castro, though Alvarado was probably not present. The decision arrived at was that, the situation being critical, prompt steps must be taken; that if the country was to be saved from foreign invasion, national aid must be obtained; and that Castro should go to Mexico as the general's comisionado to secure such aid, as well as to ascertain the actual condition of political affairs in the national capital, about which there was much uncertainty.[33] There is room for suspicion that this result was deliberately planned by Castro and Alvarado as a means of preventing Vallejo from sending some other comisionado who would work against the governor's interests, as of course Castro was not to do. On December 6th, however, Alvarado suddenly changed his mind, and decided that Castro was needed at home.[34] Possibly Alvarado intended at this time to send a secret agent by the *California* in Castro's

[31] Oct. 27th, A. to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 322.

[32] He was there, as will be seen, when the Bartleson company of immigrants arrived. He arrived Nov. 9th, and remained at least until the 18th.

[33] There is no record of the interview. Nov. 17th, V. writes to A., urging the necessity of prompt military organization. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 349. Nov. 18th, V. to Abrego. Requests him to furnish Castro $1,500 for travelling expenses to Mexico, where he goes on public business. *Id.*, x. 353. Nov. 30th, Alvarado to V. Will order the *California* to Monterey to take Castro with V.'s despatches to Mexico; will also send by him a report on the impending dangers. *Id.*, x. 369.

[34] Dec. 6th, A. to Castro, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 373. He has just heard of the coming of a party of Americans from N. Mexico, which showed the danger to be nearer than had been expected, and Castro's services were likely to be needed. Moreover, aid from Mexico could hardly come in less than six months; and the latest news from Mexico, which he gives at some length, leaves some room for doubt that attention will be paid to Californian matters when affairs at the capital are in such an unsettled condition. However, he will still send the schooner with despatches. Dec. 8th, Castro to V., forwarding A.'s letter, and announcing his readiness to make any sacrifice and obey the general's orders. *Id.*, x. 376.

place; or his change of purpose may have resulted from the discovery of Vallejo's purpose to send Victor Prudon, his secretary, as a companion to Castro, which would render his plot, if plot there was, ineffectual. At any rate, the general had resolved to send Prudon, and did not modify his resolution at all in consequence of the change in the governor's plan.[35]

Vallejo's despatches to the supreme government in December did not differ in spirit from those of January. He pictured California as a country nowhere excelled in natural advantages of climate, soil, and harbors, having all the elements of a grand prosperity, and needing only an energetic population and wise regulations. The immediate and imperative necessity was the protection of the department by the presence of a sufficient military force. He pointed out in considerable detail the country's commercial and agricultural possibilities, giving also his views respecting the obstacles in the way of their realization. Of course he alluded to the old complaints against the actual administration, and he formulated a remedial scheme, in substance as follows: i. A man should be placed at the head of affairs, and invested with both civil and military authority, who is not connected by blood or otherwise with other authorities or with the governed, ties of relationship rendering the chief impotent and his subjects insubordinate. ii. A force of at least two hundred men should

[35] Prudon's name does not appear in this connection until Dec. 11th, when —possibly after receiving Castro's letter of the 8th, but probably not—Vallejo in his letter to the min. of war announces the sending of Castro and Prudon with despatches. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 384. His instructions, dated Dec. ——, are addressed to Castro and Prudon; but by art. 6 the latter is to go alone if Castro for any reason is unable to go. The instructions are simply to proceed to Acapulco and Mexico, present despatches, answer questions about the country, not to know the object of their mission before their interview with the min. of war, and to hurry back with the answer by the *California*, which was to wait at Acapulco for them. Not over six days were to be spent in Mexico. *Id.*, xiv. 28. As Prudon was Vallejo's private secretary, the warning not to know the nature of the mission is very funny. Dec. 21st, V. to Abrego. As Castro cannot go, $1,500 is to be paid to Prudon. *Id.*, x. 389; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 65. Dec. 23d, V. to min. of war, accrediting Capt. Victor Prudon as his comisionado, and recommending him highly for competence and integrity. Asks that he be confirmed as captain in the regular army. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 393.

be sent to the country with their pay well secured, and with competent officers of good character. iii. The custom-house should be put in charge of the comisario, and the corps of treasury servants should be largely reduced. iv. There should be established and maintained a responsible post-office department. v. At San Francisco the fort should be rebuilt, with other public edifices, and a custom-house should be established. The laws forbidding the coasting trade by foreign vessels should be enforced, and the importation of various articles prohibited, with a view to encourage home industries. vi. And finally there should be sent a large colony of Mexican artisans and farmers to counterbalance the influx of foreigners.[36]

[36] *Vallejo, Males de California y sus remedios. Informe del Comandante General al Ministro de Guerra, 15 de Dic., 1841*, MS., also copied in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 231-8. Also V. to min. of war, Dec. 11th, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 384.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCIAL AND MARITIME AFFAIRS—THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—VISITS AND BOOKS.

1841.

TRADING REGULATIONS—COASTING TRADE SUSPENDED AND RESTORED—NEW MEXICAN CARAVAN—SMUGGLING—VALLEJO'S PLAN—OTTER-HUNTING—WHALERS—LIST OF VESSELS—STATISTICS OF REVENUE—FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION—HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IN CALIFORNIA—VISIT AND JOURNAL OF SIR JAMES DOUGLAS—THE FUR-HUNTERS LICENSED—PURCHASE OF LIVE-STOCK—PROPOSED TRADING-POST—RAE'S ESTABLISHMENT AT YERBA BUENA—VISIT OF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON AND CHIEF FACTOR MCLOUGHLIN—THE COMPANY AND SUTTER—SIMPSON TO VALLEJO—MAP—SIMPSON'S NARRATIVE—QUOTATIONS—WARNER'S LECTURE ON CALIFORNIA—PEIRCE'S VISIT AND JOURNAL.

IN accordance with his warning of February 1840, and his communication of December to the supreme government,[1] Alvarado issued an order in January 1841, that foreign vessels must in future discharge and pay duties on their cargoes at Monterey, the coasting trade being strictly prohibited. By the same order the importation of foreign sugar, salt, and timber was also prohibited, as by the Mexican revenue laws.[2] This act, having been expected for a year, excited but little comment or opposition so far as the

[1] See chap. iii. of this vol. Dec. 13th, A. to min. of int. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xi. 76.

[2] Jan. 2, 1841, Alvarado's order. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 29; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 25; *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, v. 8–9. Vessels actually engaged in the coasting trade were to be allowed time to complete their voyages. Corresponding orders were issued to local authorities to prevent trade by vessels which could not show the proper permits from Monterey. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 280; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 49. The change is mentioned in *Niles' Reg.*, March 1841, lx. 178; and the *Honolulu Polynesian*, March 27th, i. 167. Approved by Mex. govt in 1841. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS. xvi. 19.

records show. The Hudson's Bay Company's vessel *Columbia*, having arrived on the 1st, was not affected by the new regulations, and was permitted to sell even the sugar she had on board, without restriction; but the *Maryland*, arriving later with a cargo of Hawaiian sugar, narrowly escaped having that part of her cargo confiscated, and her captain was glad to get away from Monterey by paying dues on a tonnage far above the vessel's proper register.[3] The *Maryland* seems to have been the only vessel of the year whose operations were at all interferred with by the edict of January, an edict which was virtually repealed a few months later. In July the Boston ship *Tasso* and a schooner arrived at Monterey, and on hearing that they could not engage in the coasting trade, at once prepared to depart without discharging their cargoes. This threat, involving a prospective loss of about $20,000 in duties, brought the government to terms, and the vessels were allowed to trade as before.[4] There is no record that the privilege was formally extended to other vessels; but neither does it appear that there was any further attempt to enforce the edict; and the re-opening of the Californian ports was announced at Honolulu.[5]

Current commercial matters of the year, with the exception of that just mentioned, were not of a nature to attract much attention. The usual caravan of traders came overland from New Mexico in the autumn, numbering about thirty-five men, under the command of Estévan Vigil. There were the usual fears of the

[3] Jan. 29, 1841, Estabrook to Larkin, announcing the new law, which 'will unquestionably be carried into effect until the poverty of the govt compels them to alter it.' The writer erroneously claims that there was unjust discrimination in favor of the *Columbia* and against the *Maryland*, supposing the order to have taken effect Jan 1st. He also pronounces the customs officers a 'set of blockheads,' who made a blunder of 60 tons in measuring the *Maryland*. They finally took off 40 tons, and Capt. Blinn paid for the 20 to avoid delay. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 122. In a letter from Monterey of Feb. 20th, it is stated that an order was actually issued for the seizure of the sugar, but subsequently withdrawn. *Honolulu Polynesian*, i. 167.

[4] July 5, 1841, Abrego to Vallejo, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 199.

[5] *Honolulu Polynesian*, ii. 55. The news was brought by the *Llama* in September.

Chaguanosos, the *bêtes noirs* of southern California, particular anxiety being excited by reports that a party of fifty-five Americans, Frenchmen, Indians, and even 'apostate' Mexicans, was approaching with *depravadas miras*, under the leadership of El Cojo Smit, probably Peg-leg Smith;[6] but there are no records of special outrages committed by these vagabonds during the year; and they must not be confounded with the party of immigrants by the same route to be noticed later. The smugglers gave the authorities but little trouble, though it would be unwise to conclude that they had abandoned their evil ways. Abel Stearns did not fail, however, to furnish as usual an item for this branch of his country's annals, since he was repeatedly warned to cease his contraband operations in hides, and his troubles of the preceding year had not yet been fully settled.[7]

Vallejo still entertained the idea of transferring the custom-house to San Francisco, but made no progress towards the realization of his plan. Lieutenant Wilkes represented Vallejo as controlling the entire trade of San Francisco Bay with a view solely to his own personal interests, but there was little if any foundation for such a charge, and there is nothing to indicate that the general interfered or desired to interfere in the collection of revenues.[8] Otter-

[6] Aug. 19, 1841, passport and instructions to Vigil signed by Capt. Trujillo at S. Juan de los Caballeros. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 77–8. Rumors about the Chaguanosos, some of them brought by Vigil's party, and precautions taken. *Id.*, iv. 43; vi. 75–6; xi. 130–1; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vi. 152. Report about Smith's party. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 279. Mofras, *Exploration*, i. 354–6, speaks of the annual caravan; and says that the one arriving at Los Angeles in Nov. of this year included 200 New Mexicans and 60 Americans, besides a detached party of 40 who went to S. José. The departure of the caravan is noted also in *Niles' Reg.*, lxi. 209.

[7] *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 2–6; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iv. 1–2; vi. 81–2. Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 52, tells us that Virmond and Aguirre did no smuggling. Belden, *Hist. Statement*, MS., 67–8, relates a current story, to the effect that some of the Californians used to sell Larkin the same hide several times over by stealing it from the yard back of his store.

[8] Dec. 11, 1841, V. to min. of war. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 386. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 210–11, says V. 'is not over-scrupulous in demanding duties of vessels entering the port of San Francisco; and until he has been seen and consulted a vessel trading here is liable to an indefinite amount of duties. A portion of the amount adds to his wealth, and how much goes to the gov-

hunting went on as before, being confined for the most part to the southern coasts and islands, where it furnished profitable employment to a few persons. Santa Bárbara was the headquarters of the otter-hunters; and captains Fitch, Wilson, and Scott are the men specially mentioned as interested in this branch of industry in 1841. The records, however, are vague and of little interest, being disconnected items relating to attempts on the part of the authorities to prevent illegal hunting.[9] Whalers had been accustomed to bring goods to trade for needed supplies; but this year it was deemed necessary to impose restrictions; and while these vessels were still to be exempt from anchorage and tonnage dues, they were to pay duties on the goods introduced, which could not exceed $500 in value for each vessel.[10] I may remark here that the visitors of this year, Douglas, Mofras, Peirce, Wilkes, and Simpson, in their narratives to be noticed elsewhere, give special attention to the commercial interests of the country. In the maritime list of the year I name forty-six vessels,[11] of which number seven were men-of-war, or

ernment is not known—enough I was told in some cases to save appearances, and no more.' He 'considers every bushel of grain as much at his command as he does the persons of the people and the property of the state.' All these notions were imbibed largely from Sutter.

[9] *Sta Bárbara, Arch.*, MS., 17, 21; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 281; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1112; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., vi. 28; *Nidever's Life*, MS., 107–8.

[10] *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 253, 359–60, 368–9; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 12. Dec. 7th, Spear to Larkin. Complains that the whalers 'play the deuce' with regular trade, selling goods cheap and paying high prices for produce. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 193.

[11] See full list for 1841–5 at end chap. xxiii., this vol. Vessels of 1841: *Alert, Ayacucho, Bolina, Bolivar, Brayanza, California, Catalina, Chato, Clara, Columbia, Columbine, Constantine, Corsair, Covolitz, Curaçoa, Don Quixote, Elena, Eliza, Flying Fish, Hamilton, Index, Jóven Carolina, Jóven Guipuzcoana, Juan Diego, Juan José* (?), *Julia Ann, Lahaina, Llama, Lausanne* (?), *Leonidas* (?), *Leonora* (?), *Maryland, Morea* (?), *Ninfa, Oreza, Oregon, Orizaba, Porpoise, Rosalind, St Louis* (?), *Sapphire, Susana, Tasso, Thomas Perkins, Vincennes, Yorktown.* On the Oregon-built schooner, the *Star of Oregon*, which came to S. F. and was sold, see *Hist. Or.*, i. 247–8, this series. I find no Cal. record of her presence.

Statistics for 1841: Custom-house receipts according to records in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., v., $101,161; expenses, $9,344; net product, $91,817. Hartnell gives the total as $101,150 from 22 vessels. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 85. In *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1844, annex 1, the receipts are given as

national exploring craft; seven were whalers, and probably a few more not named, while twenty vessels made up the trading fleet proper and brought to the country goods invoiced at about $100,000, on which duties were paid to the same amount. Cargoes introduced by contraband methods, there are no means of estimating accurately, but they certainly were not less than half the amounts entered at the custom-house. Duflot de Mofras, an intelligent French traveller who visited California this year, estimated the importations at $150,000 and exported products at $280,000. Sir James Douglas gave $241,000 as his estimate of the exports. Both gentlemen, however, referred to an average rather than to this particular year. Four or five vessels; the *Tasso*, *Ayacucho*, *Corsair*, *Julia Ann*, and *Courlitz*, paid more than two thirds of the total revenue of the year.

Antonio María Osio still remained in charge of the custom-house, and José Ábrego as comisario still superintended the distribution of the public moneys. At Monterey there were probably some clerks, and there was also a guard under the command of Rafael Gonzalez; at other ports the sub-prefect, or justice of the peace, was occasionally called on to see that the revenue laws were respected. The records make no further revelation respecting the administration of

$97,725; expenses, $11,743; net, $85,982. Larkin, *Official Corresp.*, MS., ii. 37, also gives the total as $101,150. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 168-9, gives the following as the average of exports: 150,000 hides at $2; 200,000 arrobas tallow at $1.50; 2,000 beaver skins at $2; 500 sea-otter skins at $30; 12,000 bushels of wheat at 50 cents; and 3,000 elk and deer skins at 50 cts or $1. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 500–5, gives the imports as Mexican, $50,000; American, $70,000; English, $20,000; miscellaneous and whalers, $10,000. Exports: Mexican, $65,000; American, $150,000; English, $45,000; miscellaneous, $20,000; or hides, $210,000; tallow, $55,000; other articles, $15,000. Vessels from Sept. 1840 to Sept. 1841: Mexican, 10, 1,273 tons, 118 crew, imports $50,000, exports $65,000; American, 10, 2,392 tons, 153 crew, imports $70,000, exports $150,000; English, 4, 1,007 tons, crew 54, imports $20,000, exports $45,000; miscellaneous, 3,449 tons, crew 39, imports $10,000, exports $20,000. Total, 27 vessels, 5,121 tons, crews 364, imports $150,000, exports $280,000. Also 7 men-of-war, 118 guns, 1,020 men; and 9 whalers, 3,575 tons (?), 275 men. This table also in *Cutts' Conquest of Cal.*, 23. See also tables and comments in *Cong. Globe*, 1843–4, appendix 226. Exports to Honolulu $42,700 for this year. *Flagg's Report.* See also in *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., an important table of hide and tallow exports in these years.

departmental finances. Items in the archives, both Californian and Mexican, though somewhat numerous, are so vague and disconnected as to throw no light on the subject, and furnish no statistics. It is evident from occasional allusions in correspondence of the time that officials at the capital were still popularly accused of squandering a considerable portion of the revenues; but controversies between the various civil and military claimants, if new ones arose or the old ones continued, have left no trace.

A matter of general interest in the annals of 1841, and one whose connection with commercial and maritime affairs is sufficiently marked to give it a place naturally in this chapter, is the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company in California. Relations between California and the company had, as we have seen, always been friendly, but never very intimate. The company's vessels running between the Columbia and Honolulu had often, but not regularly, touched at Monterey and San Francisco for supplies; and their trappers had for years frequented the broad valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin. It was desired to establish relations, both in respect of trade and of trapping, on a more definite and favorable basis; and nobody in California had any objections, except perhaps Sutter and certain merchants, who feared rivalry respectively in fur-hunting and the foreign trade.[12] Chief Factor James Douglas came down from Fort Vancouver in the *Columbia*, arriving at Monterey January 1st, having with him a party of thirty-six men, and also bringing a cargo of goods for sale. The men were in part hunters, and others were to drive overland to the Columbia a herd of live-stock, which it was hoped to purchase. "We have also other objects of a polit-

[12] Aug. 31, 1840, Francis Johnson at Honolulu writes to Larkin that the H. B. Co. is planning to monopolize the trade in all the North Pacific. A vessel is now building in England which is to bring a cargo of goods at very low prices. Americans at Honolulu however, do not fear the competition. *Larkin' Doc.* MS., i. 83.

ical nature in view, which may or may not succeed according to circumstances," writes the visitor; "but in the event of success the results will be important."

Douglas has recorded the events of his visit in a journal, which has never been published, but of which I have a copy, unfortunately not complete, but of the greatest interest. It presents a vivid and accurate picture of the condition of affairs in the country, particularly in commercial and social phases. The author remained at the capital three weeks, passing his time in an agreeable mixture of social entertainment and business conferences with Alvarado, Spence serving as interpreter, and affording much aid, though at first with the Scotch trader "there was something wrong, some lurking suspicion of fancied encroachments or meditated deception," which caused him to "receive us with a sort of reserved courtesy that made us feel rather uncomfortable." Alvarado was courteous and friendly. Osio and the revenue officials were not only gentlemanly, but 'of strict integrity,' and business went on swimmingly. With a dozen of the company's men under McKay, Douglas and his companion Wood made the trip overland from Monterey to San Francisco, being sumptuously entertained by Hartnell and Joaquin Gomez at their ranchos on the way. With the Salinas and Santa Clara valleys the English visitor was so delighted that he was moved to pronounce California "a country in many respects unrivalled by any other part of the globe." Whether or not he saw anything on the barren peninsula of San Francisco to modify his views, we may not know, for the fragment of his journal in my possession terminates abruptly with the arrival at Santa Clara on January 23d. From other sources we know that the voyager was at San Francisco late in February, and back in Oregon before the end of May.[13]

[13] *Douglas' Voyage from the Columbia to California, 1840–1*, MS., in *Id. Journals*, p. 65–108. Should I attempt to present quotations from this narrative, I should hardly know where to stop short of giving the whole. I

The first matter that came up between Douglas and Alvarado was that of fur-hunting operations in the interior. Every year Michel Laframboise had ranged the valleys with a band of the company's trappers, and this since 1837 under a kind of official sanction; but Sutter, wishing to monopolize the hunting-fields, had peremptorily ordered the trappers to discontinue their visits—an order not obeyed, as Douglas said, because nothing was known of Sutter's authority. Alvarado stated that Sutter had acted unadvisedly in issuing orders rather than requests; and he declared that his government had been pleased with the conduct of the company's hunters as compared with that of other banditti calling themselves trappers; yet he insisted that as settlements were extended, the hunting-parties must withdraw to more distant fields, as their presence could not be reconciled with the Mexican laws. "I told him," says Douglas, "that the wishes of the government when officially communicated to us would be attended to in this and every other particular."[14] A few days later, as part of a general agreement to be mentioned presently, Alvarado consented to the employment of thirty hunters who should become Mexican citizens, and half of whom if possible should be natives of California. Later still at San Francisco, Douglas applied to Vallejo for a license to hunt on condition of submitting to legal restrictions, and of paying a tax or duty on each skin taken.[15] It is evi-

shall, however, have occasion to cite it on special topics. Sir James Douglas was an intelligent and educated gentleman. Respecting the country, its people, and its institutions, his observations are always sensible and just. He did not permit his admiration of California's natural advantages to blind him to the serious faults of her people and rulers; but he wrote always in a spirit of kindness, which produced a marked contrast between his narrative and those of Lieut Wilkes and other foreign visitors. Yet who can say that his humor would not have been somewhat less kindly, if, arriving two days later, he had been refused permission to sell his sugar, or if he had failed in some of his other negotiations?

[14] *Douglas' Voyage*, MS., 71–3. Jan. 4, 1841, perhaps the very day of the interview, Alvarado writes to the juez at S. F. to use all diplomatic measures to cause Michel and his men to retire pending a decision. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 1.

[15] Jan. 13, 1841, Alvarado to Douglas. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 182. This agreement was to be submitted to the co. for approval. Feb. 15th to

dent that some kind of an arrangement was subsequently concluded on the basis of one or both propositions, though I have no definite record of the settlement, which was doubtless more or less satisfactory to all but the New Helvetian magnate.[16] At any rate, the company's trappers did not suspend their operations for several years.

Douglas succeeded also in buying cows and sheep for the north, though he had to take them from the government at higher prices than the rancheros would have demanded. The animals were doubtless driven to the Columbia during the season.[17] There were rumors current that McKay, as representative of the company, was to get a large grant of land in the Sacramento Valley, on which the trappers of the interior would have their headquarters. Mofras goes so far as to state that a grant of eleven leagues was actually made; but I find no evidence that such was the fact.[18] Of course foreigners of other than English

March 11th, corresp. between Douglas and V. *Id.*, x. 57, 77, 81. So far as this correspondence shows, the only point not settled was that of territory, Douglas wishing a free range of the whole country, and V. desiring at first to restrict the hunters to the region west of the Sacramento.

[16] Sutter, *Pers. Remin.*, MS., 63–8, tells us that, thinking it wrong that the furs of the country should be taken away, he complained to the govt, and so high a duty was put on furs that the company had to abandon the field, and then he had it all to himself.

[17] The price paid for cows was $6, and for ewes $2. *Douglas' Voyage*, MS., 75. 4,000 sheep were bought, and also horses for the drovers, which horses were sold to Wilkes' party for the return trip. *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 294, 298. 1,100 sheep from Sta Clara mission by governor's order. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ix. 44.

[18] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 456. Jan. 29, 1841, Ethan Estabrook in a letter to Larkin says: 'The H. B. Co. is playing the devil with the Cal. cattle, if not with Cal. itself. They are preparing to purchase on a large scale. Capt. Humphrey informs me that they want at least 100,000 cattle and half a million of sheep if they can be had. McKay, the chief hunter, is to have a grant in the Tulares of about 30 miles square. This is destined to be the headquarters of their enterprise in the interior. About 120 hunters, well armed and disciplined, are now in the Tulares, and 40 or 50 came as passengers in the bark and proceeded from Monterey to the Tulares, headed by McKay, to take possession of his new estate. This company is to be increased to any number that may be judged requisite for hunting, collecting cattle, etc. It is very easy for the govt of Cal. to admit these people within its limits; but will it be as easy to drive them out? *Pienso que no.* His excellency has sold some thousand or two of cattle of his own and from the missions, etc. There is, however, quite an excitement above because he will not permit others to sell.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 122. Estabrook, it will be remembered, was U. S. consular agent.

nationality acted from interested motives in spreading exaggerated rumors respecting the company's intended encroachments.

Nevertheless it was the company's purpose to have a permanent trading-post in California, whatever may have been their political hopes and aims. To this end largely Douglas directed his observations as recorded in his journal. His conclusions were: "If we enter into the California trade, I would advise that we should do business with persons of good character only. For this purpose we ought to confine our attention to a wholesale trade, supplying the country merchants with goods, and receiving payment from them in hides, tallow, and grain. By this plan we would be secure from great risks. A much less expensive establishment would suffice, the presence of a vessel would not be constantly required, and with these advantages we might count on doing a safe and profitable business, whereas the retail trade would involve us in heavy expense; and we have no people competent to carry it on and compete with the clever active men now engaged in it, who speak the language fluently and know almost every person in California. We ought at all events to start as wholesale dealers. As San Francisco is the port considered most favorable from its growing trade, I think we ought either to erect or purchase premises at the Yerba Buena, the most convenient place for shipping within the port. One gentleman with two trusty servants might manage the affairs of the establishment; but it would be better to have two attached to it, as the presence of the principal agent would be occasionally wanted at Monterey to enter consignments and settle matters amicably with the custom-house authorities; as any mismanagement with these people would convert them into bitter enemies and be a source of infinite annoyance. If the company do not wish to confine our transactions to the port of San Francisco alone, it will become a matter of calculation whether the busi-

ness can be managed to most advantage by vessels or by having establishments in the greatest seaport towns, such as Monterey, San Pedro, and San Diego. There are a few houses at Yerba Buena. If we intend to purchase wheat in great quantities, we should have a store erected at the embarcadero of Santa Clara, where the farmers would bring their wheat as we bought it, and thus prevent delays in shipment. We should also have 400 bags of twilled sacking holding exactly a fanega when tied, as the country people have no means of transporting grain from their farms to the store."[19]

In accordance with these views, an agreement was made with Alvarado, by which he pledged himself to permit the company to engage in the California trade by putting one or more vessels under the Mexican flag, and obtaining naturalization papers for the commanders. He also promised to grant a building-lot at some point to be selected within the port of San Francisco, and to give the company's servants the privilege of pasturing the animals of the establishment on the commons.[20] The factor's plans were approved on his return to Fort Vancouver in April or May, and Chief Factor McLoughlin immediately despatched his son-in-law, William Glen Rae, with Robert Birnie as a clerk, to take charge of the proposed establishment at San Francisco. Douglas wrote to Alvarado May 24th, introducing Rae, and stating that the company had decided not to nationalize any of their vessels this year, having none suitable for the purpose. He says further: "You promised to place the national schooner at our disposal for the transport of any goods sent down this year from the port of entry to San Francisco, and Mr Rae trusts

[19] *Douglas' Voyage*, MS., 85-95. It is unfortunate in this connection that that part of the journal describing the visit to S. F. is not extant.

[20] Jan. 11, 1841, Douglas to Alvarado, stating the conclusions reached at interviews as he understood them, and asking the governor's approval in writing. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 177. Jan. 13th, blotter of A.'s approval. *Id.*, 182. Corresp. also noted in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 175-9.

entirely to your good offices to push him through the difficulties of entering by a foreign vessel. I made no selection of land at San Francisco, but Mr Rae will either do so now or purchase a convenient lot from some of the inhabitants there."[21]

Rae arrived at Monterey in August on the *Cowlitz*, which came by way of Honolulu with a cargo on which duties amounting to over $10,000 were paid. No trouble was made about the transfer to San Francisco,[22] where the agent proceeded to buy from Jacob P. Leese a lot on which stood a building occupied from that time as store and dwelling. Mrs Rae joined her husband at the end of the year.[23] James A. Forbes acted as a kind of sub-agent for Rae at San José. Of the company's business in California under the new arrangement I have been able to find no definite records for several years; but it is understood to have been moderately prosperous.[24] It is re-

[21] May 24, 1841, D. to A. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 210. He also sent some gifts, which he begged the gov. to accept.

[22] Aug. 23, 1841, gov. to juez at S. F. The supercargo of the *Carotide* (?) is authorized to land his goods and form his warehouse where he pleases. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 17.

[23] Birnie, *Personal Adven.*, MS., 4–5, who came as clerk with Rae, tells us that for the 100-vara lot and the frame and adobe building, $4,600 was paid, half in money and half in goods. Mrs Harvey, formerly Mrs Rae, *Life of McLoughlin*, MS., p. 22, describes the building which was near what was later Montgomery St, between Clay and Sacramento, as about 30x80 feet, divided in the middle by a hall into store and dwelling. Hittell, *Hist. S. F.*, 89, says that Rae bought out Leese's business as well as his store. The earliest communication from Rae in person which I have found is one addressed to Alvarado on Nov. 1st. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 238. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 179–98, says that the company applied to him for permission to establish a protestant church at S. F., which he refused. The general defends his act at some length, stating that he was much blamed for it; but I find no other reference to the matter whatever.

[24] Hittell, *Hist. S. F.*, 89–90, apparently on the authority of Leese, says: 'Ray saw that there was an excellent opportunity to monopolize the trade of the bay. The great capital of the company gave them an advantage over individual competitors, and the profits of trade would justify the attempt. Mr Leese, unable to compete with them, sold out his store and business to them, and moved to Sonoma. The American merchants had paid for their hides and tallow on delivery, in merchandise upon which great profits were made. Ray offered to pay half cash and half merchandise, and to pay the merchandise share in advance. These terms were so much better for the rancheros than those of the Americans, that the latter could get but little trade, and the Hudson Bay Co. rapidly grew in importance; but in 1844 (?) Sir Geo. Simpson, the governor of the company, visited the coast, condemned Ray's payment in advance, and refused to approve the purchase of the house.'

lated that Rae when in his cups, and questioned by inquisitive persons, used to say it had cost his company £75,000 to drive Bryant and Sturgis from the north-west trade in furs; "and they will drive you Yankees from California if it costs a million."

At the end of the year, on December 30th, the *Cowlitz* came back to San Francisco from the Columbia, having on board Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, John McLoughlin, chief factor of the company on the Pacific coast, M. Duflot de Mofras, the French traveller, Horatio Hale, of the U. S. exploring expedition, and Mrs Rae, wife of the agent at San Francisco.[25] Early in January, Simpson, accompanied by McLoughlin, Rae, and Forbes, crossed the bay to Sonoma, spending a night on the way with Timothy Murphy, and being hospitably entertained for two days by Vallejo and family.[26] Returning, he visited the Mission Dolores, and sailed for Monterey on January 12th, arriving three days later. At the capital the two distinguished travellers were entertained by Spence and Watson, and met Ermatinger, who with his trappers had come down overland by the usual route. At Santa Bárbara, on the 23d–26th, they were received

Simpson in his narrative hints at no such disapproval, and indeed says really nothing about the company's affairs in California. Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, 271–5, gives a version very different from that of Hittell, saying that the company's agents could not compete with the Boston traders, whose system of doing business was different and far better adapted to the condition of the Californians. The company could not depart from its long-established system of cash or barter and no credit. The people had no money, and had been used to pay the Boston ships in hides and tallow when they could; therefore the company got no customers, and finally had to remove all their effects, selling out to Mellus & Howard in 1846 for $5,000. Both Phelps and Alfred Robinson erroneously connect Rae's arrival with that of Simpson.

[25] Voyage, arrival, and passengers. *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 253–74; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 17–18. They found in port the Russian exiles of Ross on board the *Constantine*, about 100 souls, men, women, and children, 'all patriotically delighted to exchange the lovely climate of California for the ungenial skies of Sitka.'

[26] He speaks in flattering terms of Vallejo generally, but some of his expressions about the meals served, which he did not altogether admire, and which he described to illustrate the Californian style of living, have apparently given offence to a writer in the *Sta Rosa Democrat*, Jan. 2, 1875, who attributes his slighting remarks to disappointment in not having succeeded Vallejo see the beauties of an English protectorate!

with great ceremony by the new bishop, and Simpson made known to Doña Concepcion Argüello under what cirumstances Rezánof, her lover of 1807, had died, for the lady had never seen Langsdorff's book. Then the *Cowlitz* sailed away for the Islands.

Of his company's enterprise in California, Simpson has nothing whatever to say.[27] The vessel brought down some articles for Rae's establishment, which, notwithstanding recent friendly relations, had to be carried to Monterey and sent back to Yerba Buena at considerable expense—a circumstance which caused some not very complimentary criticism of the revenue system and management.[28] On one subject, however, as is shown by the archive records, the governor had occasion to act officially. Captain Sutter had naturally been displeased at the fur-hunting concessions and had probably made some foolish threats, as was his custom, of not submitting. Rae complained to Alvarado on the subject in November, and Sutter was perhaps warned not to interfere;[29] but subsequently the Swiss adventurer tried to accomplish his purpose in another way by involving his rivals in trouble with the government. In connection with his threats of overthrowing the Mexican power in northern California, he gave out that his movement was to be supported by the trappers, and apparently went so far as to send out his confidential agent, Custot, to excite the Canadian hunters. Vallejo sent a complaint, with

[27] Alfred Robinson, *Statement*, MS., 17, *Life in Cal.*, 198-9, tells us the idea was prevalent that Simpson's visit and his efforts to gain friends were connected with a plan not only to monopolize the country's trade, but perhaps also to get hold of the country itself.

[28] Simpson says there was much disappointment at Monterey when it was learned that he had no cargo of goods on which to pay duties. The fear had been—he thinks without any reason—that the duties, if paid at S. F., would fall into Vallejo's hands. According to *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., lv. 17, the *Cowlitz* had refused to pay even tonnage dues, and protested against the order to remain at Yerba Buena only 48 hours.

[29] Nov. 1, 1841, Rae to Alvarado. Sutter is determined to oppose the governor's permission to trap in Cal.; relying on that permission, the co. has sent a party of hunters, whose arrival is daily expected. Serious loss will result if their operations are interfered with. An order is solicited forbidding Sutter's interference, an order which, however, will be used only in case of absolute necessity. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 238.

proofs, to Simpson, who at once gave the desired assurance that his men would not be allowed to take any part in Sutter's revolutionary schemes, and sent corresponding orders to Ermatinger.[30] Later in 1842 there were two parties of the company's trappers at work in the country under Ermatinger and Laframboise respectively. This was under the provisional permit to hunt on condition of paying duties on all skins obtained; and Vallejo permitted the company's vessel to land supplies for the men at Bodega.[31]

Sir George Simpson had sailed from Liverpool in March 1841, for a trip round the world. His route was to Halifax, Boston, and Montreal; thence directly across the continent in British territory to Fort Colville, and to the mouth of the Columbia; up the coast by land and water to Sitka and back, inspecting the company's posts; to California, Sandwich Islands, Sitka, and Okhotsk by sea; and thence across the continent to St Petersburg; reaching London in October 1842. The traveller published an interesting narrative of his journey, in two volumes, devoting about

[30] Jan. 12, 1842, Simpson to Vallejo. 'My Dear General—I was this morning concerned and very much surprised to learn that Mr Sutor has written highly improper, threatening, and insulting letters to yourself and Gov. Alvarado; and that it is reported throughout the country that he counts upon the support and countenance of the H. B. Co. in the offensive measures against the government which it is said he threatens. I can scarcely think it possible that either your Excellency or the governor can for a moment give credence to any report that may reach you of our having any connection or communication directly or indirectly with Mr Sutor, or with any one else, of a political character, or unfavorable or unfriendly either to yourself or the governor. On the contrary, I beg to assure you that we shall always be ready to discountenance, by every means in our power, any measures either hostile or offensive to the authorities and laws of the country, in the tranquillity and prosperity of which we feel deeply interested. And in accordance with this assurance, I beg to forward a letter, left open for your perusal, addressed to Mr Ermatinger, the commander of our trapping expedition. Mr McLoughlin unites with me in warmest and best wishes.' *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 22. Same date, Simpson to Ermatinger, of similar purport. *Id.*, x. 36. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 111-16, also gives a full account of the subject.

[31] April 28, 1842, V. permits a vessel to touch at Cape Mendocino or Bodega. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 212. Sept. 23d, McLoughlin to V. Thanks for the privilege, and details of the hunting license. *Id.*, xi. 264. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841-8*, MS., 99-102, tells us that the trappers continued to drive cattle and horses to Oregon on their return trip each spring, more and more as the years passed by and the profits of the fur trade declined.

150 pages to California.[32] This English visitor describes in a most charming style his own experience and impressions of what he saw, introducing here and there, with a pleasing disregard of order, sketches of the country's history, condition, prospects, people, and institutions. He had not much time, as we have seen, for observation and study, but he had the benefit of Douglas' experience as well as that of others; and while in his narrative he does not enter exhaustively into any matter, he speaks intelligently of many, falling into no serious errors, showing no strong prejudices, indulging in neither abuse nor flattery. I append a few quotations, which show the spirit of his

SIMPSON'S MAP.

observations; and I shall have occasion to allude elsewhere to his views of the country's future destiny politically, and to some of his local descriptions.[33]

[32] *Simpson, Narrative of a Journey round the World during the years 1841 and 1842. By Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in North America.* London, 1847. 8vo, 2 vol. Portrait and map. The matter devoted to California is found in vol. i., p. 267–411; and that country is also represented on the general map of the world showing the traveller's route. I deem the map worth reproduction on an enlarged scale.

[33] 'Here on the very threshold of the country was California in a nutshell, nature doing everything and man doing nothing—a text on which our whole sojourn proved to be little but a running commentary...The trade of the whole province is entirely in the hands of foreigners, who are almost exclusively of the English race. Of that race, however, the Americans are more numerous than the British—the former naturally flocking in greater force to neutral ground, while the latter find advantageous outlets in their own na-

Two other sources of information about California in 1841 I will speak of here, though their only claim to be connected with commercial and maritime affairs consists in the fact that one was a proposition to connect the two oceans by a railroad, and the other was a description of a visit by the captain of a trading vessel. The idea of building a railroad across the continent originated at a date not yet settled;[34] but

tional colonies. The foreigners are to the Californians as one to ten; while by their monopoly of trade and their command of resources, to say nothing of their superior energy and intelligence, they already possess vastly more than their numerical proportion of political influence, exciting but little jealousy, most of them being Catholics and married...Neither butter nor cheese nor any preparation of milk whatever is to be found in the province. The native wine that we tasted—except at Sta Bárbara—was such trash as nothing but politeness could have induced us to swallow.

'The population of California in particular has been drawn from the most indolent variety of an indolent species, being composed of superannuated troopers and retired office-holders and their descendants...Such settlers were not likely to toil for much more than what the cheap bounty of nature afforded—horses to ride, beef to eat, with hides and tallow to exchange for such other supplies as they wanted. In a word, they displayed more than the proverbial indolence of a pastoral people, for they did not even devote their idle hours to the tending of their herds. Gen. Vallejo is a good-looking man of about 45, who has risen in the world by his own talent and energy. His father died about 10 years ago, leaving to a large family of sons and daughters little other inheritance than a degree of intelligence and steadiness almost unknown in the country...What a curious dictionary of circumlocutions a Monterey Directory would be!...Alvarado, whatever ability he may have displayed in rising from an inferior rank to be the first man in California, has not allowed the cares of government to prey on his vitals, for the revolution of 1836, amid its other changes, has metamorphosed its champion from a thin and spare conspirator into a plump and punchy lover of singing and dancing and feasting. He received us very politely...Throughout the whole of Spanish America the machine called a government appears to exist only for its own sake, the grand secret of office being to levy a revenue and consume it; public men have little or no object in life but to share the booty, while private individuals look with apathy on intrigues which promise no other change than that of the names of their plunderers...Implicit obedience and profound respect are shown by children, even after they are grown up, toward their parents. A son, though himself the head of a family, never presumes to sit or smoke or remain covered in the presence of his father; nor does a daughter, whether married or not, enter into too great familiarity with the mother. With this exception, the Californians know little or nothing of the restraints of etiquette...Balls look more like a matter of business than anything else that is done...In all but the place of their birth the colonists of Spain have continued to be genuine Spaniards...Foreigners and natives cordially mingle together as members of one and the same harmonious family. The virtue of hospitality knows no bounds. In a word, the Californians are a happy people, possessing the means of physical pleasure to the full, and knowing no higher kind of enjoyment.'

[34] O. M. Wozencraft writes to the *S. F. Alta*, Sept. 3, 1869: 'In yesterday's issue you mentioned that "the idea of building a railroad across our continent must have occurred to many different persons as early as 1833." Yes, it did: I can bear witness. In 1831, one Col Low, a professor in St Joseph's College at Bardstown, Ky., conceived the idea, and he published his

at the end of 1840, or early in 1841, John J. Warner, a resident of California since 1831, while on a visit in the east, made an elaborate argument in favor of establishing railroad communication with his western home, an argument delivered apparently in the form of a lecture at Rochester, New York, and published in different papers and magazines.[35] His idea was that of a railroad to the Columbia River rather than to San Francisco, and the question whether it was the first proposition of its kind or not is one that is of no special importance here.[36] The chief importance

views in pamphlet form preparatory to announcing his intention of running for congress against Ben Harding. The trustees of the college held a meeting, and without seeking any further evidence than the main idea presented in his pamphlet, declared him insane, and his seat as professor vacant.' In the *N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 25, 1869, we read: 'The man who first projected the Pacific R. R. is nearly as numerous as his brother who first proposed Gen. Grant for president. He has been identified with Dr Carver, Asa Whitney, Col Benton, etc. Mr John King of Dubuque, Iowa, now identifies him with Mr John Plumbe, a Welshman, who settled at Dubuque in 1836, corresponded extensively with eastern journals, made the first survey for a R. R. westward from Lake Michigan, and urged the construction of a R. R. to the Pacific from the year 1836 onward. He called a private meeting in its behalf in the winter of 1836-7, assembled a public meeting therefor in 1838, and wrote largely for the journals in advocacy of the project in all those years; urging the project in a memorial to congress during the winter of 1839-40. We think Mr K. makes out a pretty strong case.' In divers newspapers I find it recorded that Lewis G. Clark, in 1838, thus wrote of the Pac. R. R. in the *Knickerbocker Magazine:* 'There will yet be built a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Let the prediction be marked, for the work will be accomplished. The great chain of communication will yet be made with links of iron "long drawn out"...The reader is now living who will make the trip,' etc.

[35] Warner returned from his visit on the *Julia Ann* in June. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 19. According to *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 309-10, the lecture was delivered at Rochester, and published in the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*. I find it under the title of *California and Oregon: Diffusion of the Anglo-Saxon Race, and New Route from China to Boston*, in the *Colonial Magazine*, v. 229-36, June 1841. Of the article the editor says: 'Some of his views will perhaps seem extravagant, but extravagance itself can scarcely equal the onward march of civilization and improvement on this continent within the last 50 years, and in indulging his anticipations of the future, he is liable to no graver charge than at the commencement of that period would have been laid at the door of any man who had predicted what has since become matter of history.'

[36] Warner writes: 'Let us suppose a railroad in operation from the Columbia to Boston. The distance, allowing for sinuosities, cannot exceed 3,600 miles. Allowing the rate of travel to be 15 miles per hour, it will require 10 days; and allowing 60 days (or 29 by steam) from Canton to Columbia River, we have 70 days from Boston to Canton; which is sooner than a ship could arrive from Panamá at Canton. Can there be a doubt that this will be the route of communication in less than 60 years? Admitting a ship-canal to be made across the Isthmus of Panamá, can it compete with the Columbia route, when a large proportion of the China products which arrive at Boston find a market of consumption west of Boston, and this market is daily increasing?'

of the essay is as a vivid and accurate presentment of the natural advantages of California, based on the author's personal observations during a residence of ten years, and on quotations from other writers. The article must have had much influence in attracting attention to the country, the acquisition of which by the United States was confidently predicted and warmly advocated by the author, as is indicated by quotations which I present in another chapter.[37]

The other narrative is that of a visit to California this year by Henry A. Peirce, master and owner of the *Maryland*. It has never been published, but the original manuscript is in my possession. The author was a prominent business man of Honolulu, where he was later U. S. consul. He arrived at Monterey November 24th, and after a few days went up to Yerba Buena on the *Catalina*. Thence in December he made a trip to San Rafael and the region thereabouts, his purpose being to purchase the Novato Rancho, which was offered for sale at a low price. He gives many interesting details of a local nature about what is now Marin County, including the drunken pranks of Padre Quijas at Read's rancho. Returning to Monterey on the *Don Quixote*, Peirce sailed on his own vessel January 3d, and two days later touched at Santa Bárbara to visit the grave of his brother, who had died there several years before. For nine days from the 18th the *Maryland* lay at anchor in San Diego Bay, the captain being engaged in disposing of his cargo, and his passenger, M. Duflot de Mofras, in studying the missions and other institutions of the southern district. From Mazatlan, on February 7th, the *Maryland* sailed for Honolulu; but Peirce went to San Blas on the *Victoria*, and thence crossed the continent to Vera Cruz. The

[37] See chap. x. of this volume on foreign schemes for the acquisition of Cal. I may mention here a two-column article on Cal. in the *Boston Mercantile Journal* of this year, republished in the *Honolulu Polynesian*, i. 190. It is both historical and descriptive, containing nothing sufficiently striking or sufficiently erroneous to merit further notice.

traveller's observations on this part of his journey are more detailed than in California, and are interesting, though of course they have no place here. At Guanajuato he came in contact with the Santa Fé prisoners, whose narrative he embodies at some length in his own. From Vera Cruz he sailed March 4th for Habana, on the French ship *Atlantic;* and had not reached the port on March 31st, when the journal closes abruptly.[38] From other sources we know, however, that he reached the United States, and personally communicated his impressions of California to Webster and other high authorities at Washington. I shall have occasion to notice further a letter on Californian affairs addressed by Peirce from on board his vessel to a gentleman residing in the Hawaiian Islands.

[38] *Peirce's Journal of a passage from Honolulu, Oahu, to the coast of California and Mexico in the brig 'Maryland.'* MS., 4°, 41 p. This journal is preceded in the same volume by Peirce's journal, or log, of a voyage on the schooner *Morse*, starting from Boston April 21, 1839, via Cape Horn and Valparaiso in 180 days to Honolulu, 73 p. The same volume contains also somewhat extensive records and genealogical tables of Mr Peirce's family. The author, who had visited Cal. in 1828, and was a resident of S. F. in 1880-4, has contributed other material for my use.

CHAPTER IX.

SUTTER'S FORT — U. S. EXPLORING EXPEDITION — DUFLOT DE MOFRAS.

1841-1842.

PROGRESS AT NEW HELVETIA—THE FORT—INDIANS—INDUSTRIES—VIOGET'S MAP—SUTTER'S LAND GRANT—VISITORS—PURCHASE OF ROSS—VIEWS OF PEIRCE AND SIMPSON—SUTTER'S TROUBLES—DEBTS—TRADE AND TRAPPING—VALLEJO AND SUTTER—THREATS OF REVOLT—LETTER TO LEESE—U. S. EXPLORING EXPEDITION—THE FLEET—PUBLISHED RESULTS—OPERATIONS IN CALIFORNIA—RINGGOLD ON THE SACRAMENTO—EMMONS' OVERLAND TRIP FROM OREGON—MAP—WILKES' NARRATIVE—SERIOUS DEFECTS—QUOTATIONS—DUFLOT DE MOFRAS—HIS MOVEMENTS—HIS EXPERIENCE AT MONTEREY, YERBA BUENA, AND SONOMA—HIS CHARACTER—HIS BOOK—MAP.

CAPTAIN SUTTER'S acts, and the progress of his establishment on the Sacramento, cannot be treated as a purely local affair, but must be presented with the current annals of the department, so closely are they connected with the general subject of immigration and the growth of foreign influence in California. The adventurous German can hardly be regarded as a political missionary, "determined to rear the standard of American freedom in this distant and secluded dependency of imbecile Mexico,"[1] as some of his admirers are wont to picture him; for his aim was to make a fortune, and it mattered little to him whether he did it in the rôle of Yankee pioneer, Swiss immigrant, French officer, Mexican alcalde, or cosmopolitan adventurer; yet all the same he did, by building up his frontier trading-post, contribute very

[1] *Upham's Notes*, 318-22, and similar expressions often repeated by newspaper writers.

materially to hasten the success of American occupation.

Progress at Nueva Helvecia in 1841–2 was for the most part in the same directions that have been indicated in the annals of the preceding year.[2] Work was continued chiefly by Indian laborers on the fort, which had been begun in 1840, and was completed probably in 1844. Wilkes found the Indians at work on the walls in the autumn of 1841, but there is no record to show the state of the structure at any time before its completion. The fort may be described, with sufficient accuracy for my present purpose, as an adobe wall eighteen feet high and three feet thick, enclosing a rectangular space of about 500 by 150 feet. At the south-east and north-west corners projecting bastions, or towers, rose above the walls of the rectangle, and contained in their upper stories cannon which commanded the gateways in the centre of each side except the western. Loop-holes were pierced in the walls at different points. Guns were mounted at the main entrance on the south and elsewhere, and the north side seems also to have been protected by a ravine. An inner wall, with the intermediate space roofed over, furnished a large number of apartments in the Californian style, and there were other detached buildings, both of wood and adobe, in the interior.[3] Some of the wooden buildings were brought from Ross. The armament, as early as 1842, consisted of two brass field-pieces and a dozen or more iron guns of different kinds, brought from Honolulu and purchased from different vessels. Sutter states that he bought only one gun, one of the brass pieces,

[2] See chap. v. of this vol.

[3] See views and descriptions of the completed buildings in *Upham's Notes*, 318–22; *Ferry, Cal.*, 97; *Hastings' Emigrant Guide*, 102–3; *Lancey's Cruise of the Dale: Bryant's What I Saw in Cal.*, 267–70; *Buffum's Gold Regions*, 54–5; *Revere's Tour of Duty*, 74; and many other publications. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 457–60, tells us that the wall was five feet thick, and strengthened with beams; that each face of the quadrilateral was 100 *mètres*; and that there was an exterior gallery running round the wall—but the structure was far from complete at the time of this author's visit.

from the Russians; Bidwell and others think more were obtained.

I find no evidence of serious trouble with the Indians in these years;[4] indeed, Sutter seems to have had remarkable success in maintaining friendly relations with the natives, and in inducing them to work, not only for himself, but for friends in other parts of the country to whom he sent them.[5] Little progress if any was made in agriculture before the end of 1842; as we have seen, Sutter had no wheat with which to make his first payment to the Russians. His live-stock, however, had gained in number both from the natural increase, and especially from the 1,700 cattle, 900 horses, and 900 sheep purchased at Ross.[6] Trapping was not successful in 1841, on account of the defective traps and want of skill; but in 1842 the result was more encouraging, and beaver-skins began to be sent down the river in considerable quantities to pay the more urgent of the captain's debtors. The only other products of New Helvetian industries which were put to a similar use, or exchanged for such needed supplies as could not be obtained on credit, were deer-fat and wild-grape brandy.[7] No lists of in-

[4] In *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 88-93, Sutter reports to Alvarado (1841) that the Cosumnes and Cosolumnes had been plotting against him, trying first to entice him, by stories of a white man living in the mountains, to go with them, and later to entice away his Indians. In *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 13, is mentioned Sutter's pursuit and capture of a chief near Marysville in 1841.

[5] Aug. 16, 1841, Sutter regrets that he cannot send certain Indians. Those from S. Rafael and Yerba Buena have not come back; those in the south are fighting among themselves; and the Sagayacumnes come no more. Therefore he is short of workmen; but will have some to send next trip. *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 9. July 24, 1842, has made peace with the Feather River people, who will pick grapes for him. *Id.*, 16. Mofras found about 100 natives at work. *Explor.*, i. 457-60.

[6] Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 190, gives the number of Sutter's live-stock—before the purchase probably—as 2,500 cattle, 1,000 horses, and 1,000 sheep. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 457-60, has it 4,000 oxen, 1,200 cows, 1,500 horses, and 2,000 sheep.

[7] Jan. 9, 1841, his trappers about to start out, and despite past ill success, is confident he will have plenty of furs soon. *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 3. Oct. 19th, will have some brandy to send soon. *Id.*, 11. March 24, 1842, May 1st, etc., sends 140 beaver-skins at $2.50 per pound, and 30 land-otter skins at $2.50 each. Beaver-hunting will be poor this season; besides, his head hunter steals the skins to sell to Marsh and others. The Columbia River trappers also steal and trade for his furs. *Id.*, 12-13. Deer-fat sent and

habitants or employés at this place are extant; but I suppose that by the end of 1842 there must have been from thirty to forty white men connected in one way or another with the establishment, since many of the overland immigrants were employed by Sutter for a time until they could find an opportunity for settlement. The names of most may be found in lists given elsewhere. Two or three were already settled on lands in this region.[8] It would seem, however, that more foreigners came to the fort at times than the captain desired to retain in his service.[9]

Jean J. Vioget had spent some time at New Helvetia, probably in the early part of 1841, and was employed by Sutter to make a survey and map of the region to be used in his application for the grant of land that had been promised. I consider this map, as the first ever made of the Sacramento region, worthy of reproduction. Armed with the diseño, Sutter went down to the capital in May or June for his grant.[10] His petition to Alvarado was dated June 15th,[11] and

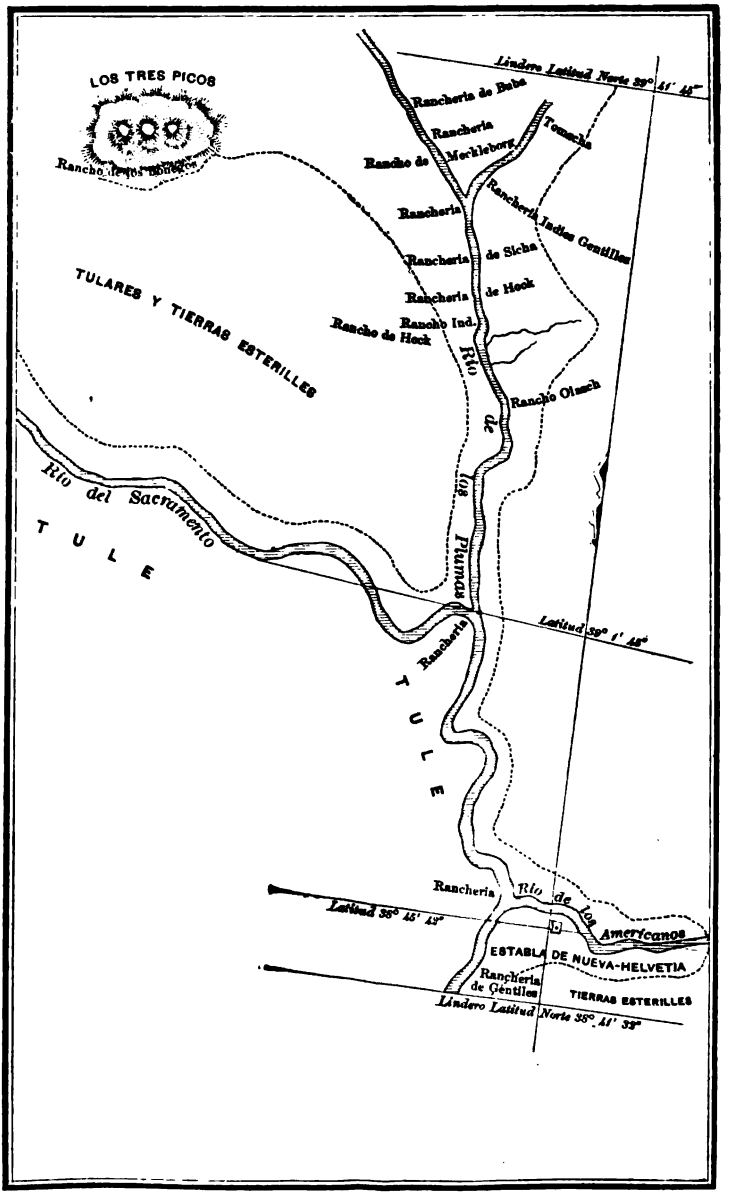
promised. *Id.*, 14, etc. July 24th, is going to make brandy on a large scale. *Id.*, 15. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 101, speaks of the trappers and of a distillery for making 'a kind of pisco.' Yates, *Sketch*, MS., 15, says the distillery was in charge of a German named Uber, and makes a pun on the connection of his name and the *uva*, or grape.

[8] These were John Sinclair at Grimes' rancho on the American River, Nicholas Allgeier on Feather River, Theodore Cordua at Marysville, and Wm Gordon on Cache Creek. *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 21–2. John Yates, who commanded Sutter's schooner, and who writes what he calls a *Sketch of a Journey in 1842 from Sacramento, Cal., through the Valley*, MS., large fol., 35 p., represents himself as having visited in succession Sinclair, Allgeier, Hock Farm, Dutton and Neal on Butte Creek, and Lassen 25 miles beyond, there being a house and live-stock at each place; but Dutton, Neal, and Lassen are understood not to have settled here until a later period. I do not propose, however, to go into details about the earliest settlers at present.

[9] May 10, 1842, he writes: 'Je commence á donner le congé á beaucoup des étrangers, parceque je prefère de n'avoir pas autant en mon service, parcequ íl y a bien peu parmi eux qui sont bon.' *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 13.

[10] April 21, 1841, will see Suñol in person the next trip. Apr. 30th, if he comes to S. José will Suñol lend him a horse to go to Monterey? The next letter is dated Aug. 2d, at N. Helvetia, after his return. *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 4–5.

[11] In it he states 'that since he first arrived in this country, being desirous of cultivating a part of the many vacant lands which it possesses, he solicited and obtained your superior approbation to establish himself on the land which he now occupies, accompanied by some industrious families who chose to follow him. In consequence of assiduous labor his establishment now promises flattering hopes to himself and advantages to the department in general; for,



MAP OF NEW HELVETIA, 1841.

on the 18th the grant was made in due form to Sutter, who "has sufficiently accredited his laboriousness, good conduct, and other qualifications required in such cases; and has already in advance manifested his great efforts, his constant firmness, and truly patriotic zeal in favor of our institutions, by reducing to civilization a large number of savage Indians, natives of those frontiers." The land granted was eleven square leagues within the tract designated on the map, bounded on the north by the Three Peaks and latitude 39° 41′ 45″; on the east by the "margins of Feather River;" on the south by latitude 38° 49′ 32″; and on the west by the Sacramento River—the eleven leagues not including lands flooded by the river. The conditions, besides those of usual formality, were that "he shall maintain the native Indians of the different tribes of those points in the enjoyment and liberty of their possessions, without molesting them, and he shall use no other means of reducing them to civilization but those of prudence and friendly intercourse, and not make war upon them in any way without previously obtaining authority from government."[12]

This grant of New Helvetia was made in good faith, with due regard to the requisite legal forms, and with as much attention to accuracy of location as was customary at the time. Its validity was subsequently

stimulated by the example of his followers, industrious ideas are awakening in the other inhabitants of this country, and at the same time the place, from its situation, serves as a strong barrier to the incursions of the barbarous tribes to the settlements, and as a school of civilization, both to the barbarous natives and to those subjected to the missions, who, in the long period of time that they have been under subjection, have never been useful members to society in general, as the undersigned has now the satisfaction to know that they will become, owing to his indefatigable labors. For all these reasons, the undersigned, in order to aggrandize his enterprise and establish twelve good families, is under the necessity of requesting of the goodness of your Excellency that you be pleased to grant him eleven leagues in the establishment named Nueva Helvecia, situated towards the north, in exact accordance with the land designated on the plat,' etc.

[12] The petition and grant have often been printed in connection with various legal proceedings; but for them and the map I refer the reader only to the case of Ferris vs Coover, in *Cal. Reports*, x. 589–640. Cases growing out of this grant before the land commission were nos. 6, 92, 248, 633, 637, and 683.

sustained by the U. S. government, although the original grant had been destroyed in one of the Sacramento fires. A variety of circumstances, however, in addition to the ordinary difficulties connected with 'floating' grants, conspired to cause no end of litigation in later years, into the particulars of which this is not the place to enter. Such circumstances were Vioget's error in fixing latitudes, Alvarado's apparent blunder in copying one of the latitudes from the map to the document, Sutter's peculiarities of temperament which led him to dispose of more land than even the proverbial elasticity of a Mexican grant could be made to cover, the foundation of a large town upon the tract, and the large number of owners and claimants to be satisfied.

On the 23d of August Lieutenant Ringgold of Wilkes' expedition arrived at Sutter's Fort, coming up the river in boats,[13] and September 4th the same party called here again on their return. October 19th Lieutenant Emmons of the same expedition arrived with his overland party from Oregon, a part of the company spending two days at the fort. With this company from Oregon came a small party of immigrants, some of whom, as Sutter states, had crossed the continent with him and came to enter his service.[14] Wilkes acknowledges with thanks the kind attentions shown to members of his expedition by Sutter, who was found to be a man of frank and prepossessing manners, of much intelligence, conversant with several languages, "and withal not a little enthusiastic." The latitude of the fort was found to be 38° 33′ 45″; and a brief description is given of the establishment and its surroundings. The prediction is also offered

[13] *Sutter's Diary*, 3; Sept. 1st, Sutter writes that the party is exploring up the river, and he is very curious to learn what they have discovered. *Sutter-Suñol, Corresp.*, MS., 10.

[14] Oct. 19, 1841, Sutter mentions the arrival. *Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 11. In his *Diary*, 3, Sutter gives the date as Oct. 18th, and, ever ready to claim all possible credit, even for small services, states that he despatched one of the parties down the river in his vessel; though it appears from Wilkes' narrative that they went down in the *Vincennes*' boat.

that "it will not be long before it becomes in some respects an American colony."[15]

It was at the beginning of September, while Ringgold's party was in the valley, that a schooner arrived from Ross with Manager Rotchef on board to negotiate for the sale which has already received sufficient notice.[16] The bargain was closed during the first half of September, though the contract was not formally signed until December; and at the end of October, Sutter sent a party, including Livermore, Merritt, and Walker, to drive his newly acquired live-stock across the country,[17] sending Ridley about the same time to take charge of his interests on the coast. Bidwell succeeded Ridley early in 1842. The purchase included the Russian schooner, which was rechristened the *Sacramento*, and made frequent trips to and from Bodega, bringing back all of the property that was movable and could be utilized, including several of the wooden buildings, which were set up within the walls of the fort at New Helvetia.[18]

It was on September 1st that there arrived at the fort M. Duflot de Mofras,[19] whose visit to California in general I shall notice later in this chapter. Mofras gives a brief historical and descriptive sketch of Sutter's establishment, to which—partly on account of the captain's French antecedents, for Sutter still talked of his twelve years' service in the royal guard—he attaches much importance. Sutter's plans, as

[15] *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 189-94, 204-7, 262-3.

[16] See chap. vi. of this vol.

[17] In his *Diary*, 3, Sutter tells us that 100 head of cattle were drowned in fording the Sacramento. He gives the date of sending the men as Sept. 28th, but this is doubtless an error of a month, since he writes Oct. 19th of the trouble he anticipates in moving the animals, *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 11; and Joel P. Walker, *Narrative*, MS., 12, who came with Emmons on Oct. 19th, tells us that he accompanied the party to Ross. It was very likely even later than October.

[18] John Bidwell, *California 1841-8*, MS., 85, says that Sutter attempted unsuccessfully to remove the heavy thrashing-floors by towing them as rafts behind his schooner, via S. F. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 468, gives a picture of a house like those thus removed.

[19] *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 10, where he is spoken of as M. le Comte de Mofras.

made known to this traveller, included not only the exportation of grain, vegetables, butter, and cheese, but the cultivation on a large scale of rice, cotton, and indigo on the flats, and of grapes, olives, and other fruits on the higher lands. "His intention," writes Mofras, "is to grant rent-free at first some lots of land to colonists who may come to settle near his establishment. Meanwhile, his white workmen, thirty men, Germans, Swiss, Canadians, Americans, English, and French, almost all occupied as wood-cutters, smiths, carpenters, or trappers, receive two or three dollars a day besides their board, paid part in money and part in goods. All these men live with Indian or Californian women, and the colony contains not less than two hundred souls. . . . M. Sutter can trade independently of the custom-house or the Mexican authorities; he can receive people or goods either by land from Bodega, or by sending his schooner there. M. Sutter has served in the French army; in California he is considered a Frenchman; he lives in a territory which barely belongs in name to Mexico; he has about him, and is working to bring about him, Canadians and Frenchmen. In a few years New Helvetia will become a considerable establishment, through which will pass caravans coming by land from Canada, from the Columbia, and from the United States. We think," and it may be suspected that the writer does not express his thought quite fully, "that it would be very useful for M. Sutter to realize the desire which he has often expressed to us of having with him some French missionaries to civilize the Indian tribes about him."[20]

In November a party of over thirty immigrants arrived by the overland route, as will be fully related in the next chapter. One of the men, James John, came in advance of the party to the fort, arriving November 3d; and many of his companions soon came from San José and Marsh's rancho, to live and

[20] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 457–66.

work for a time at New Helvetia. All of this party have testified to the kind hospitality of Sutter's reception, and his zealous efforts in their behalf. In the only contemporary published narrative, John Bidwell bore the same testimony, but gave no descriptive or historical details about the Sacramento establishment.[21] Henry A. Peirce, visiting the country late in November, did not go to New Helvetia, and had nothing to say of it or its owner in his journal; but he had occasion to make some inquiries about the man in consequence of a proposition from Sutter to purchase goods on credit, a proposition which was declined.[22] Sir George Simpson, the only other visitor of 1841–2 whose remarks on this subject require mention, did not go to Sutter's place as he had intended to do; and, "besides having thus lost the opportunity of seeing a little of the interior," he writes, "we had reasons of a less romantic character for regretting our disappointment; as Sutter, a man of a speculative turn and good address, had given to the Hudson's Bay Company, in common with many others less able to pay for the compliment, particular grounds for taking an interest in his welfare and prosperity. He had successively tried his fortune in St Louis, among the Shawnee Indians, in the Snake country, on the Columbia River, at the Sandwich Islands, at Sitka, and at San Francisco, uniformly illustrating the proverb of the rolling stone, but yet generally contriving to leave anxious and inquisitive friends behind him. Sutter was now living on a grant of land about sixty miles long and twelve broad, trapping, farming, trading, bullying the government, and letting out Indians for hire. If he really has the talent and courage to make the most of his posi-

[21] *Bidwell's Journey to Cal.*, 20.

[22] Feb. 1, 1842, Peirce to Thos Cummings of Honolulu. 'I think Sutter's prospects are good. Since leaving S. F. I have heard much to the prejudice of his character. Some transactions of his in the U. S. and in New Mexico, if true as related, would prove him to be a man not to be trusted and without honor. I did not see him.' *Peirce's Rough Sketch*, MS., 78-9, 84.

tion, he is not unlikely to render California a second Texas. For fostering and maturing Brother Jonathan's ambitious views, Captain Sutter's establishment is admirably situated. Besides lying on the direct route between San Francisco on the one hand and the Missouri and Willamette on the other, it virtually excludes the Californians from all the best parts of their own country. Hitherto the Spaniards have confined themselves to the comparatively barren slip of land from ten to forty miles in width, which lies between the ocean and the first range of mountains; and beyond this slip they will never penetrate with their present force, if Sutter or any other adventurer can gather round him a score of such marksmen as won Texas on the field of San Jacinto."[23]

Thus established on a princely domain in the valley of his own choice, granted without price by a generous government, clothed with legal authority over the settlers on his estates, successful in converting the savages into laborers, owner of large herds and flocks to be paid for in the future, with a band of trappers at work for him in a region rich in furs, with a distillery yielding a profitable product of brandy, and with a constant incoming stream of immigration which was vastly increasing his strength and was sure to give great value to his lands, it would seem that the magnate of New Helvetia, looking back to the time less than ten years before when he landed a bankrupt adventurer on the shores of the New World, must have contemplated his present position with pride and contentment. Yet he had still some petty annoyances which often ruffled the serenity of his temper, and caused him to affect the rôle of a much-abused personage.

The Russian debt gave him but little trouble as yet; but other creditors were at times clamorous for payment, and not always ready to admit the force of his ever ready excuses, or to be satisfied with his

[23] *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 325–7.

limited instalments of brandy, deer-fat, and beaver-skins.[24] Sutter aspired to success as a merchant as well as a hacendado; and he sent John Sinclair to Honolulu to obtain consignments of goods on credit, making a similar application to Captain Peirce, and probably to other visiting traders; but the Hawaiian traders, for reasons doubtless satisfactory to themselves, refused their coöperation, and Sutter was obliged to curb his ambition in this direction.[25] His trapping operations were rendered less profitable by those of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the government declined to prohibit the latter so long as they proceeded in accordance with the laws and their licenses. This caused Sutter, as already related,[26] to stir up a quarrel between the trappers and the government; and for his failure and his wrongs in this direction, he threw the blame upon Vallejo, of whose jealousy and efforts to annoy him he did not fail to inform each visitor to the fort, mentioning also the same subject in his later statements.[27]

[24] It is only in the case of Suñol that anything is known of the details of Sutter's troubles in this direction. In all Sutter's letters of 1841-2, *Suñol Corresp.*, MS., passim, there are few in which he does not promise early settlement; many in which he asks for new favors and credit; and some in which he announces the sending of skins. He continually complains of the men, not named, who are working or talking against him. The letters reveal much of Sutter's real character. 6,000 ft of lumber were among his new purchases. July 24, 1842, he speaks of debts to Suñol's brothers-in-law also. Sept. 8th, hopes that Suñol will not carry out his threat of coming to take away his live-stock by force. Oct. 7th, offers some cattle in payment. The man who represented him as saying that he only wrote letters to Suñol to pass away the time, and that he would pay when he was ready, is branded as an infamous liar. July 22, 1842, Isabel Sepúlveda at S. Rafael. Complains that Sutter owes her money. Wishes Salvador to go and bring him a prisoner to Sonoma. *Vallejo, Correspondencia*, MS., 95. Aug. 20th, Vioget demands an embargo on Sutter's schooner until he shall settle with Celis, but the general declines to meddle in civil affairs. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 249, 251. In his *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 283–4, Vallejo says he had many such applications, and by his refusals to act caused much offence.

[25] In a letter of July 24, 1842, he says the house at the Islands which was to have sent him merchandise had failed, and thereby greatly injured him, much to the delight of his foes. *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 15. Other troubles are shown by the following references: March 6, 1841, juez of S. José to prefect. Sutter proposes to recover stolen horses on shares. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 44. March 18th, Sutter has been seen to sell 40 stolen horses to the Columbia Co. *Id.*, iii. 45.

[26] See chap. viii. of this vol.

[27] *Sutter's Diary*, 3; *Id., Pers. Remin.*, MS., 91. He says Vallejo was his

Vallejo, as the reader is aware, had grounds for dissatisfaction with some of the circumstances under which Alvarado had permitted Sutter to settle on the Sacramento, and outside of political aspects of the matter, it is not unlikely that he may have looked with something of personal jealousy on the progress of so powerful a rival; yet there is no evidence beyond Sutter's vague charges that he indulged in any petty manifestations of jealousy, or subjected Sutter to any other annoyance than that of complying to some extent with the laws of the land. Politically, Vallejo had understood from the first the dangers to Mexican rule to be apprehended from such an establishment as that of New Helvetia. A man of his intelligence could not be blind to a state of things so apparent to every foreign visitor; and in fulfilment of his duties as a Mexican officer, he frankly communicated his views to the government.[28] Sutter, on his

enemy and rival, and took every opportunity to annoy him; but his only definite charge is that the general demanded passports from his men going overland to Ross, and required the cattle to be driven through Sonoma for examination. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 192, says: 'There was much apprehension on the part of some that the present governor of the district west of New Helvetia felt jealous of the power and influence that Capt. Suter was obtaining in the country; and it was thought that had it not been for the force which the latter could bring to oppose any attempt to dislodge him, it would have been tried. In the mean time Capt. Suter is using all his energies to render himself impregnable.' Elsewhere Wilkes doubts, and with much reason, that the feeling between Sutter and Vallejo was as bitter as was pretended. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 464, says: 'Le commandant Vallejo, qui a la prétention de gouverner sans contrôle le pays situé sur la rive droite du fleuve, n'a pas vu sans une vive jalousie l'accroissement de la Nouvelle Helvétie; il a même cherché á susciter quelques difficultés á M. Sutter.'

[28] Nov. 17, 1841, V. to Alvarado. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 349. Jan. —, 1842, Id. to min. of war. *Id.*, xi. 4. He states that Sutter, styling his place the Fort of New Helvetia, and himself governor of that fortress, exercises arbitrary and despotic power, wages war on the natives, forces them to work for him, shoots them without formalities or the approval of the govt; receives foreigners, no matter whence or how they come, not obliging them to present themselves to the authorities, and sometimes not even reporting their arrival; and finally he makes seditious threats, as is proven by the enclosed original letter (that to Leese probably, to be noticed presently). Alvarado, however, assures the sup. govt on Jan. 11, 1842, that Vallejo's objections have no legal foundation, as Sutter has only 8 men, all with proper *cartas. Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 12. Oct. 15, 1842, Vallejo, in a private note to Micheltorena, speaks again of Sutter's foolish attempts to make trouble. Says he has force enough to oust Sutter, and the H. B. Co. has offered to aid in such a work, but he has disliked to interfere with a prosperous settlement so much needed in the country. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 273. The 'King's Orphan,' *Visit*, 11, who was

part, doubtless made some pretty loud threats of revolt against the authorities, and to give his threats weight, talked of support from France, which derived a degree of plausibility from the visit of a French diplomatic officer at this time. Mofras asserts that in November 1841 Sutter wrote to Vallejo that unless his annoyances ceased, he would hoist the French flag and march on Sonoma. Bidwell notes the current report, confirmed by Sutter himself, that he had announced in writing his ability and readiness in case of interference, not only to defend himself, but to chastise the Californians. I append quotations from a somewhat remarkable letter addressed by Sutter to Leese.[29]

at the fort in 1843, says that Sutter in his trapping operations 'was greatly interfered with by the H. B. Co., who sent their hunters upon his grounds. He complained to the proper authorities, but they paid no attention to the matter. His enemies, not content with thus injuring him, informed the suspicious Mex. govt that he was concocting revolutionary plans, and that he encouraged deserters and other disorderly people to live at his settlement.' Sutter explained that a condition of his grant was to draw settlers, and therefore he had received the lawless stragglers. 'The govt was not satisfied. Urged on by envious neighbors, it was prompted to send to Sutter a committee of investigation. The captain was so enraged at the idea of such a thing that he treated the committee with great contempt, and said he could defend himself... Whereupon the govt threatened to send a force, but thought better of the matter when they found out the character of the men and of the Russian armament; but annoyed him with legal suits, and after a great deal of difficulty he was acquitted of any treasonable design against the govt.' This of course all came from Sutter himself.

[29] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 464; *Bidwell's Cal. 1841-8*, MS., 82-5. Hastings, *Emig. Guide*, 103, has it that a spy was sent to N. Helvetia, and Sutter, suspecting his purpose, sent him away, with a message to the effect that if Mexico wished to expel him she was at liberty to try it—whereupon the govt decided to let him alone! Writing to Leese on Nov. 8, 1841, after some proposals for buying Leese's part of certain launches—on credit of course—Sutter continues: 'Very curious Rapports came to me from belaw; but the poor wretches dont know what they do. I explained now Mr Spence to explain these ignorant people what would be the consequence if they do injure me, the first french fregate who came here will do me justice. The people dont know me yet, but soon they will find out what I am able to do. It is to late now to drive me aut the country, the first step they do against me is that I will make a declaration of Independence and proclaim California for a Republique independent of Mexico. I am strong now, one of my best friends a German gentleman came from the Columbia River with plenty people, an other party is close by from Missouri... I am strong enough to hold me till the couriers go to the Waillamet for raise about 60 or 70 good men, an other party I would dispatch to the mountains and call the hunters and Shawnees and Delawares with which I am very well acquainted, the same party have to go to Missouri and raise about 2 or 300 man more. That is my intention, Sir, if they let me not alone. If they will give me satisfaction and pay

Sutter had no feeling whatever of loyalty to his adopted nation, or to the government that had treated him so generously, and under which he held office; and he would without hesitation have raised the standard of revolt in behalf of France, or any other nation that could advance his personal interests; yet it is not to be supposed that he had at this time any definite plan or intention of political conspiracy. Harassed by his creditors, partially thwarted in some of his schemes for making a fortune, egotistically looking down upon the Californians as inferior beings, and annoyed that he was not allowed to control the whole country as arbitrarily as he did New Helvetia —he indulged in threats that had not much significance, merely to relieve his mind in moments of depression, and, as Sir George Simpson expressed it, to 'bully' the government. In politics as in commercial and industrial enterprises, Sutter always—as the distinguished English traveller might have said but did not—"bit off more than he could chew."

I have had occasion more than once in recording the annals of past years to note the arrival on the coast of scientific exploring expeditions fitted out by different European powers and resulting in published narratives, in which this country and its affairs were more or less fully described. The first expedition of

the expenses what I had to do for my security here, I will be a faithful Mexican; but when this Rascle of Castro should come here a very warm and harty welcome is prepared for him. 10 guns have well mounted for protect the fortress and two field-pieces. I have also about fifty faithfull Indians which shot their musquet very quik. The wole day and night we are under arms, and you know that foreigners are very expensive, and for this trouble I will be payed when a french fregate come here. I wish you to tell the comandante general that I wish to be his friend, and that I am very much oblidged to him for his kindness when my people passed Sonoma. If he would join us in such a case I should like it very much. But all is out question so long they let me alone and trouble me not, but I want security from the government for that.' *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 332. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 168–75, cites this letter mainly to show that Sutter's much-talked-of American patriotism was of later date. Dec. 21, 1841, Jan. 24, 1842, Rudesindo Berreyesa to Vallejo, warning him of Sutter's hostile plans. Hopes S. will raise the French flag, in which case Solano and his men will make quick work of him and his grand fort! *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 10; *Id., Corresp.*, MS., 60–1.

this kind under the flag of the United States made its appearance in 1841. As in other similar cases, this expedition requires but few details respecting its organization, operations, and results, except so far as they bear directly upon the subject of this work. A fleet of six vessels under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, having on board about six hundred men, including over eighty officers and a scientific corps of twelve,[30] sailed from Hampton Roads in August 1838. The general route followed in accordance with instructions was: to Brazil; round Cape Horn to Chile; to Oceanica; to the Hawaiian Islands; to the north-west coast of America and California; and thence homeward round Cape Good Hope. The arrival at New York was in June 1842. A narrative of the voyage was written by Wilkes, the commander, who also wrote a volume on meteorology. Of the scientific corps, Dana, Pickering, Hale, Peale, and Brackenridge each produced one or more volumes in his special department. Still other volumes were edited, from observations and collections made by the explorers, by other competent men selected by the Smithsonian Institution. The result was a magnificent set of twenty-eight volumes in quarto and folio, illustrated with fine engravings and colored plates.

[30] The vessels with commanders, lieutenants, and scientists at the departure were as follows—there being frequent changes later, and those names marked with a star (*) not having reached California: *Vincennes*, sloop of war, 780 tons; Charles Wilkes, com.; lieutenants, Thos T Craven,* Overton Carr, Robert E. Johnson, James Alden, and Wm L. Maury; scientific corps, Charles Pickering, naturalist, Jos. Drayton, artist, J. D. Brackenridge, asst. botanist, John G. Brown, instrument maker, John W. W. Dyes, asst taxidermist, Jos. P. Couthouy,* naturalist. *Peacock*,* sloop of war, 650 tons, Wm L. Hudson, com.; lieutenants, Samuel P. Lee,* W. M. Walker, Geo. F. Emmons, O. H. Perry; scientists, James D. Dana, mineralogist, T. R. Peale, naturalist, Horatio Hale, philologist, F. L. Davenport,* interpreter. *Porpoise*, gunbrig, 230 tons; Cadwalader Ringgold, com.; lieutenants, M. G. L. Claiborne,* H. J. Hartstene,* John B. Dale.* *Relief*,* store-ship; A. K. Long, com.; lieutenants, R. F. Pinkney,* A. L. Case, Jos. A. Underwood;* Wm Rich, botanist. *Sea-Gull*,* tender or pilot-boat; Jas W. E. Reid,* com. *Flying-Fish*, pilot-boat used as tender; Samuel P. Knox, com. The *Peacock* and *Sea-Gull* were wrecked, the *Relief* sent home, and the *Oregon* purchased before the arrival in California. In my lists of pioneers and visitors I include only those who were in command of vessels or land parties on the California coast, a few of the scientists, and such members of the expedition as left it in California.

published at the cost of the government. Copies were sent as gifts to the states of the Union, and to some of the European governments and scientific institutions. Of some parts only a limited number of copies was printed, and the plates were destroyed; so that a complete set is now of rare occurrence and of great pecuniary value. From that in my collection, originally one of the presentation copies alluded to, I append a specification of the parts.[31]

[31] *United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, etc.* Philadelphia, 1844–58, 4°, 20 vol.; fol., 8 vol. Details about the publication of this work do not properly belong here. and if they did, I have found no satisfactory bibliographical description. Those given by Brunet and others do not agree with my set either in number, order, or place of publication of the different volumes. The following is a list of the parts as found in my collection:

Vol. i.-v. Narrative by Chas Wilkes, maps, plates, and cuts. An atlas is mentioned on the title-page, but does not seem to have been published. Phil. 1844, 4°. (I have also the edition of Phil. 1845, 8vo, 5 vol.; and there was also published an edition of Phil. 1845, imp. 8vo, 5 vol., with an atlas. Brunet names 8vo editions of Phil. 1849; New York, 1852; and New York, 1856; also an abridgment in one vol. of New York, 1851. *Jenkins' U. S. Explor. Expeditions, etc.* Auburn, 1850, 8vo, one vol., also contains an abridgment.) That part of the narrative pertaining to California is found in vol. v., p. 160–272, or chap. v.-vi., with some allusions also in vol. iv., 526; v. 127, 142–3, 157.

Vol. vi. *Ethnography and Philology*, by Horatio Hale. Phil. 1846, 4°. Indians of Cal., p. 199, 221–3; 6 vocabularies, p. 630–4.

Vol. vii. *Zoöphytes*, by James D. Dana. Phil. 1846, 4°; atlas, Phil. 1849, fol., 61 pl. Slight scattered reference to Cal.

Vol. viii. *Mammalogy and Ornithology*, by Titian R. Peale. Phil. 1848, 4°. Frequent mention of Cal. animals and birds. (This volume seems to have been suppressed, and replaced by another vol. viii.)

Vol. viii. (bis). *Mammalogy and Ornithology*, by John Cassin. Phil. 1858, 4°; atlas, fol., 53 pl. Contains very many scattered descriptions of Cal. animals and birds.

Vol. ix. *The Races of Men and their Geographical Distribution*, by Chas Pickering. Phil. 1848, 4°. Map showing Cal. as a Malay region; p. 15–50, slight reference to Cal. in description of the Mongolian race, and N. W. coast; p. 190–12, on the Californians as Malays, with something of narrative; and p. 231, 273, 288, 307–12, allusions to Cal.

Vol. x. *Geology*, by James D. Dana. Phil. 1849, 4°; atlas, fol., 21 pl. Chap. xviii., p. 611–78, is devoted to the geology of Oregon and northern Cal., with some cuts. Plates of fossils in the atlas seem to contain little or nothing from Cal.

Vol. xi. *Meteorology*, by Chas Wilkes. Phil. 1851, 4°. Tables of observations in Cal., chiefly at Sauzalito, p. 570–623, with diagram, pl. xix., and mention in Introd., p. xlvii.-viii.

Vol. xii. *Mollusca and Shells*, by A. A. Gould. Phil. 1852, 4°; atlas (not published). Slight scattered reference to Cal. shells.

Vol. xiii.-xiv. *Crustacea*, by James D. Dana. Phil. 1852, 4°, 2 vol.; atlas, Phil. 1855, fol., 96 pl. Scattered references to Cal.

Vol. xv. *Botany*, pt i. *Phanerogamia*, by Asa Gray. Phil. 1854, 4°; atlas, '., 100 pl. Descriptions and illustrations of Cal. plants.

Wilkes had instructions, given doubtless not without some consideration of political possibilities, to devote special attention to a survey of San Francisco Bay. Accordingly, from the Columbia River, where his fleet had been for several months, he despatched the *Vincennes* under Lieutenant Ringgold for California. She sailed August 7, 1841, and arrived at San Francisco on the 14th,[32] lying at anchor at Sauzalito until November 1st. On the 20th of August Ringgold, with Dr Pickering, six officers, and about fifty men, started in the boats to explore the Sacramento River, arriving at Sutter's Fort in three days, continuing the exploration up to latitude 39° 13′ 39″, returning to New Helvetia September 4th, and to the *Vincennes* five days later. Subsequently Ringgold made other exploring trips about the bay and up the San Joaquin, not particularly described. They met with no adventures, and their description of the country, with its Indians, animals, and vegetation, calls for no special notice here.[33]

Another party under Lieutenant Emmons, consisting of four officers, eight men of the expedition, five of the scientific corps—Dana, Peale, Brackenridge, Rich, and Agate—six trappers, a guide, and three immigrants with their families, thirty-nine persons in

Vol. xvi. *Botany, Cryptogamia*, by Wm D. Brackenridge. Phil. 1854, 4°; atlas, Phil. 1855, fol., 46 pl. Many Cal. plants.

Vol. xvii., xviii., xix. Never published, so far as I can learn.

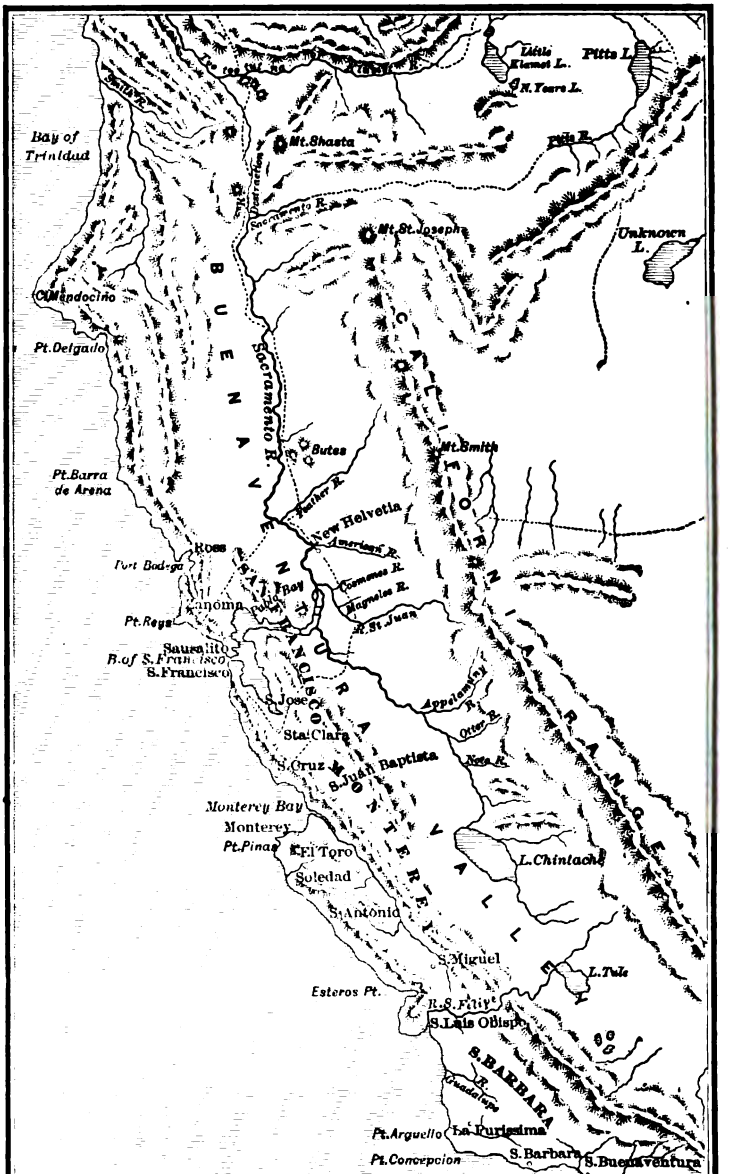
Vol. xx. *Herpetology*, by S. F. Baird. Phil. 1858, 4°; atlas, fol., 32 pl. Scattered references to Cal. (Later impressions bear the following title:)

Vol. xx. (bis). *Herpetology*, by Charles Girard. Phil. 1858, 4°; atlas, fol., 32 pl. (Same as preceding, except title, and addition of a list of plates, p. 473–6.)

Vol. xxi. *Geographical Distribution of Animals.*

[32] Arrival noted in a letter of Aug. 14th. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 256. I find no record that the exploring fleet was troubled about anchorage dues.

[33] *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 188–207. The only localities named are New Helvetia, American Fork, Prairie Buttes, Butte Creek, Feather River, and Poplar Grove. It was supposed that the Jesus María of the Spaniards was the Sacramento above the junction with the Feather; but there is no foundation for this theory. The two names were applied long before the Spaniards had been up to Feather River, under the impression, formed from the branches or sloughs at the mouth, that there were two large rivers flowing from northerly directions. Pickering, in vol. ix., p. 104–10, also gives a slight description of this exploration. I reproduce Wilkes' map of California.



WILKES' MAP, 1841.

all, came down from Oregon overland. This party crossed the Boundary Range September 29th into California, and four days later struck the head waters of the Sacramento. On October 17th they reached the Feather River, and two days later were at Sutter's. This journey also was without adventure. At New Helvetia the company divided, one party with Emmons embarking on the *Vincennes'* boat that had been sent to meet them, and reaching San Francisco on the 24th; while the rest, under Midshipman Eld, proceeded by land by way of San José and reached the fleet on the 28th.[34]

Meanwhile Wilkes had sailed from the Columbia on the *Porpoise* with the *Flying Fish* and *Oregon*—the latter being the *Thomas Perkins*, purchased to replace the *Peacock*, which was wrecked on the Oregon coast—and arrived at San Francisco on the same day that Emmons reached New Helvetia, October 19th.[35] His personal experience in California, outside of his vessel, seems to have been limited to a two or three days' trip to Santa Clara, which he describes in an interesting manner; but his officers visited many points round the bay, including Sonoma and San Rafael. Martinez and Richardson are the only entertainers who are favorably mentioned; and guests on board the fleet are represented as having stayed longer than they were welcome.[36] The "closing scene of the tour" was an

[34] *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 252-65; also v. 127, 142-3; ix. 110-12. The names used are Boundary Range and Mt Emmons, Klamet river and valley, Mt Shaste (with view), Destruction River, Pitt River, Sacramento River, Bear Camp, Prairie Butes (39° 8'), Little Fork, Feather River, New Helvetia, Rio Cosmenes, Mogueles River, San Juan, Frenchman's Camp, San Joachin, Pul Porrice Hills, Mission San José, and Santa Clara.

[35] Oct. 22, 1841, Wilkes to Vallejo, announcing his arrival, and asking assistance in the way of supplies. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 312, 314. On Dec. 11th, Vallejo reported the visit and operations of the expedition to the minister of war. *Id.*, x. 383.

[36] *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 207-28. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 239-40, mentions a visit of Ringgold to Sonoma, and an invitation for himself and family to visit the fleet, which he was obliged to decline. Some of the officers, according to *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 73-84, also made a visit to Ross. Davis came frequently into contact with the officers and men of the expedition while at S. F., and he gives an interesting account of the visit. He tells us that Wilkes talked freely with Spear about the prospect of the U. S. securing S. F. Bay, and the determination not to let England gain any advantage.

auction sale of the horses of the expedition at Yerba Buena, the proceeds of which amounted to $210. On November 1st the fleet set sail, several deserters being left behind, and one man being accidentally killed as the *Vincennes* crossed the bar. Mr Hale had been left in Oregon, and came down with Simpson in December.

In naming the volumes devoted to a record of scientific observations which form the bulk of the great work resulting from this expedition, I have specified the parts of each pertaining to California. No further notice of these volumes is called for in a historical work; but I have no reason to doubt that they were altogether worthy of the eminent names attached to them. Officers and scientists did their work faithfully, and left an agreeable impression in the minds of such residents of the country as came in contact with them.

Of the narrative written by the commander, however, not much can justly be said in praise, so far as that part relating to California is concerned. It is not worthy of the great enterprise it records, nor of its scientific appendices; nor does it compare favorably with earlier and less pretentious narratives. The habitual misspelling of Spanish and other names is a blemish specially noticeable in a work written by an educated officer, and published under the auspices of a government and a learned society in so magnificent a form.[37] Wilkes was reserved and cold in manner, or seemed so to the few Californians who met him; and his manner of referring to most things and men in his book, in marked contrast to the spirit of courtesy that had distinguished the statements of other visitors in like positions, is not calculated to inspire among Californians much regret that he was reprimanded, after

[37] For instance, Wilkes writes, Los Angelos, San Joachin, Mt Diavolo, Kaquines, Jesu Maria, Bute, Nappa, Zonoma, Mogueles, Cosmènes, Cape Mendocina, Xacatecas, Nativetes, Caravallio River, San Juan Capista, Brancaforte, Guadaloupe, Kihas, Mr Spears, Sr Noniga, Echandia, Cosme Penné, Ramierez, Peralto, Padre Mercador, tula, poros (pozos), coural, Donna, Nostra Señora, etc.

a trial by court-martial, for severity to his men during the voyage. The season was one of drought, but that fact could not justify this author's absurd underestimate of the country's natural advantages. The people and their institutions certainly afforded some ground for unfavorable criticism, but Wilkes constantly indulges in careless misrepresentations and exaggerations.[38] And I find no special excellence in any respect

[38] I give a series of brief quotations to illustrate the spirit of the narrative. 'Although I was prepared for anarchy and confusion, I was surprised when I found a total absence of all government in California, and even its forms and ceremonies thrown aside.' p. 162. 'The alcalde of S. F. [Don Francisco Guerrero] was full of self-importance, making up for what he wanted in the eyes of others by a high estimate of his own dignity. I could find no one who could furnish me with his name (!), which must be my apology for not recording it.' p. 163. 'The country, at the time of our visit, and for several years previous, had been in a state of revolution (!), and was involved in anarchy and confusion, without laws or security of person or property... With California is associated the idea of a fine climate. This at least was the idea with which I entered its far-famed port; but I soon found from the reports of the officers that their experience altogether contradicted the received opinion. Many compared its climate to that of Orange Harbor at Cape Horn.' p. 163–4. The valley of S. Juan is described as one of the most fertile tracts, but what valley is referred to it is hard to tell. 'The inland plain constituting a large part of Upper California is, according to all accounts, an arid waste.' p. 165. Only a small portion of the country offers any agricultural advantages. p. 166. 'There is but comparatively little trade, for the hides and tallow which formerly made the business profitable are no longer to be procured.' p. 168. The exports include 200,000 arrobas of tallow, and all merchantable products are less than a million dollars. p. 168-9. 'Although California may not boast of its dense population, every intelligent person I met agreed that it consumed more spirits in proportion than any other part of the world.' p. 169. Taxes are represented as very high, and the 'church tithes enormous' (!). p. 171. 'Descended from the old Spaniards, the Californians are unfortunately found to have all their vices, without a proper share of their virtues.' 'The female portion of the community are ignorant, degraded, and the slaves of their husbands.' 'The state of morals is very low, and is every day becoming worse. During the residence of the old Spanish priests, the people were kept under some control, but now priest and layman are alike given up to idleness and debauchery.' They have a reputation for hospitality, but will take money if offered through a servant, and will swindle a guest should he wish to hire or buy anything. p. 187–8. 'The best route to the U. S. is to follow the S. Joachin for 60 miles, thence easterly through a gap in the Snowy Mountains, by a good beaten road (!); thence the course is north-easterly to Mary's River.' p. 193. A Californian 'is content with coarse fare, provided he can get enough of strong drink to minister to this thirst... The palm for intemperence was, I think, generally given to the padres.' A large part of the Sacramento Valley 'is undoubtedly barren and unproductive, and must forever remain so.' p. 206. Vallejo 'is not over-scrupulous in demanding duties of vessels entering the port of S. F., and until he has been consulted, a vessel is liable to an indefinite amount of duties.' Anecdotes of him 'show a striking disregard for the lives as well as for the property and liberty of the Indians and gente de razon.' One of the governors trained Indians as soldiers and a company of them 'made such proficiency in the use of their arms that his Excellency became alarmed, and forthwith ordered them all to be shot (!). I have little

to compensate for these defects. There is of course much that is accurate enough, but nowhere does the narrative rise above the commonplace, or throw any new light upon either country or people. The descriptive portions are incomplete, and often inaccurate. The historical sketch is taken without much skill from Forbes, in the earlier parts, while later events are drawn apparently from Farnham, or some source tinged with that writer's prejudices. But for Wilkes' position, and the peculiar circumstances under which his narrative was written and published, these remarks might with some justice be regarded as hypercritical.

M. Eugène Duflot de Mofras was a young attaché of the French embassy at Madrid, who had previously visited America, when at the end of 1839 he was recalled by Marshal Soult, minister of foreign affairs, and attached to the legation at Mexico, with a special mission to visit the north-western provinces of the republic, and the American, English, and Russian posts beyond, "in order to ascertain, independently of a political point of view, what advantage might be offered to our commerce and to our navigation by mercantile expeditions, and the establishment of trading-posts in those regions still little known in France."[39] The book which resulted from the performance of this mission contains no narrative, beyond here and there an incidental mention, of the author's personal adventures; and I am obliged to depend on the archives and other records that are not so complete as would be desirable. M. Mofras still occupied, in 1878, a high diplomatic position, that of ministre plenipotentiaire under

doubt that this story may be essentially true.' p. 210–11. 'The state of society here [Sonoma] is exceedingly loose; envy, hatred, and malice predominate in almost every breast, and the people are wretched under their present rulers. Female virtue is at a low ebb, and the course and lascivious dances show the degraded tone of manners.' p. 211–12. The administrator at Sta Clara had taken the name of his wife, Aliza, one of the most famous in early times! p. 217. The country between Sta Clara and S. Francisco was picturesque in places, 'though to all appearance entirely unfit for cultivation'! p. 226.

[39] *Mofras, Exploration*, i. Avant-propos, p. viii.–ix.

the French government; and he has assured me that he preserved no journal or memoranda of his personal experience in California.[40]

Having arrived in Mexico, the attaché's passports and letters of recommendation were issued in May 1840,[41] and he soon started on his mission, visiting Colima, Jalisco, Sinaola, Sonora, and perhaps Lower California, being on the gulf-coast apparently in November.[42] In April 1841 he came up from Mazatlan with Captain Fitch on the *Ninfa*, touching first, perhaps, at San Pedro, and arriving at Monterey in May.[43] Before June 11th he had visited Sonoma with a letter of introduction to Vallejo from Virmond, and probably went to Ross before returning to the capital.[44] In

[40] In one of his letters, dated at Paris, Dec. 11, 1878, M. Mofras writes me as follows: 'Cher Monsieur: Du retour d'un voyage à Constantinople je trouve votre amicale lettre et je ne puis assez vous remercier de votre bienveillance; mais je vous assure que j'ai tout mis dans mon ouvrage, et que je n'ai pas fait de journal de mes impressions personnelles, qui, depuis si longtemps sont d'ailleurs bien effacées de ma mémoire. Veuillez vous souvenir ensuite qu'au moment de mon exploration elle était souvent perilleuse et que je voyais sans cesse des ours dans la forêt. Tant mon temps et mes facultés etaient pris par mes observations et el soin de ma vie materielle. Que de fois j'ai souffert le froid, la faim, et le soif! Que de fois je me suis égaré des journées entières au risque de succomber! Vous avez une Californie qui ressemble à Paris maintenant; mais alors il était difficile souvent d'avoir des guides et il fallait craindre et les Indiens et surtout les ours.' I have before me another original letter of the same writer, dated at Monterey, July 20, 1841—not, however, addressed to myself.

[41] May 21, 1840, min. of rel. to gov. Announces that passports have been issued to Mofras for a scientific visit to Cal., and orders protection to be afforded him. *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., xi. 118–19. May 20th, Virmond to Alvarado, introducing and highly recommending Mofras. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 74. May 26th, Virmond to Vallejo, to same effect. *Id.*, ix. 146. The order from the govt reached Cal. at the end of Oct., and was circulated in Nov. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, xi. 118; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, v. 13; *S. Diego, Arch.*, 261.

[42] *Mofras Exploration*, i. 203. The year is not mentioned.

[43] April 13, 1841, arrival of *Ninfa* with Mofras on board, 19 days from Mazatlan, but no place named. *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., iv. 83. May 12th, com. of Monterey announces arrival at Monterey on May 6th. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 130. May 12th, he felt an earthquake at Monterey, and again on July 3d. *Explor.*, ii. 56.

[44] June 11th, 1841, Vallejo to com. of Monterey. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 163. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 250–5, speaks of Mofras' visit to Sonoma, and says he sent an escort with him to Ross, whence he returned with a Russian escort to Sauzalito, crossing over to Yerba Buena in Richardson's vessel. In his *Exploration*, ii. 19, he speaks of having visited Ross several times; for the second time, *Id.*, ii. 27, in Aug., when the author goes so far as to speak of an incident on the way.

July he was at Monterey, as appears from his letters.[45] September 1st he arrived at Sutter's Fort;[46] and during the same month was at San José and Santa Cruz.[47] October 18th the traveller had embarked at San Francisco on the *Cowlitz* for Fort Vancouver, meeting Wilkes outside the heads;[48] and on December 30th he came back on the same vessel to San Francisco in company with Sir George Simpson, John McLoughlin, and Horatio Hale.[49] Mofras and Hale immediately took passage on the *Bolívar* for Monterey;[50] and on January 3d the former sailed with Captain Peirce for Mazatlan on the *Maryland*, which touched at Santa Bárbara, and remained for nine days, January 18th to 27th, at San Diego.[51] During the travels of which I have presented this fragmentary record, Mofras visited probably every mission and other settlement in California. I suppose that the Santa Bárbara district was explored in April, as the *Ninfa* came up the coast; those of Monterey and San Francisco from May to October, the explorer making his headquarters at the capital and Yerba Buena; and that of San Diego in January 1842, while the *Maryland* was disposing of her cargo.

Of the French visitor's acts and experience during the travels thus outlined, we know even less than of the travels themselves—nothing at all, indeed, so far as the south is concerned. At Yerba Buena he spent some time at the house of Nathan Spear, making that his headquarters while he visited different points in the north. At this time William H. Davis, Spear's

[45] July 20th, Mofras to the P. president at S. José. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 13. Same date, Mofras to Alvarado. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 117.

[46] Sept. 1st, Sutter to Suñol, announcing the arrival of 'M. le Comte.' *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 10.

[47] *Exploration*, i. 417, 324.

[48] *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 157. A boat came from the *Cowlitz* to the *Porpoise* having on board Capt. Brotchie and Mofras. His intention then was to go from the Columbia to the Sandwich Islands.

[49] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 18.

[50] *Simpson's Narrative*, i. 303.

[51] *Peirce's Rough Sketch*, MS., 87; *Id., Journals*, MS., 90–1; *Mofras, Exploration*, i. 334.

man of business, came much in contact with Mofras, who often sailed with him on the schooner *Isabella* to different points on the bay. Davis became a great admirer of the Frenchman, whom he describes as a most accomplished gentleman, well liked by all who met him, intelligent and observant, enthusiastic to the verge of excitability, and prone to indulge in rhapsodical prophecies on the grand future of San Francisco Bay and the region thereabout.[52]

During his visit to Sonoma, Mofras in some way gave offence to Vallejo, who conceived a bitter dislike of the man, which is clearly expressed in his narrative, and which perhaps accounts for the fact that the traveller is not very complimentary, though by no means severe or abusive, in his allusions to the general. Vallejo admits that Mofras was an intelligent and highly educated man, and that he could be a gentleman if he chose; but insists that he was conceited, arrogant, and disposed to look down on the Californians as inferior beings. Alleging no improprieties on the part of the visitor at Sonoma, he gives credence to several absurd scandals respecting his conduct elsewhere, and delights in presenting his every act in an unfavorable and ridiculous light.[53] Of these scandals, the only one worthy of notice here is that of Mofras' conduct at the Alisal Rancho, an account of which

[52] *Davis' Glimpses of the Past*, MS., 38–42. The author relates that on one occasion the schooner grounded on the mud flats at North Beach, and they had to wait for the tide to float them. Mofras after a time became impatient, then excited, and finally jumped overboard to wade and swim and wallow to the shore, which he succeeded in reaching in a not very presentable condition. Vallejo tells the same story, and he says also that this adventure was on the return from Ross via Sauzalito.

[53] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 244–59. The author says he was at work out of doors when Mofras made his appearance, and asked, 'Where is the comandante general?' 'Mr Prudon will conduct you to his office, sir,' replied Vallejo, who straightway entered by a back door, donned his uniform, and received his guest. In the interview that followed, Mofras seems to have assumed considerable self-importance, and to have spoken in a tone of familiarity that was offensive to the general's sense of dignity. Vallejo in some way got the idea that Mofras left the country angry with the Californians, and especially with himself; and his statement seems to have been made with a view to counteract such charges and abuse as he supposed the Frenchman had introduced in his book—which he had not seen.

was made public in a newspaper on the authority of Mrs Hartnell.[54] It is enough to say on this subject that the lady mentioned has since declared the story, so far as Mofras is concerned, to be without foundation. At San Antonio he had some kind of a quarrel with Jesus Pico, the administrator, according to the latter's statement.[55]

At Monterey Mofras had a correspondence with various padres about the condition of their respective establishments and matters of mission history, sending them as gifts certain sacred trinkets which he had brought from Spain.[56] He also conducted some negotiations with the governor, with a view to have discovered and punished the murderers of the Frenchman, Dubosc, in 1840.[57] Alvarado describes him as a young man of great ability, generous inclinations, and fiery temperament; but arrogant, and prone to dissipation.[58] Sir George Simpson speaks of "a passenger of the name of De Mofras, who represented himself, for he had no credentials, as an attaché of the French embassy in Mexico. Though this gentleman professed to be collecting information for the purpose of making a book, yet, with the exception of accompanying us to the Willamette, he scarcely went ten miles from the comfortable quarters at Fort Vancouver;

[54] *Monterey Herald*, March 20, 1875; *Id.*, Oct. 24, 1875 (?); *Hartnell, Narrativa*, MS., 14–20.

[55] *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 54–7; *Id.*, letter, *Pioneer Sketches*, MS., no. 2. Pico claims to have put Mofras under arrest in the padre's house, the padre allowing him to escape to Monterey, where the quarrel was renewed later. The origin of the trouble was Mofras' insolent complaint that sufficient attention was not shown him. In his *Exploration*, i. 388, M. speaks of his indignation at seeing the administrator at S. Antonio, an old servant of the mission, take advantage of the padre's paralyzed condition to refuse him the necessary aid and food. Salvador Vallejo, *Notas, Hist.* MS., 129–30, takes some pride in having told Mofras of a mission at Sta Rosa, and of vanilla growing there.

[56] *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 13. Only one of the letters appears, but others are alluded to in this.

[57] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 41; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 117. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 465, accuses Vallejo of having shut his eyes and allowed the assassin to escape.

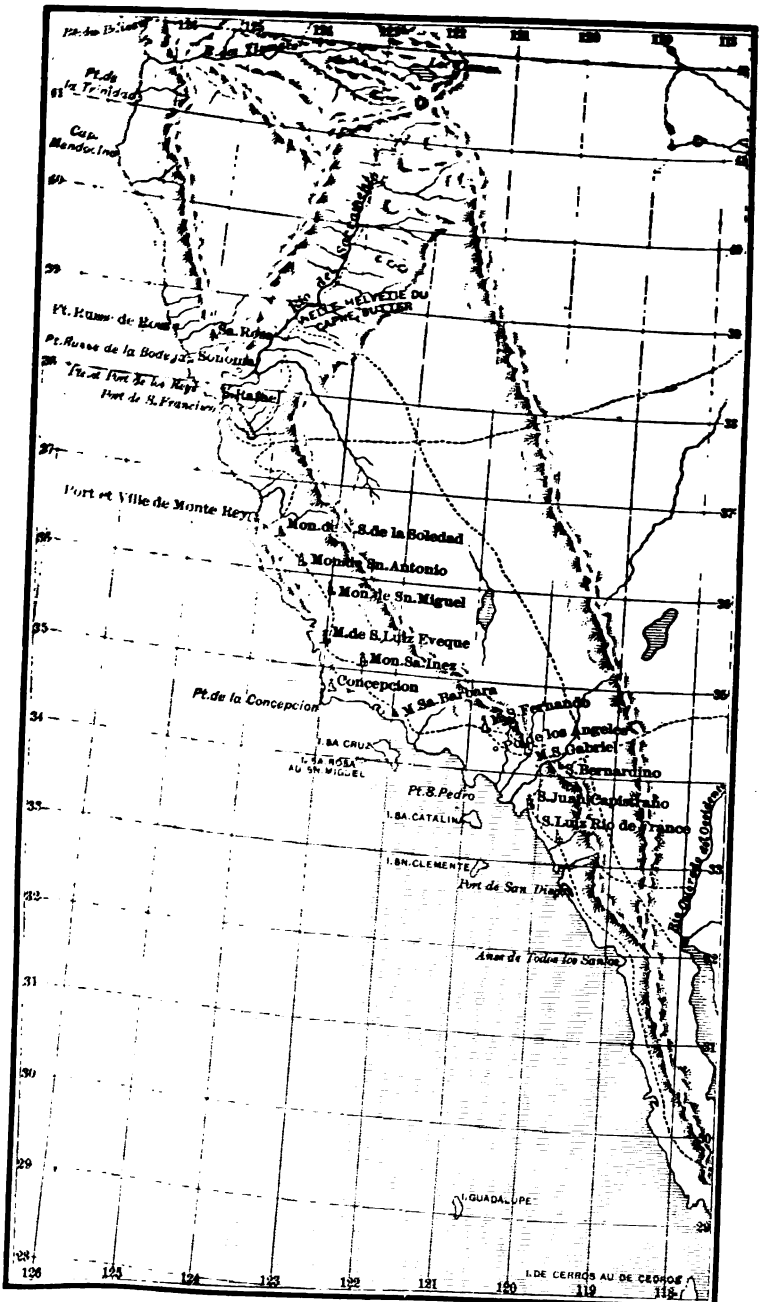
[58] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 175–9. The author shares Vallejo's views to some extent; and states that Mofras became involved in many ridiculous and disgraceful troubles on account of his lack of self-respect when under the influence of liquor.

while in conversation he was more ready to dilate on his own equestrian feats than to hear what others might be able to tell him about the country or the people."[59] From all the evidence, I conclude that Duflot de Mofras was a man of talent, but somewhat wild, bent on amusing himself, fonder of personal comforts than of study; not disposed to go far out of his way for historical information, but using intelligently such material as came into his hands; gentlemanly in manner, but not overawed by the dignity of Californian officials; and somewhat too careless about the reputation he might leave in so distant a land.

To the book which resulted from the visit of Mofras, which I have frequent occasion to cite on different topics, and which I describe in a note,[60] a high degree of praise must be accorded. Its plan is excellent, and the execution creditable to the author. He aims to give a complete description of the country, its past history and present condition, compiled from the principal works that had been published on the subject, and supplemented by his own researches

[59] *Simpson's Narrative*, i. 245.

[60] *Mofras, Exploration du Territoire de l'Orégon, des Californies, et de la Mer Vermeille, executée pendant les années 1840, 1841, et 1842, par M. Duflot de Mofras, Attaché à la Légation de France à Mexico: Ouvrage publié par ordre du Roi, sous les auspices de M. le Maréchal Soult, Duc de Dalmatie, Président du Conseil, et de M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.* Paris, 1844. 8vo, 2 vol., and folio atlas. The portions relating to Cal. are vol. i., chap. vii., p. 251-314, history of missions, pueblos, and presidios; chap. viii., p. 315-84, system of govt, population, local description, and history of southern districts; chap. ix., p. 385-468, local description and history, northern districts; chap. x., p. 469-518, agriculture, stock-raising, commerce, etc.; vol. ii., chap. i., p. 1-20, the Russian establishment; chap. ii., p. 21-71, manners and customs, physical features, foreign relations, résumé. Plates relating to Cal. in vol. i., view of Monterey; portrait of P. Duran; Californian throwing the lazo; Russian house. Plates in the atlas: general map—including California, which I reproduce; charts of the ports of S. Diego, mouth of Colorado, S. Pedro, Sta Bárbara, Monterey, S. F., Bodega and Ross, and Trinidad; view and ground-plan of S. Luis Rey mission. The books consulted by Mofras on Cal., as named in his list, are (the titles changed to agree with my list): *Drake Revived; Beechey's Voy.; Monterey, Extracto; Morrell's Narrative; Fages' Voyage; Boscana's Hist. Ind. Col.: Rioboo, Relacion; Duhaut-Cilly, Voy.; Cal. Reglamento, 1784: Douglas*, in *Comp. Bot. Mag.; Palou, Vida de Serra; Castro, Decretos: Forbes, Cal.: La Pérouse, Voyage; Mission Archives: Vancouver's Voy.: Monterey, Archives: Arricivita, Cron.; Petit-Thouars, Voy.; Sutil y Mejicana; Belcher's Voy.: Langsdorff's Voy.; Laplace, Campagne; Kotzebue's Voy.; Roquefeuil, Voy.; Kotzebue's New Voy.*



MOFRAS' MAP OF CALIFORNIA.

in the archives and personal observations in the regions described. It must be admitted that these researches and observations were not so extensive and careful as was desirable; yet they enabled Mofras to use intelligently the material before him, and to produce without great expenditure of work a somewhat satisfactory result. Had he been a harder student and more diligent investigator, he might have avoided many petty errors, and have given his work an air of originality that would have added greatly to his reputation. Forbes' work is the only one of the time that can be compared with this; but while not less meritorious in many respects, it is very much less extensive and complete. Of some political aspects of Mofras' work and tour, I shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND IMMIGRATION.

1841.

HOPES AND PLANS OF FOREIGN NATIONS—UNITED STATES—MANIFEST DESTINY—WILKES AND WARNER—FOREIGN OPINIONS—BRITISH PROJECTS—SIMPSON'S VIEWS—ASPIRATIONS OF FRANCE—MOFRAS ON A CATHOLIC PROTECTORATE—SUTTER AS A FRENCHMAN—ADVANTAGES OF YANKEE METHODS—BEGINNING OF OVERLAND IMMIGRATION—EXCITEMENT IN THE FRONTIER STATES—BARTLESON PARTY FROM MISSOURI—BIDWELL'S DIARY—NARRATIVES OF BELDEN, CHILES, AND HOPPER—CROSSING THE DESERT AND SIERRA—LIST OF NAMES—ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION—POLICY TOWARD FOREIGNERS—VALLEJO'S ACTS—DR MARSH—THE WORKMAN-ROWLAND PARTY FROM NEW MEXICO—WILSON'S NARRATIVE—ROWLAND'S LIST—OTHER PARTIES—MRS WALKER AND MRS KELSEY—LIST OF NEW-COMERS FOR 1841—ITEMS ABOUT OLD SETTLERS.

IT is manifestly impossible to ascertain definitely the hopes and plans of the United States, England, and France at this time respecting California. In 1841, and for years before, navigators of each nation had praised the natural advantages of the country, and especially of its great port. They had affirmed that it could not long remain under Mexican rule. They had pointed out the ease with which it might be secured, and had directly or indirectly urged its acquisition. That these representations had their effect at Washington, London, and Paris on influential members of the governments, that the matter was discussed, and that secret instructions were issued, can hardly be doubted. It has always been a popular idea of Americans that other nations were in the race for the prize; and, while it has been often exag-

gerated in certain respects, it has not been without foundation. Nations, however, do not announce their designs of this nature in advance; neither are they prone to confess them after their failure.

Americans, or such of them as took the matter into consideration at all, had no doubt that it was the 'manifest destiny' of their nation to absorb this western land. Their navigators and writers and emigrants had spoken more plainly than those of other nations on the subject. Annexation was already a topic of conversation and newspaper comment. We have seen that the United States had once actually proposed to Mexico the cession of northern California,[1] and we have noted the alarm expressed by the American press at the rumor of purchase by England.[2] Beyond the fact that Wilkes was instructed to make a special survey of the bay, there was but little in connection with the exploring expedition or its narrative to throw light on American schemes. Wilkes did not indeed represent the country as a very desirable acquisition, except for the commercial and naval importance of its harbor; yet he writes: "The situation of California will cause its separation from Mexico before many years. It is very probable that this country will become united with Oregon, with which it will perhaps form a state that is destined to control the destinies of the Pacific. This western coast, enjoying a climate in many respects superior to any other in the Pacific, possessed as it must be by the Anglo-Norman race, and having none to enter into rivalry with it but the indolent inhabitants of warm climates, is evidently destined to fill a large space in the world's future history."[3] It was obviously not

[1] This in 1835. See vol. iii., chap. xiv.

[2] In 1837-9. See chap. iv. of this vol.

[3] *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 182-3. He also blames the govt for its lack of energy in redressing the wrongs of the Graham party. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 77-8, says that Wilkes expressed himself very freely to Nathan Spear on the political aspects of his visit, declaring that the U. S. would have Cal., and inquiring earnestly about Mofras' movements, and the dangers of French intervention. Californians agree that the coming of Wilkes' fleet caused con-

for the interest of United States to agitate the matter; since now that immigration had begun, delay could not but favor their cause, and the only thing to be feared was the interference of some other foreign power. Evidently it was the policy at Washington to watch closely for such interference, and meanwhile to give manifest destiny a loose rein.

The secretary of the navy, in his report of December 4th, after alluding to the Graham affair, says: "In California there are already considerable settlements of Americans, and others are daily resorting to that fertile and delightful region. Such, however, is the unsettled condition of that country that they cannot be safe either in their persons or property except under the protection of our naval power. . . . It is highly desirable, too, that the Gulf of California should be fully explored. For these reasons"—and perhaps for others not stated—"I have caused estimates to be prepared for a large increase of the Pacific squadron."[4] In the same report it is stated that Commodore Jones is about to sail for the Pacific to take command. Of this officer's instructions and acts we shall learn much from the annals of the next year. In connection with the immigration, to be noticed later in this chapter, there were published many newspaper articles of such a sensational nature as to cause alarm in Mexico, and likely to do more harm than good to the American cause. I may add that Warner, in his lecture already noticed, earnestly urged the importance of prompt action to secure possession of San Francisco Bay by purchase.[5]

siderable uneasiness. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 241-2, says it even scared his foes at Monterey into making overtures for reconciliation for defence; and Bidwell, *Cal.*, MS., 97-9, affirms that it convinced people that the U. S. govt was something more than a myth, and had a good effect.

[4] *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 27th cong. 2d sess., Sen. Doc., no. 1, p. 369.

[5] *Warner's Cal. and Oregon*, 236. The author says: 'I have quoted from these English writers (Forbes chiefly) for three objects: 1. To corroborate my own remarks respecting the value of this territory. 2. To show that the English-reading community and the govt have more information' about it than we. '3. To confirm the opinion that England is now disposed to negotiate with Mexico for the bay of San Francisco and the territory of California...

Not only did Americans announce their purpose and their confidence in ultimate success, but foreigners as well admitted that they would succeed—except in certain contingencies. Sir George Simpson writes: The Americans, becoming masters of the interior through Sutter's establishment, "will soon discover that they have a natural right to a maritime outlet; so that whatever may be the fate of Monterey and the more southerly ports, San Francisco will, to a moral certainty, sooner or later fall into the possession of Americans"—unless the English take it. "As Texas has been wrested from Mexico on the one side of the continent, so California will be speedily lost to her on the other. The only doubt is whether California is to fall to the British or to the Americans. The latter, whether one looks at their seizure of Texas or at their pretensions to the Oregon, have clearly the advantage in an unscrupulous choice of weapons, being altogether too ready to forget that the fulfilment of even the most palpable decrees of providence will not justify in man the employment of unrighteous means."[6] Mofras gave much attention to the subject, and convinced himself from his intercourse with officers of Wilkes' expedition and of the Hudson's Bay Com-

There is no point of all Pacific America that unites a moiety of the advantages found in the bay; and it is free from all objections...The natural union between the country south of the Columbia and the bay of San Francisco and surrounding country is such that, although governments may for a time be able to separate them, the day is not far distant when they, drawn together by their oneness of interest, will bid defiance to foreign powers. If a union does not take place amicably, it will by force...If the proposition to cede Cal. to the English should be accomplished—placing the all-important harbor of S. F. in possession of the most powerful naval and commercial kingdom—would it not ruin the prospects of the Oregon territory?...Is it not important, then, that instead of permitting it to fall into the hands of our most dangerous rivals, it should be united to our own territory?' Warner was a Mexican citizen; but no matter. 'Although I may be accused of presumption, I cannot refrain from saying that the present appears a favorable opportunity, when a negotiation is pending which must leave Mexico a debtor to this govt, not in the best position to cancel the claim, and probably glad to tranfer Cal. on the account...We must not suppose that Cal. is to remain stationary, or under the control of the Mexican govt, while all the parts of the earth are in movement if not advancing. It must soon fall to some more enterprising nation.'

[6] *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 327, 409.

pany "that England and the United States flatter themselves alike with the idea of taking California from Mexico. It is moreover evident to us that California will belong to whatever nation chooses to send there a man-of-war and 200 men; and we can but approve the patriotic conduct of the English and American governments in making sure in advance of important points on the Pacific. . . . It is to be doubted that the English, with all the admirable *force d'expansion* of their government, can distance their rivals in the occupation of this fine territory. As for us, it is useless to say that our political sympathies are for the Americans; and since California must change masters, we should prefer to see it in the hands of the United States rather than in those of England"—always if it cannot belong to France.[7]

On British projects for acquiring California, there is not much of fact to be recorded for 1841, though the coming of the man-of-war *Curaçoa*, the visits of Douglas, Simpson, and McLoughlin, and the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company were popularly supposed to be connected with those projects.[8] The negotiations to secure California in payment of the Mexican debt[9] were believed to be still in progress. In Warner's lecture, and the current newspaper sketches, this arrangement was held up as an imminent danger. Mofras gives an account of the negotiations, and expresses his conviction, formed largely from conversation with officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, that England was confident of success.[10]

[7] *Mofras, Explor.*, ii. 61-71. This author thinks the delay of the U. S. in the Graham affair was with a view to accumulate claims and grievances against Mexico until a convenient season.

[8] Here I may record that an Irishman at Branciforte was fined $20 for having in the presence of witnesses applied a vile epithet to the Mexican govt and its officials, declaring that England would come and take the whole lot. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., x. 4.

[9] See chap. iv. of this vol.

[10] 'En ce moment la compagnie, sûre de l'appui du gouvernement britannique, pousse une ligne de forts vers ce territoire; elle espére que les négociations commencées il y a peu d'années par la maison Lizardi de Londres, comme agent du Mexique pour la cession des terrains en payement de la dette anglaise et renouvelées tres-récemment, pourront être couronnées de succés, et

And Simpson believed that it was not only possible but most desirable for England to take the country in part payment of the debt; and he also advanced the proposition that "under the treaty of 1790, England is even now entitled to colonize a considerable portion of the upper province. As America has renounced everything that lies below 42°,... England, without being questioned by any one, may immediately occupy the coast from 42° down to the due range of the settlement of San Francisco,... and may to-morrow justifiably occupy the valley of Santa Rosa, which opens into Bodega Bay"![11]

Finally, for the Californian aspirations of France, less definite than those of her two rivals, we have as salient points the recent coming of the *Danaïde*, the strong Canadian French element among the trappers, the establishment and threats of Sutter, who was a Frenchman when it suited his plans to be so, and the visit of Mofras. There is no reason to doubt that France, in sending an agent to collect information about the Pacific regions, was actuated to some extent by a hope, similar to that of other powers, that California might one day, by some lucky chance, fall into her possession.[12] In his published work Mofras is

que cette fois ce ne sera plus au Texas ou dans l'interieur du Nouveau Mexique et de la Sonora que le gouvernement Mexicain offrira des terrains, mais bien dans la Haute Californie. Personne n'ignore que la dette s'élève à 270,000,000 francs, et que cette dette ne pourra jamais être payeé. Si la cession de la province avait lieu, la compagnie voudrait être la première à occuper les meilleurs terrains, pour les revendre ensuite en détail avec un énorme bénéfice.' *Mofras, Explor.*, ii. 61-2.

[11] 'English, in some sense or other of the word, the richest portions of California must become. Either Great Britain will introduce her well-regulated freedom of all classes and colors, or the people of the U. S. will inundate the country with their own peculiar mixture of helpless bondage and lawless insubordination. Between two such alternatives, the Californians themselves have little room for choice; and even if there were ground for hesitation, they would, I am convinced, find in their actual experience sufficient reason for deciding in favor of the British... Though England cannot afford to acquire additional territory by such measures as would shake that reputation for integrity on which her empire is founded, yet she has one road open to her (that of the debt), by which she may bring California under her sway, without either force or fraud, without either the violence of marauders or the effrontery of diplomatists.' *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 327-8, 409-10.

[12] July 27, 1841, Vallejo to Alvarado. There is no doubt that France is intriguing to become mistress of Cal. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 230. Dwinelle,

careful to note what Frenchmen reside at each point, generally naming one or two as particularly patriotic and trustworthy; he dwells on the importance of New Helvetia as an essentially French settlement, suggesting that missionaries be sent there. He calls attention to the special friendship shown by Californians for his compatriots at the time of the Graham affair and on other occasions. He points out the identity of religion and temperament, states that Alvarado offered to grant him a large tract of land in the Tulares for a French colony, and declares it as his opinion that a French protectorate offers to California the most satisfactory way of escape from the dangers that threaten its future.[13]

Thus it is apparent from what has been said, and still more clearly from the developments of later years, that the three great powers, as I have said at the start, had hopes of acquiring territorial possessions in California. So far as legitimate methods of acquisition were concerned, the chances of the three contestants were not very unequal, each having certain advantages; but the United States was not only more thoroughly in earnest than her rivals, but had a variety of natural agents at work in her interests, notably

Address, 5, says Mofras' exploration was intended to prepare the way to French conquest. Cronise, *Natural Wealth*, 67, says 'it is known that secret agents of that govt resided in Cal. from the time of M. de Mofras' visit until it fell into the hands of the U. S.' Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 78, remarks that Wilkes exhibited great anxiety to learn all the details of what the Frenchman did and said.

[13] 'Le sort de ce pays est d'être conquis, s'il ne se replace sous la protection d'une monarchie européenne, seul moyen de salut qui lui reste. Ce moyen est, il nous semble, celui que la France doit préférer...Le seul parti véritablement fort est le parti royaliste, autour duquel viennent se grouper presque tous les Européens, les Californiens restés honnêtes gens, et même ceux qui ont pillé les missions; en un mot tous les habitants qui par leur religion, leurs mœurs, leur langue, et leur origine sont naturellement antipathiques aux Anglais et aux Américains...Tous ces hommes se voient sur le point d'être livrés à une race impitoyable, et le sort de notre malheureux Canada, celui des Florides espagnoles et du Texas, n'est guère de nature à les rassurer. C'est donc vers l'Europe Catholique qu'ils tournent leurs regards, car ils sentent fort bien qu'elle seule peut les soustraire à la domination de deux puissances qu'ils redoutent également.' *Mofras, Exploration*, ii. 68–71. July 20, 1841, Mofras writes that one or two French frigates will hereafter visit the coast of Cal. each year. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 13.

that of immigration, making delay a positive advantage; and making certain the coming of a day when, if action by the others could also be delayed, the playing of a trump-card in the Texas manner would secure the stakes. Moreover, the European powers were deterred from prompt action, not only by the difficulty of making a satisfactory bargain with Mexico, but by other prospective obstacles likely to arise from efforts to enforce the precepts of the Monroe doctrine; for California, her golden treasure being unknown, was not desired at the price of a war with the United States.

It was in 1841 that overland immigration proper may be said to have begun; though men had before come to California by land, as it may be well to restate briefly, en résumé, before proceeding to record the companies and trips of this year. Jedediah Smith from Salt Lake, with a party of hunters, in August 1826 went down to the Colorado, and crossed over from Mojave to San Gabriel in December. In May 1827 Smith and two men crossed the sierra and went to Salt Lake, returning before October with eight men. These were the first overland trips by a direct mountain route; but the exact routes are not known, nor is it known whether Smith went and returned by the same route. Several of Smith's men remained in California. Parties of the Hudson's Bay Company entered California in 1828–9 under McLeod and Ogden, the former from the north and the latter perhaps from the east by Smith's last trail. After 1830 the trappers came down from the Columbia nearly every year. The Patties from Santa Fé, in March 1828, made their appearance with six trappers at San Diego, being brought as prisoners from Baja California. Several of the number remained in the country. In 1830 Ewing Young came from New Mexico with a party of hunters, all of whom went back. In 1831 William Wolfskill brought a company of hunters from New Mexico by a route that lay north of the Colo-

rado down to Mojave, not being able to cross the mountains above 36° as he had intended. Wolfskill and others became permanent settlers, as did Warner, who came with Jackson's party by the Gila route later in 1831. Ewing Young returned in 1832, and left many of his men as pioneers. The southern route from New Mexico, by Tucson and the Gila, was now open and often traversed, a few immigrants in small parties or in company with the native traders coming over it each year after 1831. The second party to cross the sierra westward was that under Walker, who with some forty exploring trappers came from Salt Lake in 1833. Their course was down the Mary or Ogden River to its sink, and thence probably by Walker lake and river over the mountains to the head waters of the Merced, nothing more definite being known. Walker returned in 1834 through what has since been known as Walker Pass; but several of his men remained behind. There are no other companies that require notice; but it should be noted that of the men who came subsequently from New Mexico, several, like John R. Wolfskill and William Pope, came rather as regular immigrants than as hunters or adventurers; while a few, like Marsh, regarded Missouri rather than New Mexico as their starting-point. In the same connection I may also state that Sutter in 1838, Wiggins, Dutton, and others in 1839, and others probably in 1840 crossed the country to Oregon with more or less definite ideas of settling in California. There had been in all about fifty men who had settled in the country before 1841, coming by land; but hardly a dozen of the number had left their old homes with a deliberate purpose of finding new ones on the Pacific coast; and only two parties, those of Smith and Walker, neither composed of immigrants proper, had crossed the mountains direct to California.[14]

The years 1839–41 were, in the western frontier regions beyond the Mississippi, years of hard times and

[14] For details, see vol. iii., chap. vi., xiv.; and chap. iv. of this vol.

discontent among the settlers, at least to an extent which turned the popular attention toward other lands. The people were all immigrants by profession, and continued movement westward was their normal condition. Highly colored rumors were in circulation about California's genial skies and fertile lands to be had for the asking. They came by way of New Mexico and Oregon, with which regions overland communication was frequent. The frontier newspapers reprinted articles from the eastern press. There was scarcely a county that had not its trapper visitor who told wonderful tales of a farther west to dwellers in a land which was itself the Far West, and few in which private letters from some old resident now in California did not circulate. Yet the broad intermediate stretches of mountain and desert, with their hostile Indians and unknown dangers, and conflicting rumors respecting the treatment of new-comers by the Spaniards, made the undertaking of so long a journey no trifling matter, even for those hardy frontiersmen. Our knowledge of details—rumors, enthusiasm, projects, obstacles, failures—is meagre; but the reader's imagination will largely supply the want, and that without leading him far astray.

In Platte county, Missouri, and the region thereabout, the excitement ran high in the late summer and autumn of 1840. A leading cause was the representations of one Robidoux, who had been in California with the Santa Fé trappers, and pictured the country as an earthly paradise, not only in conversation, but in public meetings held to consider the expediency of emigration on a large scale. Letters from John Marsh to friends in Missouri contributed to fan the flame. An organization was effected, committees were appointed, and a pledge was drawn up binding the signers to dispose of their property, purchase suitable outfits for a trip across the plains, and to be ready to start from Sapling Grove, Kansas, in May 1841. During the winter some five hundred signed the pledge,

so great was the excitement. It seemed that the population was about to migrate en masse. Some opposition sprung up, however, chiefly among the merchants of the town of Weston, who set themselves to work to defeat the movement by means fair and unfair, argument, denunciation, and ridicule—and especially by the publication in local newspapers of all that could be found unfavorable to California. After the excitement had cooled considerably, letters of Thomas J. Farnham, republished from the New York papers, seem to have given a quietus to the scheme. Of all that had signed the pledge, only one was ready to start in the spring.

This was John Bidwell, a man of twenty-one years, a native of New York, who had migrated with his parents to Pennsylvania and Ohio, and without them to Iowa and Missouri. He had been a school-teacher, and had finally settled on a farm in Platte county, which was 'jumped' during his temporary absence. He thought of Texas for a home, but decided in favor of California; and was prominent in promoting the organization. Though the company was a failure, Bidwell found three, Robert H. Thomes, George Henshaw, and Michael C. Nye, who, though they had not signed the pledge, agreed to accompany him. The four, with their wagons, oxen, mules, arms, and provisions, started for the rendezvous, being accompanied for several miles by many people of Weston to say good-by. Nobody was found at Sapling Grove; but the nucleus of a goodly company was overtaken a little farther along on the Kansas River; and thither came other small parties for a week or more from different parts of Missouri and Arkansas, until there were forty-eight men in all, with some fifteen women and children. This is substantially Bidwell's account.[15]

[15] *Bidwell, California 1841–8; An Immigrant's Recollections of a Trip across the Plains, and of Men and Events in Early Days; including the Bear Flag Revolution. By Hon. John Bidwell of Chico. Dictated by the author to S. S. Boynton for the Bancroft Library, 1877.* MS., fol., 233 p. This title is sufficiently explanatory. The author has resided in Cal. since 1841, and is one

Respecting the other small parties or 'messes' that came together on the Kansas, we know but little in detail; of most, nothing at all. It is easy to imagine that each had resulted from circumstances similar in their general features to those described by Bidwell. One of them, organized at St Louis, was headed by Josiah Belden, and included Chandler, Brolaski, and Shotwell. Belden was a native of Connecticut, who had lived in New York, Louisiana, and Mississippi, before coming to Missouri. This party joined others at Independence before going on to the Kansas.[16] Another mess was headed by Robert Rickman, another by John Bartleson, and still another probably by Joseph B. Chiles. One party, including Charles Weber, did not join the company until several days after the start; and one party, as we shall see, was too late to join it at all. On February 1st there had been a public meeting at Independence, at which fifty-eight had agreed to make the trip to California; and doubtless a part of these helped to make up the company of which I am speaking, though their proposed route at that time seems to have been by Santa Fé.[17]

of the best known and most respected men in the state. It is needless to add that his narrative gives a vivid and accurate picture, not only of the overland trip, but of all that came under his observation down to 1848.

[16] *Belden, Historical Statement of Facts on California. By Josiah Belden of Santa Clara Co. Dictated for the Bancroft Library, 1878.* MS., 70 p. The author has been a prominent citizen of Cal.; and though his narrative is not so full as that of Bidwell respecting the journey overland, it contains many interesting facts about early days, particularly about the manners and customs of the people in California.

[17] The account of this meeting seems to have been published in the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, March 30, 1841; but I find it in the *Colonial Magazine*, v. 229; and also a reference in the *Honolulu Polynesian*, ii. 79. Some of the resolutions adopted were as follows: 'That our object in going there is that of peace and good-will toward the people and govt of Cal., and our principal inducement for emigrating to that country is that we believe it, from the best information we have been able to procure, to be more congenial to our interests and enjoyment than that of our present location. That as this company wishes to coöperate with all others that may design to emigrate to Cal. the ensuing spring, it is recommended that all such companies and individuals rendezvous at the Sapling Grove on the old Sta Fé route, about 9 miles west of the Mo. line, against the 10th of May next, at which time and place they request the concurrence of all other companies and individuals. That inasmuch as other companies are expected to join them, the election of officers to conduct the expedition be deferred till the general rendezvous. That all persons, either single or having families, shall be provided with a sufficiency of provisions

It should be borne in mind that not all of the company had definitely resolved to settle in California, some being bent mainly on adventure.

The company was organized May 18th at the Kansas River camp. Talbot H. Green was president, and Bidwell was secretary of the meeting, at which rules were adopted, and John Bartleson was elected captain. Besides Bartleson's company of forty-eight, there were seventeen other persons who were to be their companions for the first half of the journey. These were three catholic missionaries, three hunters, and five teamsters bound for Oregon, a Methodist preacher, two men on a pleasure trip, and three hunters for the Rocky Mountains. The Oregon party was under the guidance of Fitzpatrick, a mountaineer and guide of great experience, who virtually was commander of the expedition so long as he remained with it—and fortunately, for from him the inexperienced members of the California company learned much that was useful after his services were lost. The march began May 19th. The missionary party with five carts took the lead; and there followed the wagons of Bartleson's company, eight or nine of which were drawn by mules or horses, and five by seventeen yoke of oxen. The route was one that had often been traversed by trappers bound to the Rocky Mountains and by parties bound for Oregon—up the north fork of the Platte, by the Sweetwater through

and other necessaries to insure them against want till they reach the buffalo region at least, which shall be determined at the general rendezvous. That no person shall be permitted to take any spirituous liquors, except for medical purposes, and this shall be determined by the company at the general rendezvous. That a cannon having been presented to the company and thankfully accepted, Mr A. Overton be selected to have it properly equipped and amply supplied with ammunition at the expense of the company. That Marsh's route is believed to be the best by which to cross the mountains.' In *Niles' Reg.*, lxi. p. 209, there is mention of a company fitting out at Independence in May of about 90, under Bartleson and Rickman, to go via the Columbia; and another of 100 men and 30 women and children. One was to be joined by a caravan from Sta Fé. Evidently there were several large organizations similar to that described by Bidwell; fragments from all of which made up the company that actually started. One party went to Sta Fé, but of this I shall speak later.

the South Pass, and down and up branches of Green River, to Bear River Valley near Great Salt Lake. The travellers endured the usual hardships of the long and tedious journey; but met with no disasters except the accidental death of one man—and two marriages between members of the caravan. To Bidwell's journal we are indebted for most that is known about the details of this expedition.[18]

Near Soda Springs, on Bear River, August 11th, the company separated, the Oregon party turning off northward for Fort Hall. Twelve of those who had intended to go to California, and several of whom did later reach that country, decided now to join the northern party, five others having left the main company before.[19] A few also went to Fort Hall in the hope of bringing back some information about the route to California; but nothing definite was known there on the subject. The idea was, however, vaguely prevalent that the emigrants must find and follow Mary River; and that unless that stream were found, all would perish, since the deserts to the south and the mountains to the north were impenetrable. This idea came of course from the trips of Smith in 1827, and that of Walker in 1833. There were now left in

[18] *Bidwell, A Journey to California.* No title-page, place, or date. 8vo, 32 p. This very rare pamphlet is an abridgment of Bidwell's journal from day to day, which the writer sent from Bodega on March 30, 1842, and which was printed in Missouri, probably in that year or the next. It gives the names of all members, the progress and incidents of each day's march, and all the information about Cal. that the author had been able to gain. It is of course the best authority extant on the journey. The same author's *California 1841–8*, MS., already noticed, contains also a very good narrative of the trip. Belden, in his *Hist. Statement*, MS.; Chiles, in his *Visit to Cal. in Early Times*, MS.; and Hopper, in his *Narrative*, MS.—all members of the party—have given general accounts of the journey. James P. Springer, another member, seems to have kept a diary which I have not found, it having been left by the author in Mo., as he states in *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, i., no. 7. Some accounts published in different newspapers, and dealing chiefly with the names of members, I shall have occasion to notice later.

[19] The twelve, including all but one of those who had started with their families, were Carrol, Augustus Fifer (or Pfeifer), Chas W. Flügge, D. F. Hill, J. M. Jones, Isaiah Kelsey, Samuel Kelsey, W. P. Overton, James Ross, Elisha Stone, William Fowler, and Richard Williams. Of the 5 others, Jones, Rogers, and Peyton had turned back eastward; Simpson had stopped at Ft Laramie; and Shotwell had accidentally killed himself in June.

Bartleson's company thirty-two men—with one woman and child, the wife and daughter of Benjamin Kelsey—whose names I append in a note.[20]

For ten days the company marched down Bear River until within ten miles of where it empties into Great Salt Lake; then turned off westward over barren plains, being forced northward in search of water until, on August 27th, they encamped at a spring in the mountains,[21] whence Bartleson and Charles Hopper proceeded in advance to find Mary River. Here the store of buffalo meat, previously secured en route, gave out, and oxen had to be killed for food. The company remained in camp until September 5th, then moving slowly forward, meeting the scouts on the 9th, and on the 15th deciding to abandon their wagons,[22] with such other property as could not be packed on mules, horses, and oxen. So far as may be determined from the courses and distances given in the diary, the route followed was too far south to

[20] The names, of which many lists but none accurate have been published, were as follows: John Bartleson (captain), Elias Barnett, Josiah Belden, Wm Belty, John Bidwell, Henry L. Brolaski, Dav. W. Chandler, Joseph B. Chiles, Grove C. Cook, James Dawson, Nic. Dawson, Talbot H. Green (Paul Geddes), Geo. Henshaw, Charles Hopper, Henry Huber, James John, Thos Jones, Andrew Kelsey, Benj. Kelsey (and family), John McDowell, Green McMahon, Nelson McMahon, Michael C. Nye, A. Gwinn Patton, Robert Rickman, John Roland, John L. Schwartz, James P. Springer, Robert H. Thomes, Ambrose Walton, Major Walton, and Charles M. Weber.

This list I have formed from the original made by Dr Marsh on the party's arrival, the bonds given by citizens for the good behavior of the members, and Bidwell's printed journal. There is no doubt of its accuracy, except perhaps in the spelling of one or two names. As I have said, all later lists are inaccurate, the errors consisting mainly in omitting some names and including others who went to Oregon. It does not seem necessary to point out the inaccuracies of each. One of the best is that by Springer in *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, i. 27. Bidwell in his MS. omits several names, as does Belden. The list most widely circulated was the *Pioneer Overlanders of 1841*, made up from the recollections of Thomes, Toomes, and Given, first published in the *S. F. Bulletin* of July 7, 1868, and reprinted in many other newspapers. With slight variations, the same list is found, with descriptions of the journey, in many of the county histories. I could give a long list of references to brief newspaper descriptions of this overland trip, only a few of which add anything to real knowledge of the subject.

[21] In later trips emigrants avoided the southern détour and followed a south-westerly course to the Humboldt, over what is known as the 'old emigrant road.

[22] Geo. McKinstry notes on Bidwell's journal, p. 13, that his party, in 1846, cooked their supper with the remains of these wagons.

strike the river at the nearest point, but on the 23d, after crossing what was apparently the east Humboldt Range, they reached the south fork of the river, following it for eight days, though in great trouble because its course was toward the north-west rather than the south-west as they had imagined. On October 2d, however, they were delighted to find the stream trend in the desired direction; and five days later were in the region of the sink. Here Bartleson, who had forced the company to move much faster than was deemed prudent, started in advance with his own mess of eight men; while the rest crossed over to and ascended what is now Walker River, called by them Balm River. While resting on the head waters of that stream on the 16th, they were rejoined by the captain and his half-starved companions, who had probably reached Walker Lake in their wanderings, and had gained nothing by their haste. There were now but three poor oxen left for meat, and the lofty and apparently impassable sierra towered before the worn-out emigrants.

For thirteen days, from October 17th to the 30th, they struggled to cross the mountain barrier to the land of promise, in the region of what is now known as the Sonora Pass, from Walker River to the Stanislaus. I make no attempt to picture the dangers and hardships and anxieties of the half-starved band in this the most difficult part of their long and perilous journey. I have no space for the details of personal adventure which impart such a fascination to the original printed diary, much less for those of Bidwell's later and more elaborate narrative. Fortunately in all the trip there were only hardships and no disasters.[22] On the last day, when a mule had been killed for meat, when most of the horses had given out or been stolen, when Hopper, their most experienced mountaineer, had begun to despair, when three of the

[22] The Indians were nowhere hostile, though in the sierra they were disposed to pilfer. A treacherous guide was shot by Grove Cook Oct. 27th.

company had been missing for a week or more—they came suddenly in view of a valley, that of the Stanislaus, which they entered on the last day of October, and which to their longing eyes was most beautiful, though parched by the sun and stripped of vegetation by fire, since it abounded in game. Bartleson and his men declared that there was yet a long journey before them, and decided to remain long enough to lay in a store of meat; but the rest, after killing thirteen deer November 1st, moved on the next day, confident that they were in California. The question of their whereabouts was settled when they met two of the missing men, Kelsey and Jones, who had been guided by Indians to Marsh's rancho, where all the company arrived November 4th, except the other missing man, James John, who had left the others October 20th, and who reached Sutter's Fort the 3d of November.

Before narrating the reception of the immigrants in California, let us notice the rumors that had preceded them by a quicker though more roundabout way. The preparations for migration on a large scale had been widely announced in the United States; and in making the announcement certain newspapers had spoken very plainly of the movement as a step toward the inevitable acquisition of the country. Extracts on the subject were forwarded from Washington to Mexico, where they naturally created alarm on the part of the government. Mexican representatives abroad were ordered by the president to give public notice that any person going to California without the consent in due form of Mexican diplomatic or consular agents, would do so at his own peril, the government incurring no responsibility for damages. At the same time, on May 18th, the very day on which Bartleson's company was organized in Kansas, orders were sent to California that no foreign immigrant should be permitted to remain in the country who was not provided with a legal passport, and that even old set-

tlers must be required to depart unless they procured the *cartas de seguridad*, required by law.[24] Meanwhile there had been in California no special feeling against foreigners since the exile of Graham; the people as a rule were well disposed toward new-comers, and the authorities treated them much more leniently than was permitted by the spirit or letter of the laws. "Strangers arriving here in a lawful manner have no difficulty in obtaining the necessary passports either to reside or travel," writes a foreign resident of Monterey in February;[25] and we shall see that there was but little change in this respect later, notwithstanding the strict orders from Mexico and apparent danger of American encroachment.

Dr Marsh did not extend a very hospitable reception to the immigrants whose coming had been promoted by his letters; at least, such was the report sent back to Missouri.[26] For a good price, however,

[24] May 18, 1841, Almonte, min. of war, to Vallejo, enclosing despatches from the Mex. commissioners at Washington, with clippings from the *National Intelligencer*, *Globe*, and other papers, a statement of instructions sent to Washington, and strict orders to V., as recorded in my text. Original in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 146. Almonte says that some of the newspaper articles are written in a peaceable and friendly tone; but no more so than were the expressions of Austin's colony and other immigrants who afterwards raised the standard of revolt in Texas. May 20th, sup. govt to Alvarado on the same topic, recommending vigilance and strictness. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 20. Sept., notice from N. Orleans consulate that none may settle or travel in Cal. without passports. *Niles' Reg.*, lxi. 100. 1842, letter of Mex. min. to *Baltimore American*, in *Id.*, lxiii. 277. Dec. 31, 1840, to Dec. 1841, minor orders from Mex. and circulated in Cal., requiring compliance with the passport law of May 1, 1828. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 16; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 13; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 138; *Id., Monterey*, iv. 35; *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 31; *S. José Arch.*, MS., ii. 40. Aug. 1, 1841, preliminary instructions for exact compliance with the passport regulations of May 1, 1828. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., viii. 4–5.

[25] *Honolulu Polynesian*, i. 167. Jan. 21st–23d, Feb. 7th, proposition to tax unnaturalized foreigners for lumber cut and sold by them. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., viii. 2–3; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 41, 44. Mar. 5th–8th, Stearns fined for harboring a deserter from the *Alert*. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 36–7, 39–40.

[26] 'To my friends and others I must speak candidly of Dr Marsh. What he was in Missouri I cannot say. I speak for the emigrant, that he may be on his guard, and not be gulled as some have been on coming to this country by him. He is perhaps the meanest man in California. After the company had encamped near his house about two days, and there had been killed for them a small hog and a bullock, he began to complain of his poverty, saying "the company had already been more than $100 expense to him—God knew whether he would ever get a real of it or not." But poor as the company was, he had already got 5 times the value of his pig and bullock in different kinds

he rendered some service. On November 5th he notified the sub-prefect of the arrival of the thirty-one men, who after resting a while at his rancho would present themselves to prove their lawful intentions.[27] Next day about half the company started for San José, and on reaching that place were put under arrest and lodged in the calaboose, though treated with kindness and given to understand that the arrest was little more than a formality. Vallejo was at Mission San José, and to him the matter was referred by Sub-prefect Suñol. His position was a delicate one; his orders from Mexico were explicit; yet the new-comers had no passports, and alleged their ignorance that such documents were necessary. The excuse was absurd, since it is hardly possible that nothing had been said in Missouri of passport requirements; but Vallejo had no disposition—even if he had the power, which is doubtful—to drive the strangers back into the mountains to perish. He had the prisoners brought to the mission, and on the 11th sent one of them, Nye, with a letter to Marsh, who was required to come and give an account of his conduct in inviting such an immigration, and also to explain the intentions of the strangers.[28] On Marsh's arrival and after due deliberation, Vallejo decided on the 13th to assume the responsibility of granting temporary passes to serve until the foreigners could take the proper steps to legalize their residence, they inducing well-known citizens to become bondsmen for their good behavior.[29]

of articles—powder, lead, knives, etc. He charged the company $3 apiece to go and get their passports—a good price for his services.' *Bidwell's Journey*, 31. There is much more on Marsh's character.

[27] Nov. 5, 1841, Marsh to sub-prefect. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 300. Includes an accurate list of all the names.

[28] Nov. 11th, V. to Marsh. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 335. Bidwell, *Journey*, 20, who was not one of the 15 who went to S. José, notes the arrival of Nye with the summons to Marsh. Hopper, *Narr.*, MS., 3-4, also mentions the fact; but he says there was only 5, Chiles, Bartleson, McDowell, Nye, and himself, who went to S. José.

[29] Nov. 13th, corresp. between V. and the sub-prefect, in which the former states that the Missourians are permitted to remain and travel. It seems they had with them a letter from Marsh, urging some of them to come to Cal. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 104-5; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, iv. 29;

All agree that Vallejo, as well as other Californians, treated them with consideration and kindness, taking great pains to explain the laws under which he was obliged to act.[30] In his reports to the governor and supreme government, the general stated frankly what he had done, and his belief that he "had employed the only means to reconcile justice with circumstances and duty with prudence, the country having the dire alternative of consenting to what it cannot prevent, or commanding without being able to enforce, for want of military strength." He even seems to have taken a certain degree of pleasure in preaching to Alvarado a sermon on the defenceless condition and impending danger of the country from the text, "I told you how it would be if my plans were not followed in the matter of military organization;" while the governor in his report to Mexico implied that Vallejo had acted unwisely in permitting the foreigners to remain, though he himself had not interfered, wishing to avoid trouble with the general.[31] Meanwhile the immigrants scattered in a few days to various parts of

Vallejo, Doc., MS., x. 339; *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., x. 20. Nov. 17th, V. to Ignacio Alviso, recommending 5 of the company, not named, who go to Sonoma to see the country with a view to settlement. They are to be provided with room and food until he arrives. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 350. Nov. 13th, Marsh becomes security for 15 of the men, Rickman, Bartleson, Green, Hopper, Patton, Chandler, Nye, Barnett, McDowell, the Kelseys, Chiles, Cook, G. McMahon, and M. Walton. *Id.*, x. 340. Nov. 7th (17th ?), a kind of pass from Vallejo for Belty, Roland, Schwartz, and Birny (?) Dawson. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 40. Nov. 18th, Thos G. Bowen becomes security for Bidwell, Springer, N. McMahon, N. Dawson, and A. Walton. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 355. Dec. 8th, John A. Sutter becomes security for Huber, John, and Weber. *Id.*, x. 375. For the others, Belden, Brolaski, Henshaw, Jones, and Thomes, the bondsman was J. A. Forbes, who is named by Belden. *Hist. Statement*, MS., 14-15.

[30] My narratives from memory by Bidwell, Belden, Chiles, and Hopper contain many minor differences about the events of these days which I have no space to notice.

[31] Nov. 17th, V. to A., declaring that there is no power to enforce the law, though he is 'filled with horror at the audacity' of the American newspapers. Doubtless many more immigrants will come soon. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 349. About same date, V. to min. of war. He gives the number of the company as 33, and says a larger party is expected. *Id.*, x. 147. Nov. 30th, A. to V. It is necessary to ask promptly for assistance, and if none comes, to prepare for a brave defence, and not tamely submit to foreign domination. *Id.*, x. 369. Jan. 11, 1842, A. to min. of rel. The general is frightened, and owns his inability to prevent the entry of 30 adventurers. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 8-13.

the country, whither it is not my present purpose to follow them. Many went for a time to Sutter's Fort.[32] Chiles and Hopper travelled quite extensively over the northern portion of the department, and the next year, as we shall see, went back east with seven of their companions. It should be added also that in December, Charles Flügge, one of the company that had gone to Oregon, came down to New Helvetia with the trappers, and reported that his companions had arrived safely, and were contented in the north.

Another party of immigrants, twenty-five in number, came this year, arriving at Los Angeles nearly at the same time that the Bartleson party reached San José. This company was orgaized in New Mexico, where most of the members had for a time resided; but a few men, including Given and Toomes, had come to Santa Fé from Missouri with the intention of going to California. They had formed one of the small parties which had planned to meet at Independence, but which, arriving at the rendezvous after the company had started, preferred to follow the Santa Fé trail with a large party rather than take the risks of starting alone on the northern route.[33] There were

[32] Bidwell was one of these, and in his *California*, MS., 75–8, he relates that Marsh brought passports for those who had not gone to S. José, and delivered them as fast as the men could pay his price; but the writer got none, and subsequently on going to the pueblo was arrested and kept in jail for several days until Bowen procured him his pass from Vallejo without charge. The author is somewhat bitter against the doctor, and evidently had some serious personal misunderstanding with him. Marsh, *Letter to Com. Jones*, MS., p. 13–14, speaks of the arrival of the company at his house without any other guide than a letter he had written, and also of their kind reception by the authorities.

[33] Given's statement. At the meeting of Feb. 1st at Independance, the rendezvous at Sapling Grove is spoken of as being on the old Sta Fé route; and one of the resolutions declares Marsh's route the best—though this may mean the route recommended by Marsh rather than the one followed by him. *Colonial Mag.*, v. 229. In *Niles' Reg.*, lxi. 209, it is stated that one of the companies fitting out at Independence is to be joined by a party from Sta Fé. In the *Pioneer Overlanders* it is stated, on the authority of Toomes, that the two companies both started from Independence by different routes. Lancey, *Cruise of the Dale*, 172, mentions the Workman party as having started from Missouri. Toomes was one of the few that came from Missouri direct, and current confusion on the subject resulted chiefly from his statements, not however intended to deceive.

political reasons which influenced the departure of Workman and Rowland, the organizers and leaders of the company, and probably of some others. There was much excitement in New Mexico over rumors of a design to embroil that country in the Texan troubles; and these men were suspected of being concerned in the plot.[34] They started from Abiquiu in September, crossed the Colorado, and followed the same route as that taken by Wolfskill in 1831, which had often been chosen by the New Mexican traders. They drove a flock of sheep for food; met with no adventures and few hardships; and arrived at San Gabriel early in November.[35] Two, Workman and Gordon, brought their families on this trip, as others did later, about half of the whole number coming in quest of permanent homes. Others were in search of adventures, and soon found their way back to New Mexico;[36] while three, Gamble, Lyman, and Mead, were men of scientific proclivities, and spent but a short time in California. The immigrants were in company part of

[34] *Wilson's Observations*, MS., 21–2. The suspicion followed them to Cal., and gave them some little trouble about getting lands. Feb. 1842, corresp. with reference to extract from *Diario del Gobierno*, declaring R. and W. traitors. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 66; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, iii. 69–71.

[35] Lancey, *Cruise of the Dale*, 50, 172, says they arrived at the S. Diego mission Nov. 10th, and remained over winter; but this is improbable. Toomes, *Overland Pioneers of 1841*, says they reached Cal. Nov. 10th. The going to S. Diego is also mentioned in the *West Shore Gazette, Yolo Co.*, 8–9. Oct. 19th, J. F. Vigil to Prefect Argüello, mentioning the approach of a party of American traders and colonists. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 279. Dec. 2d, 7th, announcement of arrival of N. Mexicans and foreigners, 134 persons, at Angeles. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 99–108. Dec. 6th, Alvarado to Castro. Has heard that a party of strangers is approaching Angeles, and fears there is danger ahead. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 373. Jan. 11, 1842, A. to min. of rel. Has heard of the approach of 50 or 60 foreigners. Castro will march to meet them, and will act according to circumstances. Needs reënforcements, but will do his best to save the country. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 13–15.

[36] Benjamin D. Wilson, a native of Tenn., 30 years of age, who had traded in Miss., joined the trappers, and lived in N. Mexico and the surrounding regions since 1833, was one of the men who had no idea of settling in Cal., but intended to go to China. He liked the country, however, and spent the rest of his life in it, being a widely known and respected citizen. In 1877, a few months before his death, 'Don Benito,' as he was commonly called, dictated at his ranch of Lake Vineyard for my use his *Observations on Early Days in California and New Mexico*, MS., fol., 113 p., signed with the author's autograph Dec. 6, 1877. This not only contains the best narrative extant on the Workman-Rowland company, but is in many other respects a valuable addition to my collection.

the way with the New Mexican traders, and there were three native families who came with them to remain.[37] Rowland on his arrival furnished to the authorities a list of his companions, with a statement of their intention to obey all legal requirements. I append in a note a complete list of the company.[38]

There is little to be said of other parties that came in 1841. Joseph R. Walker, unless the archive record is at fault, came to southern California in the spring with a party of trading trappers;[39] and later in the year El Cojo, or 'Peg-leg,' Smith was reported to have entered the Tulares with a band of horse-thieves;[40] but there is no record that these leaders left any of their men in the country. Joel P. Walker, a brother of Joseph R., with two other settlers, Burrows and Nichols, and their families, came down from Oregon with Emmons' party of the U. S. exploring expedition to Sutter's Fort, in October.[41] Walker's family

[37] These were Vaca, Trujillo, and Salazar, according to *Rowland, Lista*, MS. Hayes, *Emig. Notes*, 642-3, tells us that Trujillo obtained lands at Agua Mansa (S. Bernardino Co.), and formed a settlement of San Salvador. Also that Isaac Slover, of Pattie's party in 1828, came with him.

[38] Workman-Rowland immigrant company of 1841: *Fred. Bachelor, *Frank Bedibey, *James Doke, Jacob Frankfort, Isaac Given, *Wm Gamble, Wm Gordon, *Frank Gwinn, *Wade Hampton, Wm Knight, Thos Lindsay, *L. (or J. H.) Lyman, *John McClure, James D. Mead, Wm C. Moon, John Rowland, Daniel Sexton, Hiram Taylor, *Tibeau, Albert G. Toomes, Michael White (of 1829), Benj. D. Wilson, and Wm Workman. Those who did not remain in Cal. are marked by a *. John Behn and John Reed are named by Wilson and others as members of the party, but are not included in *Rowland, Lista de los que le acompañan en su llegada al Territorio de Alta California*, MS., signed by Rowland, and copy certified by Manuel Dominguez, juez, Feb. 26, 1842. The lists in *Toomes' Overl. Pion.; Lancey's Cruise*, 50, 172; *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 13; *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS.; and others agree with each other, and all are probably taken from the first. They all omit many names, and add that of a Mr Pickman, which I omit. See also *S. F. Herald*, June 15, 1856. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 311, says that 100 Americans arrived from N. Mexico in October; and Peirce, *Letter to Cummins*, testifies that 200 arrived during his stay of two months. D. W. Alexander and Jean B. Rouelle seem to have come from N. Mex. this year.

[39] Feb. 10, 1841, prefect at Angeles advises gov. that Walker with two Americans, and commanding a party of 12, has come with a passport from the Mexican chargé d'affaires at Washington to buy horses, and stay two months. Walker complains of robberies by the Chaguanosos. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iv. 3. There may be an error about the year.

[40] *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 279.

[41] *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 142; also Walker's own *Narrative of Adventures thro*

consisted of his wife and five children. Mrs Walker seems to have been the first American woman in the Sacramento Valley, or who came to California by land; Mrs Kelsey, of the Bartleson company, to whom the honor is usually accredited, arriving some twenty days later.[42]

New names of foreigners in the records of 1841, not including the muster-rolls of the U. S. exploring expedition, number nearly two hundred, all of them given elsewhere in my Pioneer Register, and many earlier in this chapter, in connection with narratives of the immigrant parties. There were, however, only sixty-seven entitled to be classed as pioneer residents, and these are named in the appended list.[43] Most prominent as citizens of California were Belden, Bidwell, Chiles, Green, Leidesdorff, Rowland, Stephen Smith, Temple, Thomes, Toomes, Weber, Wilson, and Workman; and thirteen of all the number still survived, I think, in 1884.

In presenting the country's annals year by year, it

Alabama, Florida, N. Mexico, Oregon, and California, by a Pioneer of Pioneers. Dictated by Joel P. Walker to R. A. Thompson, MS., p. 10–11. He says that he came in Robert Peel's company. Several Oregon settlers came with Emmons as assistants, most of whom soon returned to the north. These were Henry Wood, Calvin Tibbetts, Henry Black, and Warfields. The latter was accompanied by his family, and may have remained.

[42] Wilkes mentions also a sister of Walker, but is probably in error, as Walker says nothing of her. Burrows brought his wife, but she may not have been American. Mrs W. brought with her a child less than a year old.

[43] Pioneers of 1841: *David W. Alexander, Joseph Allshouse, Ed. Ardisson, Pierre Atillan, Elias Barnett, John Behn (?), *Josiah Belden, Wm Belty, *John Bidwell, *Robert Birnie, Bradley (?), Fred Buel (?), Joseph W. Buzzell (?), Henri Cambuston, Dav. W. Chandler, *Joseph B. Chiles, Eph. Coffin, Grove C. Cook, *Peter Daveson, Robert G. Davis, Nic. Dawson, Wolberton Days (?), Manuel Dutra de Vargas, Francis Ermatinger, Wm Fife, Charles W. Flügge, Rich. Fourcade, Jacob Frankfort, Wm Gamble, *Isaac Given, Wm Gordon, Benj. Grable (?), *Talbot H. Green, Fred. Hegel (?), Charles Hopper, *Henry Huber, Thos Jones, Andrew Kelsey, Benj. Kelsey, Wm Knight, Wm A. Leidesdorff, *Jos Y. Limantour, Thos Lindsay, *Green McMahon, Wm C. Moon, Michael C. Nye, James Rock, John Roderick, *John Rose, Jean B. Rouelle (?), John Rowland, John Schwartz, *Daniel Sexton, James Smith, Stephen Smith, Thos Smith, James P. Springer, Hiram Taylor, Hiram Teal, Francis P. F. Temple, Robert H. Thomes, Rufus Titcomb, Albert G. Toomes, Joel P. Walker, Charles M. Weber, Benj. D. Wilson, and Wm Workman. Survivors of 1884 are marked with a *; but this in some instances means no more than that I have not heard of the man's death.

is of course impracticable to notice the record of old settlers individually; and a mere list of such of them as appear on the records would have little or no interest. For them, therefore, as for the experience of new-comers, I refer to the biographical sketches. Among the most important items in this connection, not already recorded, I may note that Nicholas Fink, of 1836, was robbed and murdered at Los Angeles in January, for which crime three men were executed in April; Anthony Campbell, of 1840, was murdered at San José in August, and the murderer was put to death in July of the next year; Daniel Ferguson, of 1824, was killed in Salinas Valley in July, on suspicion of having committed which crime a Mexican was banished; Isaac Sparks, of 1832, was this year in no end of trouble by reason of his amorous irregularities; James Weeks, of 1831, was assaulted and stabbed in a quarrel at Santa Cruz; William Pope, who came with Pattie in 1828, accidentally killed himself at his rancho in Pope Valley; and J. J. Warner, of 1831, returned from a visit to the east, where he had utilized his time in behalf of both his native and adopted country, by delivering a lecture on the natural advantages of California.

CHAPTER XI.

ALVARADO, VALLEJO, AND MICHELTORENA.

1842.

PRUDON AT MONTEREY—ALVARADO'S PLOTS—BUSTAMANTE OR SANTA ANNA—THE GOVERNOR'S DESPATCHES—DEPARTURE OF THE COMISIONADOS CASTAÑARES AND PRUDON—TOO LATE—MANUEL MICHELTORENA APPOINTED GOVERNOR AND COMANDANTE GENERAL—HIS INSTRUCTIONS—RAISING AN ARMY OF CONVICTS—THE JOURNEY—BATALLON FIJO—LIST OF OFFICERS—ARRIVAL AT SAN DIEGO—AT LOS ANGELES—VALLEJO TURNS OVER THE MILITARY COMMAND—ALVARADO DISAPPOINTED BUT SUBMISSIVE—PROCLAMATION—MICHELTORENA ASSUMES THE GOVERNORSHIP AT ANGELES IN DECEMBER—JUNTA DEPARTAMENTAL—TRIBUNAL DE JUSTICIA—DISCOVERY OF GOLD.

VICTOR PRUDON arrived at Monterey January 1, 1842, on his way to Mexico as Vallejo's commissioner to the supreme government.[1] The schooner *California*, which was to carry him and his despatches, had arrived from San Francisco the day before. But difficulties presented themselves. Prudon called on Alvarado to ask if his despatches were ready. "What despatches?" "Those for the interior." "Ah!" said the governor, "I have not yet concluded what to do; I am awaiting the arrival of my compadre Castro to hold a conference." He then explained the reasons for his hesitation; namely, that Bustamante having been succeeded by Santa Anna, California had no protector in Mexico; he feared the schooner might be seized at Acapulco; and that there was no money in the treasury to pay expenses of the commission.

[1] See chap. vii. of this vol. for Prudon's appointment and the circumstances attending it.

Ábrego, Jimeno, Osio, and others of Alvarado's party, including Castro, who soon arrived, took the same view.[2] Apparently there was a plot to prevent his departure, or at least to devise some scheme by which the object of his mission might be defeated. At least Prudon took this view of it, and wrote some sensational reports to Vallejo on the subject, warning the general against the intrigues of his foes and pretended friends.[3]

Finally, however, the obstacles were overcome and Alvarado consented to despatch the schooner for Acapulco, to carry not only Vallejo's commissioner, but his own. There are indications that this consent may have been given under the belief that Prudon went accredited to Bustamante, and not to the new president—a fact likely to put him at a disadvantage in his diplomatic efforts against the governor, who addressed his despatches with a proper amount of flattery to Santa Anna.[4] Alvarado's commissioners

[2] Jan. 2, 1842, Ábrego to Vallejo, declaring that there is no money to cash his order in favor of Prudon for $1,500, though a French ship just arrived may pay her duties in coin. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 6. Jan. 9th–10th, Ábrego finally offers and P. accepts $500 in money and $1,000 in cloths. *Id.*, xi. 19–20, 27. In P.'s original instructions of Dec. (21st), a draft for $8,000 on Barrios is mentioned, the remainder of which, after paying expenses, was to be invested in war material. *Id.*, xiv. 28. So it seems that the general had made provision for financial obstacles.

[3] Jan. 5th, 6th, 8th, P. to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 11–12, 15–16. He declares that there is a conspiracy to intercept all V.'s communications, and to slander him in Mexico. Describes a drunken brawl of Castro and his companions, which had put the town in a tumult. Fears they may manage to get the general's despatches from Capt. Cooper by deception. Ábrego refuses to pay even $50 for writer's present expenses. Fears his own life is in danger. Matters have a most alarming aspect. 'Poor Rodriguez is in bed because of a caning from Castro.' Castro has deceived V. when he pretended to be dissatisfied with Alvarado's acts. The *California* will probably sail, or pretend to sail, for the Islands. Alvarado's agents will go accredited to Santa Anna, and V. will be seriously compromised. Jan. 2d, Roberto Pardo from Sta Bárbara warns Vallejo not to trust the *azules*, as they will do their best to upset him. *Id.*, xi. 7. Who the *azules* (blues) were is not very clear; but Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 242–3, says they were Pico, Carrillo, and others, who were already beginning to plot in favor of English schemes.

[4] Vallejo's version, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 259–66, is that the first plan against him was to despatch the *California* with A.'s agents to Santa Anna before Prudon could be ready; but finally in the belief that V.'s despatches were addressed to Bustamante, and in the fear that Prudon might wait to have them changed and follow quickly in another vessel, it was decided to let him go on the schooner. V. had originally addressed his communications to Bustamante; but on hearing of the change, at once forwarded to

were Manuel Castañares—a brother to Don José María, who had recently come from Mexico with an appointment as administrator of customs, which place for some unknown reason he had not assumed—and Francisco Rivera. Their exact instructions are not known, but we have Alvarado's despatches to the minister of relations. In the first, while admitting that his government was involved in some slight difficulties from lack of funds and lack of coöperation on the part of the general, he pictured the situation of the country as in most respects satisfactory. The Russians were at last to leave California; Sutter's establishment had been in every way a great advantage; and most current complaints were without foundation. The natives were now at peace, and when hostile had been and could be easily controlled by the auxiliary force of citizens. The number of civil servants was already smaller than was called for by law, but he would gladly reduce it for the benefit of the treasury if authorized to do so. The general with a force amply sufficient for actual needs had confessed his inability to prevent the entry of thirty armed adventurers from Missouri, and had most unwisely given them passports. "There are ambitious schemes affecting this department," he continues, "and endangering the integrity of Mexican territory. The comandante general is afraid, and I shall have to act according to circumstances; let the government decide whether it be best to authorize me to raise forces or to send Mexican troops." In his second

Prudon blank sheets of official paper with his signatures and rubric, to be filled out and substituted for the others—an operation rendered easy by the fact that Prudon as his secretary had written the originals. The messenger between Monterey and Sonoma allowed himself to be seduced, and showed his papers to the spies of Castro and Alvarado; but he had been provided with a *carta gansa*, or decoy letter, intended to be shown, and thus the conspirators were thrown off the scent! Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 193–203, admits that it was not thought best to let Prudon reach Mexico before his own commissioner; but says the only way to prevent it was to refuse money from the treasury. This measure became useless, because V. furnished the money required. He does not admit that Prudon outwitted him, and thinks the despatches to Bustamante were not changed.

despatch, in view of the arrival of another party of foreigners from New Mexico, he admitted that it might be well to send 150 or 200 men "with some pecuniary resources;" though confident that if the foreign invasion should occur before the arrival of troops he would still be able to defend the national honor! It was certainly an ingenious argument, not unlikely to be effective with a new administration hard pressed for funds, and ready to favor any theory respecting a distant province that did not involve expense.[5]

The nature of Vallejo's despatches has already been stated, and about his plans there is no mystery whatever.[6] Neither is there room for doubt that Castañares' mission was simply to prevent the success of the general's project of uniting the two commands in a Mexican officer, and to maintain the Californian government *in statu quo*. There is no evidence that Vallejo desired the governorship, or that Alvarado plotted to remove Vallejo from the military command;[7] neither are we to credit Alvarado's later statement that he had sent a commissioner to Mexico to urge the acceptance of his resignation offered the year before.[8] Before the middle of January the expedition was ready, and waiting only for a wind;[9] and the alleged conspirators hastened to assure Vallejo that all the charges against them had been groundless.[10]

[5] Jan. 2d, 11th, A. to min. of rel. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 6–15.

[6] See chap. vii. of this vol.

[7] See chap. vii. of this vol. Hall, *Hist. S. José*, 133–4, says: 'Each had complained of the other to the govt, and each had solicited the removal of the other from official position.' Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 205–6, also says that Alvarado had solicited the appointment of a new general with an additional force. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 292, says he heard from a friend at Acapulco that Castañares was trying to induce Gen. Duque to come to take the command in Cal.; also that the Carrillos were plotting to make an independent state of baja and southern Cal.

[8] Sept. 24th, A.'s proclamation announcing Micheltorena's arrival. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., x. 30. Robinson, *Statement*, MS., 26–7, also thinks that A. had asked for the appointment of a successor.

[9] Jan. 13th, A. to min. of war, announcing the sailing of the *California* with despatches. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 15. Jan. 15th, Prudon to V. All arrangements completed. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 27.

[10] Jan. 17th, Ábrego to V. Reports of revolutionary movements at Monterey are false—only some extravagant toasts by men who had drunk deeply.

The *California* sailed at last from Monterey the 20th of January, and landed the commissioners of the rival dignitaries at Acapulco the 14th of February.[11] From the coast they proceeded to the capital, where they arrived in time to learn that nearly a month before a new governor and comandante general had been appointed to rule over California, and all the diplomacy and intrigue attendant upon their departure had been wasted. Their mission was not, however, entirely without results, since from President Santa Anna Prudon received a confirmation of his captain's commission, obtaining also for his chief the promotion of Captain Vallejo to be lieutenant-colonel of the regular army; while Manuel Castañares was newly appointed administrator of customs, and brought for Alvarado a commission as colonel of auxiliary troops—a kind of militia.[12] Both comisionados returned with the new governor in August. Vallejo, in proffering his resignation, had sent to the government a statement, with vouchers of the sums due him for his expenditures in supporting the frontier garrison for many years. He was soon informed, however, by Virmond, his agent, that there was no probability of having his claim allowed, much less paid. Spence and others with valid claims fared in like manner.[13]

I have said that the comisionados arrived too late in Mexico; that is, Castañares did so, for Prudon's object had already been accomplished. In accordance with Vallejo's recommendations of 1840–1,[14] the Mex-

Vallejo, Doc., MS., xi. 29. Jan. 19th, Castro to V., with assurance of continued friendship. 'Our only foes are the foreigners, and of them I am not afraid if the Californians keep united.' *Id.*, xi. 34.

[11] *Cooper's Log of the 'California,'* MS. The arrival of Castañares, Rivera, and Prudon was announced in Mexico in the *Diario del Gobierno* of March 2d; *Bustamante, Diario Mex.*, MS., xliv. 81.

[12] Prudon's commisions, dated May 4th, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 215–16. Vallejo's commission of May 2d. *Id.*, i. 16. Castañares' appointment mentioned by Virmond April 16th. *Id.*, xi. 209. Alvarado's commission of May 2d. *Id.*, xxxiii. 277; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., vi. 47.

[13] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., i. 351; xi. 209; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 274–7.

[14] Vallejo had also sent Capt. Castañeda to Mexico at the end of 1839—chap. xx. of vol. iii.—but what influence he had, if any, is not known.

ican government had decided to accept his resignation, to unite the civil and military commands in the person of a Mexican officer, and to send troops to California. The choice of an officer fell upon Manuel Micheltorena, brigadier and adjutant-general in the Mexican army. He is said to have been of a distinguished family, and to have rendered good service in Texas and elsewhere; but I know nothing definite of his career down to July 1840, when, being then a colonel and acting as chief of staff, he helped to put down a revolt in the city of Mexico[15]—a service, doubtless, which gave him his promotion. He also defended José Castro before a court-martial, and thus became known to Californians. His appointment as governor, comandante general, and inspector of California was dated January 22, 1842; his instructions bore date of February 11th; and the announcement was made to Californian authorities the 22d of February.[16]

Micheltorena's salary was fixed at $4,000. In his instructions were expressed in the usual flattering terms unlimited confidence in his ability and patriotism, and also the nation's profound interest in all that affected the welfare of so promising a department as California. Because that country was so far away, however, and in view of the difficulties likely to arise

Nothing is heard of him from April 1840 until April 1841, when he was a passenger from Acapulco on the *California*, and got left at Mazatlan. *Cooper's Log*, MS.

[15] Valencia's report of Aug. 8th, in *Diario del Gobierno*, Aug. 11, 1840; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, MS., ii. 88.

[16] Jan. 24, 1842, Gen. Valencia, chief of staff, to Micheltorena, announcing his appointment on Jan. 22d. Original doc. in *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iii. 2–3. Jan. 25th, Santa Anna and min. of rel. to Micheltorena and to gov. of Cal. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 7; *Id., Ang.*, xii. 67–8. Feb. 22d, min. of war to Vallejo, announcing the appointment, and acceptance of Vallejo's resignation, with thanks for his services. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iii. 6. Publication of these orders in Cal. in September. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 255–7. In the original documents cited it is to be noted that Micheltorena was made governor, etc., of Alta California only; but in his instructions it is stated that his authority is to extend also over Baja California; and later he signed himself 'General de Brigada del Ejército Mejicano; Ayudante General de la Plana Mayor del mismo; Gobernador, Comandante General, é Inspector del Departamento de las Californias.' *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 300; *Arch., Sta Bárbara*, MS., vi. 141; *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 15, etc. The military jurisdiction the peninsula had previously belonged to Sinaloa.

from its supposed demoralized condition, the new governor was invested with some extraordinary powers, being authorized to remove and appoint both civil and military employés without awaiting approval from Mexico. He was to inspect and reörganize the presidial companies; to study and report upon the situation in respect of missions, custom-house, and treasury; to encourage by all means within his power internal improvements, colonization, the civilization of Indians, and education of youth; to regulate the mails and administration of justice; to favor the development of arts; and to protect agriculture, commerce, and all the country's industries.[17]

Of the raising of troops to accompany Micheltorena, for the support of which $8,000 per month was ordered to be paid at Mazatlan in addition to the Californian revenues,[18] less is known than would be desirable. At first it was reported that a large force, perhaps 1,000 or 1,500 men, would be sent;[19] but 500 seems to have been about the number finally decided on, 300 of whom were to be convicts, and 200 regular soldiers. In February a decree was issued through the minister of justice ordering the selection of 300 criminals from Mexican prisons for this purpose. Those having trades were to be preferred, and when they had arrived at their destination, they might be released from part or all of their term of convict life in consideration of good conduct on the journey, or of "services which they might render," for which also their families would be aided to join them, and they would receive lands and implements to become colonists.[20] There is no indi-

[17] *Micheltorena, Instrucciones que recibió del Supremo Gobierno al tomar el mando de Californias, 1842*, MS.; also in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 268–72; *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 358; *Id., Scraps, Legal Hist. S. Diego*, i. no. 57, p. 31–4; *Wheeler's Land Titles*, 117–18. Micheltorena is authorized to call upon the com. gen. of Sonora and Sinaloa for aid, but apparently only for Baja California.

[18] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 89–90.

[19] *Bustamante, Diario Mex.*, MS., xliv. 158–9; *Id., Hist. Sta Anna*, MS., ii. 8.

[20] Dwinelle, *Address before Cal. Pioneers, 1866*, p. 20–1, quotes the decree under date of Feb. 22d, from the *Observador Judicial y de Legislacion*, i. 372;

cation in the order that the convicts were to become soldiers; indeed, criminals could not be legally enlisted; but doubtless the 'service' referred to, for which they were to be pardoned, consisted mainly of an engagement to enlist as soon as a pardon had freed them from all taint of criminality! At any rate, they were soldiers when they landed in California.

There is no record of the number of convicts obtained; but I think it could not have been over half that required—or if all, that at least half managed to desert before sailing. With this nucleus of an army Micheltorena left Mexico on May 5th, and arrived at Guadalajara the 22d, the quickest march on record by that route, having found no reason to complain of the "chiefs and officers to whose valiant swords the president confided the integrity and defence of the national territory in both Californias."[21] It would seem that General Paredes, commanding in Jalisco, had orders to furnish two hundred regular soldiers, and he took advantage of the opportunity to get rid of all the useless and unmanageable men in his army, filling up the number with a forced levy of recruits from the farms near Guadalajara.[22] These

and *Mexico, Coleccion de Decretos y Ordenes de Interes Comun.* Mex., 1850. 352 p. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 311–12, cites it from the *Diario del Gobierno*, Feb. 21, 1842; and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 243, from a document in the archives—which has eluded my search—dated Feb. 21st. Feb. 1st, a decree of Santa Anna provided for a squadron of active militia to be called the 'fijo de Californias.' *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, iv. 106–7.

[21] May 23, 1842, Micheltorena to min. of war, in *Siglo XIX.*, June 10, 1842; *Bustamante, Diario Mex.*, xlv. 59. He had a train of over 100 pack-animals laden with munitions and implements.

[22] 'Al formarse esta espedicion se me dieron cuantos criminales y facinerosos quiso castigar el Sr General Paredes, completando los pocos que le faltaron al número con una leva en las campiñas de Guadalajara, que arrebató y para siempre de sus hogares sin calificaciones ni oir escepcion alguna á padres de familia con ocho ó diez hijos.' Micheltorena's report of Jan. 23d to min. of war, in *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 58. According to *Mexico, Mem. Guerra*, 1844, p. 48–9, the squadron was made up of 'reemplazos que con gran puntualidad preparó el comandante general de Jalisco.' Chiefly criminals without military discipline. *Mexico, Mem. Rel.*, 1845, p. 25–6. Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 74–6, says the corps at first destined for California was the 'Tres de Allende,' one of the best in the service. He, Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 148–51, and others imply that the convicts also were obtained in Jalisco. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 95–7, tells us that one of the men seized in the fields afterwards became vant, and told him all the details.

two bodies of men constituted what was called the Batallon Fijo de Californias, which was marched to the coast and embarked. Many succeeded in escaping on the road and at San Blas and Mazatlan, at which port Micheltorena touched in what appears to have been a vain search for funds. It is related that at one of the ports the cholos were kept on an island, and that besides those who escaped many were drowned in the attempt. I suppose there were about three huudred who finally sailed from Mazatlan, though there is no accurate record of the number extant; and there were forty or fifty of the deserters who were arrested and sent to California two years later.[23]

The new governor and his batallon fijo embarked at Mazatlan on or about July 25th in four vessels.[24]

[23] Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 38–9, says there were a few over 300 who arrived at S. Diego. Marcelino García was one of the deserters from the island, and in his *Apunte sobre Micheltorena*, MS., gives some details about the adventures of himself and companions. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 205–7, calls the number 350. The alcalde of S. Diego, in announcing the arrival of the first vessel at S. Diego, said that 400 men were coming. *Micheltorena's Administration*, 1; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 289. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 311–12, gives the number as 450. Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 78–9, makes it 500. Some Californians speak of 600 and 800 men. In his letter of 1844, *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 58, Micheltorena speaks only of his force of 200 men. 200 was the number finally sent away from Cal. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 20–1. A roster in *Id.*, v. 70–4, makes the force of the batallon at the end of 1843 about 250 men. According to this record there were five companies, including one of granaderos and one of cazadores. I append the following list of officers, a few names being supplied from other sources: Colonel, Rafael Tellez. Adjutants, Mariano Garfias, Juan Lambaren (died in 1844); comandante, Juan Abella. Captains, Francisco D. Noriega, José Ma Mejia, Dionisio Gonzalez, José Ma Flores, José Ma Segura. Lieutenants, Francisco Eguren, Macedonio Padilla, Emigdio Abrego, Mariano Villa, Ignacio Aguado, Ignacio Plaza, Marquez, Luis G. Maciel, Antonio Somoza, Pedro García. Sub-lieutenants, Joaquin Avila y Canalejo, Ignacio Servin, Feliciano Vivaldo, Rafael Sanchez, Guadalupe Medina, José Ma Limon, Leon Ruiz, Manuel Garfias, Juan N. Bravo, Manuel Bravo, Juan Gutierrez, José Correa, Guillermo Coronel. Sergeants, Severo Aguirre; rest vacant. Buglers, José Ma Perez, Quirino Vergara, Luciano Sandoval, Jesus Flores, Mariano Mercado, Juan José Lopez. Director de hospitales, Faustino Moro; pito, Laureano Guzman; 20 corporals. Total, 60; privates, 180. Total force in 1844, 237 men. *Id.*, *Ben. Com. and Treas.*, v 3–5.

[24] The only record I have found of the date is in *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iii 539 Perhaps all the vessels did not sail the same day. The names of three vessels only are given; that of the *Chato*, mentioned incidentally by Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 205–7; the *Republicano*, mentioned in some of Micheltorena's later correspondence; and the schr *California*, Capt. Cooper, which brought 32 men under Lieut José M. Sarmiento, who died on the voyage. *Cooper's*

One of the fleet with Micheltorena on board—and also two old acquaintances of the reader, Colonel A. V. Zamorano and Captain Nicanor Estrada, the former in a dying condition[25]—arrived at San Diego on August 25th, after a tedious trip of thirty-one days. The other vessels arrived within ten days;[26] and Micheltorena spent several weeks in organizing and drilling his convict recruits. It was no easy task, though many of the men had done military service at some period of their lives. It was long before any considerable portion could be trusted with weapons; but from the first the batallon showed marked proficiency in foraging for supplies by night. Moreover, on overhauling the munitions it was found that the bullets as a rule would not fit the muskets, and had to be remelted. Financial obstacles were also encountered from the start, making it difficult to support the troops sent to protect the country. At last, late in September, Micheltorena started with his men northward and came to Los Angeles, where he was received with popular demonstrations of enthusiasm, the national *fiesta* of September 16th being postponed in his honor.[27] After enjoying the hospitality of the

Log, Larkin's Doc., i. 330. Other vessels on the coast in the autumn, and which probably included the other transport, were the *Primavera*, *Jóven Fanita*, *Palatina*, and *Guipuzcoana*.

[25] Several died on the voyage. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 420-2, says Zamorano's illness and the death of the others were due to sufferings on the long voyage, the masters of the vessels having chartered them by the day, and making the trip as long as the water could be made to last! Robinson, who was at S. Diego at the time, describes the 90 soldiers and their families who came on the *Chato* as having landed in a state of great misery.

[26] Aug. 25th, Góngora, juez de paz at S. Diego, to prefect at Angeles, announcing arrival. Aug. 29th, prefect's reply, with orders for great attentions to be shown to the new gov. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 289; *Micheltorena's Administration in Upper Cal., 1842-5*, p. 1-2. This is an 8vo pamphlet of 28 p., containing translations of 27 original documents from the archives. It has no imprint, but was probably published as an appendix to the proceedings in some land case. Robinson, *Statement*, MS., 26-7, arrived the same day on the *Alert*, which vessel fired a salute to the new gov. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 289, says the troops arrived, that is, the last of them, Sept 8th. Sept. 3d, Micheltorena announces his arrival to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 256. Aug. 28th, letter announcing arrival the day before, in *Boston Advertiser*, Dec. 10, 1842; *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 242.

[27] Sept. 9-15, 1842, several items about Micheltorena's expected arrival, preparations in the way of lodgings and supplies, postponement of *fiesta*, etc. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 7-23. Sept. 25th, prefect orders the sending

Angelinos for nearly a month, during which time he subjected his personal popularity to a severe test by reason of the necessity of feeding, and the impossibility of controlling his thieving followers, the governor resumed his march toward the capital. He had got no farther than San Fernando when, in the night of October 24th, he was met with the startling news that an American fleet had anchored at Monterey, and had demanded the surrender of the town. This affair and what Micheltorena did in connection with it will be given in another chapter. The new ruler had proved himself a gentleman of kind heart and pleasing address, and he had met with a cordial reception from the people; but there were those who doubted already that he had the qualities by which California could be saved from all her troubles.[28]

It is not clear that the old authorities knew anything definite of Micheltorena's appointment before his arrival, though such may have been the case.[29]

of 40 carts required by Micheltorena. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 161. He seems to have delivered an oration at the fiesta, and for a week there was a succession of balls and other sports. The festivities are described at some length in *Coronel, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 41–5; and mentioned by Botello, *Anales*, MS., 101–2. Pinto, *Apunt.*, MS., 84–8, relates that 25 men of the batallon deserted and attempted to escape to Mexico by way of the Colorado, but were pursued and brought back by a force under the writer's command. See general mention of Micheltorena's appointment and arrival in *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 147; *Hartmann, Geog. Stat. Cal.*, i. 39; *Ferry, Cal.*, 23; *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS., 40; *Ord. Ocurrencias*, MS., 125.

[28] Oct. 22, 1842, John C. Jones writes from Sta Bárbara to Larkin: 'From accounts the general is a mild, affable, and well-disposed man, but devoid of all energy, stability, force, or resolution; the very last man that should have been sent to guide the destinies of California. He appears fickle and very undecided in his movements; and, if report speaks true, not overstocked with the one indispensable requisite to make a good soldier.' Hopes the new troops may be swallowed up before they reach Sta Bárbara. 'If the people had any grit they would rise en masse and drive the wretches out of the country.' Micheltorena was to be given a $350 ball on his arrival. 'Don't think of the capital being fixed at Los Angeles: no such thing; the general quits the place in disgust, and talks of Sta Bárbara as the seat of government...But no, don't be alarmed. Treat his Excellency well at your place, and my word for it there will still be the capital. A little soap and a firm spine will, without much difficulty, bring him to a permanent halt in your good town of Monterey.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 344.

[29] The *Clarita* arrived at S. Diego July 7th, with news that a general with 500 men was coming. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 128. April 16th, Virmond writes to Vallejo of Micheltorena's appointment, and of his financial

On September 3d, however, from San Diego he sent to both Alvarado and Vallejo the official orders of the government, providing for his accession to both commands; and he took advantage of the occasion to express the most kindly feelings toward both gentlemen, as well as his determination, and that of his men, to make California happy. Other despatches of similar purport were sent, and among the official papers sent to Vallejo was a lieutenant-colonel's commission.[30] Vallejo of course promptly indicated his submission to his new superior, and issued corresponding orders to all subordinates. September 19th may be regarded as the date when he surrendered his position as comandante general. In accordance with these orders, José Castro, to whom Micheltorena also brought a commission as lieutenant-colonel, with Alférez Pinto and a guard, left the capital on the 27th for Los Angeles, to greet the general.[31] Subsequently, on October 6th, Vallejo was made comandante of the northern line, including the territory as far south as Santa Inés; and he did not fail to notify his chief that the garrison of Sonoma had long been supported at his own private expense; that his resources could not bear this expense forever; that the northern frontier was exposed to continual dangers, and that the people did not care very much under whose dominion they were, so long as their families and property were protected.[32]

difficulties. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 209. And Vallejo says, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 272–4, that he got the letter in May, but lost all hope of success when he learned that lack of money was already causing trouble. In *Id.*, iv. 284–5, he says he heard of the appointment officially on Aug. 17th.

[30] Sept. 3, 1842, M. to V. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iii. 9–11. No date (probably before Sept. 3d), Id. to Id., to same effect, and wants aid for his men. *Id.*, iii. 7–8.

[31] Sept. 19th, V. to M. and to his subordinates. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 255–58. Sept. 20th, V. to Abrego, ordering all possible pecuniary aid to be furnished to M. An officer to be despatched with aid, etc. *Id.*, xi. 259–62. Sept. 27th, Capt. Silva to V., announcing departure of Castro, Pinto, and four soldiers. *Id.*, xi. 266. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 15–16, tells us that M. was recognized at S. Diego by the comandante at Vallejo's orders; and he even exceeded his powers by recognizing him as governor. 'The Mexicans always worship the rising sun.'

[32] Oct. 6, 1842, M. to V., appointing him 'gefe de linea militar desde Sonoma hasta Sta Inés. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 35–6. Private and flattering letter on same subject in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 295–7. Oct. 15th,

Governor Alvarado was of course bitterly disappointed at the coming of a successor; but he gave no sign publicly of his chagrin, and there is no evidence that he thought for a moment of resistance.[33] Such resistance, as he well knew, must prove unsuccessful with Castro as well as Vallejo against him; his only chance was to raise the standard of revolt and call upon the foreigners for support; but such a scheme had no attraction for him, and he had lost much of his popularity with that class of foreigners most likely to engage in revolt. To Alvarado as to Vallejo Micheltorena wrote in friendly and flattering terms from San Diego, announcing his appointment and arrival, forwarding his credentials, and stating that he would soon march for Los Angeles on his way to the capital. He made no demand for an immediate transfer of the political command, thus impliedly authorizing Alvarado to hold it until his arrival at Monterey.[34] On September 24th Alvarado issued a proclamation, in which he had the pardonable assurance to state that he had been relieved in accordance with his own request. Of Micheltorena he says: "Fame has done justice to the merits of this chief, and the nobility of

Nov. 6th, 19th, V. to M., in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 273, 290, 300, 308. In one of his letters V. complains that M. addresses him as lieut-colonel, ignoring his rank as 'colonel of the country's defenders.' This rank had been given him Aug. 6, 1839, and in 1840 President Bustamante had sent him as a gift a pair of colonel's epaulets. *Id.*, i. 14–15; ix. 150; x. 42. Nov. 15th, Capt. Silva declines to obey Alvarado's requisition for arms without orders from the comandante. *Id.*, xi. 288. Same date, Silva's report of military force available at Monterey—13 artillerymen and 9 cavalry. *Id.*, xi. 289. Dec. 3d, Castro is authorized to communicate directly with M. to avoid delays. *Id., Corresp.*, MS., 54.

[33] In his *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 16–17, Alvarado says he was not sorry that M. had come, as he was anxious to get rid of the office before the crisis came; yet he understood clearly that the appointment was intended as a humiliation to himself and to the Californians. He says there had been an agreement between Bustamante and Santa Anna that A. was to rule two years longer. He and Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 422, state that M. feared that the governorship would not be peaceably surrendered. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 130, says that A. was for a time inclined to resist. The intimate friendship between Castro and M. doubtless had great influence in promoting his submission.

[34] Sept. 10th, M. to A. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 285; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 290–2. This writer says that A. was directly requested to act as governor; also that he was very bitter against his successor, and did not answer his friendly letters.

his sentiments is impressed on the communications he has sent to me. The ample powers with which he is invested, united with his good wishes, will tend, as I do not for a moment doubt, to promote the happiness of the department, removing the obstacles that have embarrassed me in its government. I congratulate you on this happy selection, and I hope you will not disappoint the opinion that has done justice to your virtues."[35]

The part taken by Alvarado, like that of Micheltorena, in the events of Monterey in October will be noticed elsewhere. These events delayed Micheltorena's coming to the capital, and of course the formal transfer of the governorship. In December, however, the new governor decided that the transfer should take place at Angeles, and Alvarado was notified to that effect. Naturally the latter did not care to go in person to the south for such a purpose, to render the abajeños spectators of his humiliation; so he simply made Jimeno Casarin acting governor, as he had done often before on plea of illness; and Jimeno, announcing the appointment, proclaimed that "General Don Manuel Micheltorena having represented the very potent reasons which make it impossible for him to present himself at this point, and which have forced him to fix his residence at Los Angeles, I have resolved to go in person to said city to place his Excellency solemnly in possession of the government." The junta departamental was also ordered to convene at Angeles on December 30th, to be present at the ceremony.[36] Jimeno was accompanied on his trip south by Francisco Arce, José María Castañares, Rafael Gonzalez, and Zenon Fernandez,

[35] Sept. 24th, A.'s proclamation. *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., x. 30. English translation in *Micheltorena's Administration*, 3.

[36] Dec. 15th, M. to justice of peace at S. Diego, ordering him to suspend all acts of possession until he has received his office of gov., which will be soon. From *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 290; in *Micheltorena's Admin.*, 7. Dec. 19th, A. puts Jimeno in charge. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 133; 68–9. Dec. 20th, J.'s proclamations *Id.*, xii. 66–70; *Micheltorena's* ', 4–7; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 290.

some of whom were members of the junta or in some way represented such members.[37] The ceremony at Los Angeles took place at the house of Vicente Sanchez, where Micheltorena took the oath of office at 4 P. M. on December 31st, in the presence of the ayuntamiento, part of the junta, and of the most prominent citizens. Speeches were made by both Jimeno and Micheltorena; salutes were fired; and the city was illuminated for three evenings, or at least such was the order issued by the municipal authorities, in order that the people might "give expression to the joy that should be felt by all patriots in acknowledging so worthy a ruler."[38] On the first day of the new year the change was officially announced by Jimeno and Prefect Argüello, and on January 6th Governor Micheltorena published the announcement *de estilo* of his accession, with the usual promises of using his authority with zeal for the common welfare.[39]

Though some members of the junta departamental were present to assist at the inauguration of the governor in December, the only session of that body in 1842 had been that of May 31st, when four vocales or suplentes met at Monterey to transact some business connected with the organization of the tribunal de justicia.[40] Meanwhile Alvarado, in an economical mood, had decreed a suspension of the members' pay,

[37] Gonzalez's diary, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 112; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 126; *Valle, Lo Pasado*, MS., 30–1; *Botello, Anales*, MS., 101–2; *Coronel, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 42; *Pinto, Apunt.*, MS., 89; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 70.

[38] Dec. 30th, ayunt. convened. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xiii. 66, 70. Dec. 31st, prefect's orders for ceremonies at 4 P. M. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 308–9. At about midnight Jimeno wrote to Alvarado, 'Se ha concluido el dia, el mes, el año, y el gobierno de Vd; pues acabo de hacer entrega del mando.' *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 17. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 311–13, thinks A. should have insisted on M. coming to the capital.

[39] Jan. 1st, Jimeno to prefect, and the latter to the people. Jan. 6th, Micheltorena to various subordinate officials, chiefly justices of the peace. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 292; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., vi. 48; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 89-90; *Micheltorena's Admin.*, 8–10.

[40] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 2–3. The members in attendance were Jimeno, Gonzalez, José Castro, and Ramon Estrada.

a measure which it is much to be feared did not increase the public funds, as it does not clearly appear that the salaries had ever been paid at all.[41]

The tribunal, or superior court, the *ministros* or judges of which had been appointed in 1840, seems to have been in session at Monterey from May, after much trouble in securing the attendance of the southern judges, Carrillo and Estudillo. These gentlemen, besides other excuses of illness and miscellaneous obstacles, declared that Los Angeles was in reality the capital, and as such the place where the court should meet.[42] Juan Malarin presided; but Juan Bandini resigned his position as fiscal, or attorney; and the junta chose Manuel Castañares to fill his place, at the same time electing five substitute judges, in order to secure a quorum at subsequent sessions.[43] Nothing important came before the court in 1842–3, though it sent some instructions to subordinate judges on methods of procedure; investigated the condition of prisons at the capital; and decided on appeal several minor criminal cases, sentencing one man to be shot for murder.

Among the local items of 1842 one that merits brief mention here is the discovery of gold in the Los Angeles region, the first authenticated finding of that

[41] Nov. 25th, A. to sub-comisario. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 27–8. Nothing was to be paid to any civil employé except on the governor's direct orders.

[42] March 12, 1841, Alvarado, in approving the death-sentence of three murderers at Los Angeles, complains that the tribunal was not in session because two members had refused to obey the summons. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 280. April–May 1842 (or perhaps 1843; but it makes no difference, as there is nothing to be said of the court in 1843), corresp. between the gov., Malarin, Carrillo, and Estudillo. Carrillo suggests that 'Malarin would not be so eager to perform his duties were the tribunal at Angeles, where it should be.' *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iv. 37–41. Opening of the tribunal in May—it is not quite clear whether on May 1st, 19th, or 20th. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 33; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 18; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 235–6, 269; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 64; *Id., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 71. June 5th, A. refers to the tribunal the murder cases of Taggot and Richards (the former of whom was sentenced to death). *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 22–3. Salaries: judges, $4,000; fiscal, $400 per mo.; secretary, $700 per year; clerk, $40 per mo. *Id.*, xiii. 3–4.

[43] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 2–3; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 54. The *ministros suplentes* chosen were Eugenio Montenegro, Joaquin Gomez, Tiburcio Tapia, Juan Anzar, and José María Castañares.

precious metal in California. The gold was found in *placeres* on the San Francisco rancho, formerly belonging to San Fernando mission, but at the time the property of the Valle family. The discovery was made accidentally in March 1842. By May the gold region had been found to extend over two leagues, and the dirt, with a scanty supply of water, was paying two dollars per day to each man engaged in mining.[44] This new industry came to the knowledge of the authorities, and in May Ignacio del Valle was appointed encargado de justicia to preserve order in the mining district.[45] Mofras in his book reported that his countryman, Baric, was obtaining from this placer about an ounce of pure gold per day; and it was worked more or less continuously, chiefly by Sonorans, down to 1846.[46] It may be noted also that Juan Bandini 'denounced' a *veta mineral* of some kind near the Yucaipa rancho in 1841–2.[47]

[44] May 6, 1842, Manuel Requena to Barron. *Requena, Doc.*, MS., 45. The date is often given in later newspaper accounts as 1838 or 1841, but also correctly in some. Abel Stearns sent some of the gold to Philadelphia by Alfred Robinson before the end of 1842; and the correspondence on that subject has been often published. See *Los Angeles Hist.*, 20–1; *S. F. Bulletin*, May 20, 1868, etc. The original letters are in archives of the Cal. Pioneer Society.

[45] *Valle, Doc.*, MS., 57; containing the original appointment by the prefect of Los Angeles. Further corresp. on the subject between gov. and prefect in May–July 1842. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 211, 256–8; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 32, 35; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 63–5. The placer seems to have been called San Feliciano in 1846. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., v. 331.

[46] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 489; Larkin to *N. Y. Sun*, June 30, 1846. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iv. 183. I omit many references.

[47] *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., v. 117–19, 478.

CHAPTER XII.

COMMODORE JONES AT MONTEREY.

1842.

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND AMERICAN SCHEMES—JONES' INSTRUCTIONS—THE FRENCH FLEET—ENGLISH FLEET—RUMORS OF WAR—CESSION OF CALIFORNIAS—MONROE DOCTRINE—THE 'UNITED STATES' AND 'CYANE' AT MONTEREY—CAPTURE OF THE 'GUIPUZCOANA'—JONES' POSITION AND MOTIVES—OCCUPATION AND RESTORATION OF THE CAPITAL—AUTHORITIES IN MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT—JONES AT SAN FRANCISCO AND SONOMA—REPORTS—ARRIVAL OF THE 'DALE' AND 'YORKTOWN'—IN THE SOUTH—MICHELTORENA'S VALOR—MEXICAN BOMBAST—REPORTS TO MEXICO—CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES—THE 'TASSO' AND 'ALERT'—JONES AT LOS ANGELES—BOCANEGRA AND THOMPSON IN MEXICO—WEBSTER AND ALMONTE IN WASHINGTON—IN CONGRESS—THE PRESS—JONES RECALLED.

I HAVE represented the three great powers of the world as entertaining hopes of acquiring California when it should be released from Mexican dominion, as all admitted it must be eventually.[1] Subjects of France based their hopes on nothing more tangible than the idea that by affinities of religion, manners, and friendship, promoted by inherent dislike to Anglo-Saxon ways, the Californians in their hour of trouble might seek a protectorate in a monarchy that was Latin and catholic. Englishmen had a large claim against Mexico for loans of money in past years: and negotiations had been long in progress for a cession of territory in California and elsewhere in payment of the debt, or as security for such payment. There is no evidence that the British government took any part in these negotiations, but rumors to that effect were current

[1] See chap. x. of this vol.

in the United States and France, and it was known that a strong influence was being brought to bear on that government.

Americans talked also of purchase, and their government had openly made propositions to Mexico; but their chief reliance was in the 'manifest destiny' of their nation to absorb all territory westward to the Pacific. There was a wide-spread popular feeling that California belonged by some sort of natural right to the republic. Men were not wanting to advocate its acquisition, right or wrong, by conquest if necessary; and even those Americans who combated such a policy had little doubt respecting the ultimate result. At home and abroad it was admitted that time was a powerful ally of the United States; that California would surely be her prize unless one of her rivals by prompt action or lucky accident should secure it. The national policy was therefore to wait, but at the same time to watch. War in support of the Monroe doctrine was to be thought of, if at all, only as a last resort, the necessity for which must be avoided by every precaution to prevent England or France from gaining a foothold in the country. Such was the situation in 1840–1; and it was in no material respect modified in 1842.[2]

[2] Some current items on this general topic are as follows: A resolution introduced in the Texan congress to extend the limits of that country so as to include Cal. Not acted on, though reports of its adoption had created some excitement. *Washington National Intelligencer*, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxii. 83. Rumor generally credited in Vera Cruz of a British loan of $7,000,000 on Cal. It is to be hoped it is not true, as it would threaten peace. *N. Orleans Bee*, in *Id.*, lxii. 144. This same rumor published in a Mexican paper will be noticed again. General account of the negotiations for the cession of Cal. in payment of English claims, with an article from the *N. York Courier*, ridiculing the reports on the subject, and declaring that there was not a particle of evidence that England had any desire to get Cal. *Id.*, lxiii. 243, 337. In 1846, in commenting on an article in the *North American* which denied that the British capitalists had acquired any lien or mortgage on the country, and maintained that Webster's proposition for purchase had been favorably entertained by the Mexican minister and even approved by Lord Ashburton and the Earl of Aberdeen, the *National Intelligencer* says: 'How far the particulars of the statement may be accurate we cannot say; but that it was Mr Webster's purpose in 1842, under the sanction of the then president, to obtain by peaceable cession from Mexico the port of S. F., and that this purpose was made known to lords Ashburton and Aberdeen, and met no opposition in those quarters, we believe to be entirely true. We doubt, however,

It should be borne in mind, however, that at this time diplomatic relations between Mexico and the United States, growing out of Texan complications which it seems unnecessary to describe here,[3] had reached a critical point, and war was regarded as imminent. The respective merits of the two republics that were parties to the quarrel have no special bearing on my present subject; but of course if Mexico was ever to consent to a cession, or the Californians were to decide in favor of independence and a protectorate, the declaration of war would furnish a favorable opportunity for the *coups* by which England or France must if at all gain their points; and at such a time it behooved the government at Washington to be especially vigilant.

Under these circumstances Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones was sent out to take command of the Pacific squadron of five vessels mounting 116 guns. The English fleet in the Pacific consisted of four vessels, in every way superior, however, to the American craft, with 104 guns; and France had in the same waters eight vessels and 242 guns.[4] From his general instructions, dated December 10, 1841, I cite in a note certain portions, the only ones which can be made to

whether any formal proposition was laid before the committees of the two houses. The state of things in 1842 was not favorable to a united action of the different branches of the government on such a subject.' *Id.*, lxx. 257. Marsh, *Letter to Jones*, MS., 14–15, besides mentioning the H. B. Co.'s establishment and quoting from Forbes, says: 'While the Americans in Cal. are looking forward with earnest expectation to the increase of our countrymen in this land, the English here are equally confident that the whole country will soon become an appendage of the British empire.' Mofras' remarks, applying as well to 1842 as to 1841, have already been given; and likewise those of Sir Geo. Simpson. Henry A. Peirce, in his *Letter to Cummins* of February, predicts that Cal. will be a second Texas, but he greatly exaggerates the immigration of the preceding year. The same gentleman visiting Washington was questioned by Webster about Cal., and told him, 'In the fitness of things the U. S. must have that country.' 'Well, sir,' was the reply, 'if we must, we probably will!' *Id.*, *Rough Sketch*, MS., 101–2.

[3] See *Hist. Mex.*, vol. v., this series.

[4] On the names of the vessels with their qualities and condition, see Jones' reports of different dates in *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 27th cong. 3d sess., H. Ex. Doc., 166, p. 105–12. The American fleet consisted of the frigate *United States*, sloops *Cyane*, *Dale*, and *Yorktown*, and schooner *Shark*, besides the *Relief* store-ship.

bear even remotely on my present subject.[5] Naturally there was no allusion in writing to the policy of the government respecting California; but it cannot plausibly be doubted that Jones started for the Pacific with a definite understanding of that policy, and with orders more or less explicit as to what he was to do in case of a war with Mexico or suspicious acts on the part of the English fleet.[6]

In May, Jones from Callao reported that in March, before his arrival, a French fleet with a large force had sailed from Valparaiso for a "destination altogether conjectural," which he feared might be the Californias. "Had I been on the station," he writes, "I might have considered it my duty to follow this expedition and to propound certain interrogatories to the French commander touching the object of so formidable an expedition fitted out with so much secrecy as to have eluded the observation even of Great Britain, her ever-watchful rival." He calls for instructions, and

[5] 'The primary objects in maintaining a naval force in the Pacific have always been and still are the protection of commerce and the improvement of discipline. In the event, however, of any outrage on our flag, or interruption of our commerce, or oppression of our citizens on shore, or detention of any of our seamen in the public vessels of any of the states bordering on your command, you will afford them every aid, protection, and security consistent with the law of nations,' etc. 'The unsettled state of the nations bordering on the coast included within your command renders it, in the first instance, necessary to protect the interests of the U. S. in that quarter'—therefore be vigilant and keep moving. 'Nothing but the necessity of prompt and effectual protection to the honor and interests of the U. S. will justify you in either provoking hostility or committing any act of hostility, and more especially in a state with which our country is at peace...The increasing commerce of the U. S. within the gulf and along the coast of Cal., as far as the bay of St Francisco, together with the weakness of the local authorities, and their irresponsibility to the distant govt of Mexico, renders it proper that occasional countenance and protection should be afforded to American enterprise in that quarter. You are therefore directed to employ either a sloop of war or a smaller vessel, as may be most convenient, or both if necessary, in visiting occasionally or cruising constantly upon that line of coast.' A. P. Upshur, sec. of the navy, to Com. Jones, Dec. 11, 1841, in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 46–50. Such is the title by which I shall refer to the *Message from the President of the U. S., in reply to the resolution of the H. Rep. of Feb. 2d, calling for information in relation to the taking possession of Monterey by Com. Thomas Ap C. Jones, Feb. 22, 1843*, 27th cong. 3d sess., H. Ex. Doc., 166.

[6] Tuthill, *Hist. Cal.*, 148–9, thus expresses it: 'Jones knew the programme of the politicians, that Texas was to be annexed, that Mexico was to go "on the rampage," that the Americans were to discover unparalleled outrages on the part of Mexico, that finally war was to be proclaimed, and then California would be fair game for the American squadron on the Pacific.'

announces that "it is not impossible but that, as one step follows another, it may be necessary for me to interpose by the assertion of our national commercial rights in case they are infringed by any power within the limits of my command."[7]

At the beginning of September, when Jones had returned to Callao from a cruise, and before he had received any communications from Washington, other suspicious occurrences seemed to him to require prompt action. On September 3d, Rear-admiral Thomas sailed suddenly with three English men-of-war, under sealed orders just received from England. At the same time a letter was received from John Parrott, U. S. consul at Mazatlan, dated June 22d, in which he announced the imminence of war with Mexico, and with which he sent a copy of *El Cosmopolita* of June 4th, containing late correspondence between representatives of the two governments on the Texan question. This correspondence included several very violent and belligerent declarations of Bocanegra, Mexican minister of relations, addressed to Webster and to members of the diplomatic corps.[8] Also at the same time, and perhaps from the same source, there came a Boston paper containing an item from the *N. O. Advertiser* of April 19th, asserting that Mexico had ceded the Californias to England for $7,000,000. After a consultation with the U. S. chargé d'affaires at Lima, Jones put to sea on September 7th with the *United States*, *Cyane*, and *Dale*. Next day he submitted the situation to his three commanders, and asked their advice, expressing his opinion that Mexico

[7] May 21, 1842, Jones to sec. navy, in *Jones at Monterey*, p. 66-7. The French fleet was really bound to the Marquesas to take possession.

[8] May 12, 1842, Bocanegra to Webster; May 31st, Id. to Id.; May 31st, Id. to dipl. corps. These doc. with other corresp. of the period may be found in *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 27th cong. 2d sess., H. Doc., no. 166, 42 p.; *President's Message on Relations with Mexico*. Webster says of Bocanegra's letter: 'The letter itself is highly exceptionable and offensive...The president considers the language and tone of the latter derogatory to the character of the U. S., and highly offensive, as it imputes to their govt a direct breach of faith,' and goes on to say that the U. S. will not modify its conduct, and if Mexico wants war, let her take the responsibility.

and the United States were probably at war, and that Admiral Thomas had left Callao for the purpose of occupying California. Captains Armstrong, Stribling, and Dornin approved the commodore's opinion, which had also been that of Parrott at Mazatlan and Pickett at Lima; and they advised that while the *Dale* should be sent to Panamá with despatches and to get the latest news, the other two ships should proceed with all haste to the coast of California. They went further, and decided that in case the two countries were really at war it was their 'bounden duty' to seize and hold every point and port; while in any case, in accordance with the Monroe doctrine, the military occupation of California by any European power, "but more particularly by our great commercial rival England," would be an act so decidedly hostile "as not only to warrant but to make it our duty to forestall the design of Admiral Thomas if possible by supplanting the Mexican flag with that of the United States at Monterey, San Francisco, and any other tenable points within the territory said to have been recently ceded by secret treaty to Great Britain"! Accordingly, the vessels parted company on the 13th, the *United States* and *Cyane* making all sail for California, while the *Dale* went to Panamá with a report for Washington, and with orders to come to Monterey later.[9]

[9] The following are the documents from which this narrative has been made. June 22, 1842, Parrott to Jones, with news from Mazatlan. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 86–7. Sept. 8th, J. to his com., submitting the facts and asking advice. Also decision of the com. *Id.*, 84–6. Sept. 8th, J. to com. Dornin of the *Dale*. Orders to sail to Panamá and to land there Lieut Wm Green with despatches for Webster from the chargé at Lima, etc. On approaching Panamá he was to take every precaution against capture if war had been declared with Mexico or England, and he was especially charged to get information about the whereabouts and intentions of Thomas. *Id.*, 73–4. Sept. 10th, letter from some one on the *U. S.*, published in the *Washington Nat. Intelligencer*, and purport given in *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 337. Sept. 13th, J. to sec. navy, giving a concise statement of the situation. He concludes: 'The Creole affair, the question of the right of search, the mission of Lord Ashburton, the sailing of a strong squadron from France under sealed orders, ... new difficulties between the U. S. and Mexico, the well-founded rumor of a cession of the Californias, and lastly the secret movements of the English naval force in this quarter, ... have all occurred since the date of your last orders. Con-

The action of Jones was thus far amply justified by the existing critical circumstances. There was no clutching at straws of weak pretence for a movement against California; he had sufficient reasons for his fears that the interests of his country were endangered; and he might justly have been blamed had his action been less prompt. In expressing approval, however, of Jones' policy and acts, it is by no means necessary to approve or even discuss the position taken by the council of officers in defence of the Monroe doctrine, and the right to forestall the English by seizing California, even if there was no war with Mexico. For what had been done other motives were more than sufficient; in what followed, as we shall see, this motive had but little influence. In case of war, and pending a final settlement, there can be no question that the American commodore had a perfect right to forestall the English admiral in seizing and holding any Mexican territory.

On the 18th of October the two men-of-war were close to the coast of California, without having touched at any port since leaving Callao, or seen any sail since crossing the equator. An order was issued to the men, forbidding under severe penalties all plunder, insult, or excesses on shore in the stirring scenes that might soon be expected. "During the battle and

sequently I am without instructions, or the slightest intimation of your views and wishes upon what I consider a vital question to the U. S.—the occupation of Cal. by Great Britain under a secret treaty with Mexico. In this dilemma, all that I can promise is a faithful and zealous application of my best abilities to promote and sustain the honor and welfare of my country.' Sept. 23d, letter from some one on the *Dale* at Panamá to the *N. Y. Evening Post*, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 243, and *Lancey's Cruise of the Dale*, 31, giving a résumé of movements and supposed plans. There are some later reports of Jones to be noticed in their place, which go briefly over the same ground, but add nothing to what has been given. Dr R. T. Maxwell, *Monterey in 1842*, MS., 5–6, who was assistant surgeon on the *U. S.*, and S. S. Culverwell, in *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 93–4, who was powder-boy on the same vessel, both now residing in S. Francisco, give some details and rumors connected with the setting-out from Callao, as well as a narrative of latter occurrences. Jay, *Mexican War*, 83–5, is disposed to ridicule and condemn Jones' action, and gives the matter a political aspect, by noting that Jones, the three officers of the council, and the secretary of the navy, were all from the slave states.

strife every man must do his utmost to take and destroy; but when the flag is struck, all hostility must cease, and you must even become the protectors of all, and not the oppressors of any."[10] Rounding Point Pinos at dawn next morning, Jones soon saw that at least Thomas had not reached Monterey before him. He raised English colors, and at noon boarded a Mexican vessel coming out of the harbor, the master of which professed not to have heard of any hostilities between Mexico and the United States.[11] Approaching the town with the captured vessel, the two men-of-war under the stars and stripes anchored at 2:45 P. M. as close to the castillo as the depth of the water would permit. After what seemed a long delay, two Californian officers approached in a boat, but seemed so nervous and reserved as to excite suspicion, though they declared that no news had been received of war. An officer of the American ship *Fama*, lying at anchor in the harbor, being summoned, stated that reports of war were current at Honolulu, and that here he had heard the report that England was to take possession of the country. Moreover, a general stir was noticeable on shore, with signs of preparation for defence; and it was deemed a suspicious circumstance that no Americans came on board from the town.

"The time for action had now arrived," says the commodore, and I cannot do better that to use his own words; "whilst nothing had occurred to shake my belief in the certainty of hostilities with Mexico, the reiterated rumored cession of California to England

[10] Oct. 18th, Jones to his men. General order, in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 41–2, 78–9.

[11] Capt. Snook was the master, and the vessel was the *Jóven Guipuzcoana*. I have original statements from three persons who were on the *Guipuzcoana* at the time. José Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 52–5, was supercargo. José María Estudillo, *Datos*, MS., 42–5, a boy at the time, was a passenger with his cousin, Doña María de Jesus Estudillo, whose story is told in *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 98, etc., the young lady having married Davis later. Mrs Snook was also on board. The narratives mentioned, especially that of Miss Estudillo, contain many interesting details of their brief captivity, which, however, have no special historical importance. The ladies were set ashore next morning. Davis says that Snook succeeded during the night in secretly landing the most valuable part of his cargo before an inventory was taken.

was strengthened by what I have already related. Hence no time was to be lost, as another day might bring Admiral Thomas with a superior force to take possession in the name of his sovereign; General Micheltorena, or the new governor-general of California, might appear to defend his capital, within less than three days' march of which he was then said to be. If I took possession of the country and held it by right of conquest in war, and there was war with Mexico, all would be right; then if the English should come and claim under a treaty of cession, as such treaties do not give title till possession is had, I should have established a legal claim for my country to the conquered territory, and at least have placed her on strong grounds for forcible *retention* or amicable negotiations, as after circumstances might dictate. If Admiral Thomas should afterwards arrive and attempt to supplant our flag on shore, the marines of the squadron to man the guns of the fort without weakening our ships would insure us the victory, and the responsibility would rest on the English commander. On the other hand, if it should turn out that amicable relations had been restored between the United States and Mexico, that Mexico had not parted with the Californias, and that at the time I demanded and took possession of Monterey there was no war, the responsibility of the act at first might seem to rest on me, certainly not on our government, who gave no orders upon the subject. But if I am right (of which there can be little doubt) in assigning to Mexico the attitude of a nation having declared conditional war, then, under all the circumstances of the case, Mexico is the aggressor, and as such is responsible for all evils and consequences resulting from the hostile and menacing position in which she placed herself on the fourth of June last. But I may be wrong, *toto cœlo*, in all my deductions and conclusions. If so, I may forfeit my commission and all that I have acquired in seven and thirty years' devotion to my country's service. Terrible as such a

consequence would be to me and my family, it was not sufficient to deter me from doing what I believed to be my duty, when a concatenation of unforeseen and unforeseeable events required prompt and energetic action for the honor and interests of my country."[12]

At 4 P. M. on the 19th of October, Captain James Armstrong was sent ashore under a flag of truce to demand a surrender of the post to the United States, "to avoid the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war" that would be the immediate result of non-compliance. The demand, addressed to the governor and military and civil commandant of Monterey, was presented to Alvarado, who was given until 9 o'clock the next day to consider the proposition, though he said that he did not hold the positions named in the address.[13] At 6 P. M. Alvarado went through the formality of demanding from the comandante, Captain Mariano Silva, what were the existing means of defence; and was informed an hour later that the fortifications "were of no consequence, as everybody knows."[14] Then a consultation of officials and leading citizens was held at the governor's house, where it was of course decided that resistance was impossible; and just before midnight a commission, consisting of Captain Pedro Narvaez representing the military authority, and José Abrego the civil, was sent on board to arrange the terms of surrender.[15] Thomas O. Larkin served as interpreter. After two hours of discussion,

[12] Jones to sec. navy, Oct. 24th, in *Jones at Monterey*, 69–73, containing a full narrative of events from Sept. 13th to date.

[13] Oct. 19th, Jones to Alvarado, demanding surrender, and enclosing articles of capitulation. In *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 22–3, 74–5; *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 337. Jones signs himself 'Commander-in-chief of the U. S. naval forces on the Pacific station, and of the naval and military expedition for the occupation of Old and New California,' etc. Jones states (see note 12) that Alvarado 'unhesitatingly consented to surrender...without asking a single question, or even inquiring why we appeared in hostile array,' etc.; but this seems to me unlikely.

[14] Oct. 19th, A. to S., and reply. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 21. The force reported was 29 soldiers, 25 militia, with 11 cannon nearly all useless and lacking ammunition, and 150 muskets.

[15] Oct. 19th, Alvarado to Jones, announcing that, as he has before stated, he had no military authority, hence the commission. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 23, 76.

the terms were settled, to be signed at 9 A. M.; and before the commissioners returned, Alvarado despatched a letter to Micheltorena, stating the situation, enclosing past correspondence, and declaring that "without doubt Monterey will be to-morrow occupied by the enemy."[16] At or before the hour appointed, the articles of capitulation were signed by Armstrong, Abrego, and Narvaez, subsequently receiving the approval of Jones, Alvarado, and Silva. The territory surrendered was the district of Monterey extending from San Luis Obispo to San Juan Bautista; and it was specified that Alvarado signed the articles "from motives of humanity; the small force at his disposal affording no hope of successful resistance against the powerful force brought against him."[17]

At 11 A. M. on the 20th, Jones sent ashore 150 men, marines and sailors, under Commander Stribling.[18] The garrison marched out of the fort "with music, and colors flying," and gave up their arms at the government house. The American force took possession of the abandoned castillo, over which the stars and stripes were raised in place of the Mexican flag that had just been lowered, and a few minutes after noon a salute was fired on the frigate and sloop,

[16] Oct. 19th (20th), 2 A. M., A. to M. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 20–1. He notes the capture of the *Guipuzcoana*, and says that probably the *Clarita*, *Trinidad*, and *California* will share her fate. Francisco Soto was the messenger sent south by Alvarado, and in 1844 had not yet received the $60 due him for the service. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont. Cust.-H.*, MS., v. (482). Capt. Mejía of the batallon is also said by many to have arrived just at this time, and to have turned back at once with the news.

[17] Articles of capitulation, etc., in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 30–1, 77–8. Substantially the same as those first proposed by Jones. *Id.*, 22–3. They bear the date of Oct. 19th, though it should be Oct. 20th. The garrison and all regular Mexican troops were to become prisoners of war, and with all civil officers were to be sent to a Mexican port, at the expense of the U. S., under parole not to take up arms until exchanged; but militia were simply to give up their arms and were to forfeit no personal privilege or right of property so long as they should take no part against the U. S. All public property was to be given up under inventory. Security of persons, of private property on shore, and religious rights was guaranteed to the Californians; and debts of the govt of Mexico to the inhabitants were assumed by the U. S., provided no hostilities were committed, etc.

[18] Captain Armstrong; lieutenants Robbins, Lardner, Dulany, Avery, and Shattuck; Prof. Lockwood acting as adjutant; Purser Gibson and Dr Maxwell were also of the party. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 72.

the guns of the fort replying. Alvarado had retired to his rancho of Alisal, and was not present at the lowering of his country's flag. No one was even temporarily deprived of his liberty, and a proclamation was issued in Spanish and English with a view to teach the people how great a blessing had been vouchsafed to them in the change of flag.[19]

[19] 'Although I come in arms as the representative of a powerful nation, upon whom the central government of Mexico has waged war, I come not to spread desolation among California's peaceful inhabitants. It is against the armed enemies of my country, banded and arrayed under the flag of Mexico, that war and its dread consequences will be enforced. Inhabitants of California! You have only to remain at your homes in pursuit of peaceful vocations to insure security of life, person, and property from the consequences of an unjust war, into which Mexico has plunged you. Those stars and stripes, infallible emblems of civil liberty, etc., now float triumphantly before you, and henceforth and forever will give protection and security to you, to your children, and to unborn countless thousands. All the rights and privileges which you now enjoy, together with the privilege of choosing your own magistrates and other officers for the administration of justice among yourselves, will be secured to all who remain peaceably at their homes and offer no resistance to the forces of the U. S. Such of the inhabitants of Cal., whether natives or foreigners, as may not be disposed to accept the high privilege of citizenship, and to live peaceably under the free govt of the U. S., will be allowed time to dispose of their property and to remove out of the country, without any other restriction, while they remain in it, than the observance of strict neutrality—total abstinence from taking part directly or indirectly in the war against the U. S.... All provisions and supplies... will be paid for at fair rates. No private property will be taken for public use without just compensation.' *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 79–81, 31–2. This doc. also is dated Oct. 19th instead of 20th. Jay, *Mexican War*, 84–6, says the proclamation was in print, and must have been printed in Washington or Callao; but I think he is in error. I do not find it at all in the archives.

I have several narratives from memory of the taking of Monterey; but it must be confessed they add nothing to the information contained in the original correspondence, while nearly all contain noticeable errors. Maxwell, *Monterey in 1842*, MS., 7–11, asserts that the surrender was deemed a ruse, that 500 men landed, that the storming party marched up a ravine to the fort, where they found 9 guns commanding the ravine, concealed by green boughs, loaded and primed, with the matches burning within a few inches of the powder! Davis, *Glimpses of the Past*, MS., 97–106, 231, gives an interesting narrative, but says that Alvarado left Monterey on the approach of the vessels without waiting for the summons to surrender. Culverwell, in *Id.*, 93–6, also says Alvarado was out of town; and he represents the men on board the vessels as having felt considerable fear of the guns on shore. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 126–30, says that Alvarado was at first disposed not to surrender, but to make a show of resistance and then run away; but was not permitted by his friends to do as he wished. She says Jones' secretary came to her house to demand the key of the custom-house, Pablo de la Guerra, who had had it, having gone to Sta Bárbara. She told him she had not the key, and he threatened to break in the door. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 210–11, says that Alvarado observed at the time that he preferred to surrender to the Americans rather than submit to Micheltorena; and this idea has been often repeated. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 297–311, quotes a letter from Spence, in which he says the U. S. flag was raised on a temporary staff erected by the

At 7 P. M. David Spence wrote Vallejo: "All is tranquil; and the town is almost deserted, for many of the officials have fled to the country." Quiet reigned over the captured capital through the night, and next day the 'war with the United States' came to an end. Larkin, on his visit to the fleet, had, as interpreter, expressed some doubts about the reported hostilities, as they were not mentioned in late news from Mexico; but he was unable to procure for Jones any late papers or despatches, which circumstance had served to increase the latter's suspicions. Landing in person in the morning of October 21st to inspect the fortifications, the commodore was again told that the news from Mexico was late and pacific. Secretary Reintrie and Chaplain Bartow, being sent to search for details, found in the comisario's office Mexican papers of August 4th, and private commercial letters from Mazatlan of still later date. The information thus obtained not only clearly indicated that relations between the two nations were still friendly down to August, but also that the rumor of cession to England was unfounded. The Mexican papers, in contradicting the rumor, even cited the Monroe doctrine as one of the obstacles in the way of such a cession, even if it had been desirable, which was denied. "This change in the aspect of international affairs," writes Jones, "called for prompt action on my part. The motives and only justifiable grounds for demanding a surrender of the territory were thus suddenly removed, or at least rendered so doubtful as to make it my duty to restore things as I had found them, with

sailors. And Gonzalez, in a memorandum in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 112, says the Mexican flag-staff was cut down. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 18, gives no details. See also *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 422–6; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 70–4; *Estudillo, Datos*, MS., 41–4; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 103–5; *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 70–2; *Pinto, Apunt.*, MS., 87–9; *Ezquer, Memoria*, MS., 16; *Vallejo (J. J.), Remin.*, MS., 157–8; *Galindo, Apuntes*, MS., 46; *Robinson's Statement*, MS., 16. Printed accounts besides those already mentioned, *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 311–14; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 148–9; *Mayer's Mexico as It Was*, 359–65; *Greenhow's Hist. Oregon*, 367–8; *Cronise's Nat. Wealth Cal.*, 51; *Capron's Conquest of Cal.*, 38; *American Quarterly Register*, ii. 156; *Frignet, La Californie*, 62–3; *Robinson's Cal. Gold Region*, 72.

the least possible delay." After a short conference with Armstrong and Stribling, he sent a communication to Alvarado and Silva, proposing to restore all to the exact condition of the 19th, which was done with all due ceremony late in the afternoon, the American garrison retiring to their vessels, which immediately fired a salute in honor of the Mexican flag. Official visits of courtesy were exchanged; relations altogether friendly were established; and Micheltorena was duly notified of all that had occurred,[20] the *Cyane* being sent down to Santa Bárbara with the despatch, and Micheltorena being assured that the commodore would await his arrival at Monterey.[21]

Jones remained in the north until the end of the year, deeming it prudent to await positive information from his government respecting Mexican relations. During this time his relations with the authorities were altogether friendly, though he found it necessary to issue a warning that Mexico would be held responsible for any acts of hostility to foreigners, since it was feared that the news of the retrocession of the capital might not be so promptly circulated as had been that of the capture.[22] On the 22d Jones made a report to Waddy Thompson, U. S. minister in Mexico, in which he wrote: "It is a source of great satisfaction, that, notwithstanding what has happened, no angry words or unkind expressions have been used by

[20] Jones to sec. navy. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 71–3. Oct. 20th, Spence to Vallejo. *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 297. Oct. 21st, Jones to Alvarado and Silva. *Jones at Monterey*, 33, 81. Jones to Micheltorena. *Id.*, 33–4, 40. Silva to M. *Id.*, 32–3. Alvarado to M. *Id.*, 32. 'My heart bounds with joy in my bosom,' writes Alvarado; 'the joy of the people is complete.' Oct. 21st, 22d, Silva to Vallejo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 280, 281; Prado Mesa to V. *Id.*, xi. 277–8. Oct. 23d, Alvarado to V. *Id.*, xi. 282–3. Oct. 23d, Richardson to V. with account of the whole affair as learned by Howard of the *California* from Pico and Pinto at Sta Clara. *Id.*, xi. 284. The story was that war had been declared at Washington on June 5th.

[21] According to a letter from Jas P. Arthur to Capt. Richardson, *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 295, the sloop was expected to bring the general north.

[22] Oct. 25th, Jones to Alvarado. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 43, 83. Oct. 29th, A.'s reply from Alisal. No hostilities intended or to be permitted. *Id.*, 44, 84. Oct. 24th, J. to A., on his orders of Oct. 18th to preserve order and prevent outrage. Oct. 25th, Estrada to J., assuring him that the gov. had not placed any reliance on the rumors of danger. *Id.*, 41–4, 81–4.

either party; and that, although we had 150 seamen and marines on shore 30 hours, not one private house was entered, or the slightest disrespect shown to any individual; nor was any species of property, public or private, spoiled, if I except the powder burnt in the salutes, which I have returned twofold." On the 24th a report was made to the secretary of the navy, which I have had occasion to cite before.[23] Meanwhile the captured vessels, the *Guipuzcoana, Clarita, Trinidad,* and *California,* had been released; and the stars and stripes raised by enthusiastic Americans at Santa Cruz replaced by the Mexican flag.[24] The master of a vessel lying at San Francisco afterward convinced himself that the interests of his owners had in some way been injured by the occurrence in Monterey;[25] there was a little correspondence of a mildly warlike tone among Californians, with preparations for defence sufficing at least to create a claim against the treasury;[26] and I even find the blotter of a proclamation, probably not circulated, in which Colonel Vallejo alludes to Jones' act as a "violation of the rights of hospitality, the law of nations, and the trust with which he had been received by the authorities at Monterey," and calls upon the people to reject such allurements as were held out in the 'scandalous proclamation' of the 19th, and to take up arms for their country.[27]

[23] Oct. 24th, Jones to sec. navy, in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 69–73. Oct. 22d, J. to Thompson. *Id.*, 87–90; *Jones, Agresion en Californias*, 91–2.

[24] *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS., 35. Weeks, *Remin.*, MS., 114, mentions the fact that Belden himself climbed the flag-staff, and otherwise took a prominent part in the change.

[25] *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 388–90. The vessel was the *Primavera*, and the damage resulted from detention for 6 days, desertion of sailors, etc. There is no record that any satisfaction was ever received.

[26] Oct. 30th, Alvarado to Vallejo. Jones tries to give satisfaction, but his conduct can but inspire distrust. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 286. Nov. 15th, Silva to V. Is ready at the slightest alarm to call the people together and defend the country. *Id.*, xi. 306. Dec. 2d, Micheltorena to V. Jones' attitude not being very clear, he is to watch closely and be ready to defend the northern frontier. *Id.*, xi. 311. Orders of March 1843 for the payment of a small bill, $202, for supplies furnished by Castañares to '100 men who took up arms during the days of the American invasion.' *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 2; *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, v. 10–11; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 49.

[27] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiv. 35. The blotter bears no date, but was written in October.

Yet the serenity of the north was not seriously disturbed by the American invasion; and the commodore's personal and social relations with the inhabitants of the invaded country were of a most friendly nature.[28]

On October 26th, the *Yorktown*, Nicholas commander, arrived at San Francisco from Callao,[29] and proceeding to Monterey, was despatched on or about November 21st to Mazatlan and San Blas, to cruise later in the gulf. She carried Lieutenant H. T. Hartstene as a bearer of despatches to Washington. At the same time the *United States*, under Armstrong, was sent to the Sandwich Islands for supplies,[30] the broad pennant being transferred to the *Cyane*. On November 1st the commodore had, in a letter to Micheltorena, accepted that officer's proposition to hold a personal conference in the south, and had expressed his intention of coming down the coast about the middle of November;[31] but he was detained much longer, both by the non-arrival of other vessels belonging to his fleet, and by his investigations and efforts to obtain some legal authentication in the case of the Americans who claimed damages for exile in 1840. He was not brilliantly successful in this undertaking, as the reader is already aware,[32] and doubtless soon convinced himself that the claims had but slight foundation in justice. December 11th he sailed on

[28] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 341-2, says that Castro disliked Jones, and was the only one who sought to undermine his popularity. His hostility grew out of Jones' investigation of the Graham affair. Several Californians say that a grand ball was given to Jones after the restoration of Monterey; but Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 329, tells us that the ball was given to Armstrong after Jones' departure.

[29] Oct. 26th, Richardson, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 292.

[30] Nov. 16th, 21st, Jones to sec. navy, on his plans. Dec. 7th, Parrott to Id., announcing arrival of the *Yorktown* at Mazatlan Dec. 6th. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 90-3. Maxwell, *Monterey in 1842*, MS., 10-11, says the vessels sailed on Nov. 22d. Hartstene crossed Mexico, and arrived Jan. 13th at N. Orleans on the *Wm Bryan*. *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 337.

[31] Nov. 1, 1842, J. to M., in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 37-9. He writes in a conciliatory tone, defending his past action; and he offers to carry in the vessel soon to be despatched any communications or messenger the general may desire to send to Mexico.

[32] See chap. i. of this vol.; also *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 66-114, for the original corresp. on this subject, lasting from Nov. 13th to Dec. 30th.

the *Cyane*, and arrived in three days at San Francisco, where he was joined on the 15th by the *Dale*, Dornin commander, from Panamá, bringing news of amicable relations between the two republics down to the month of June.[33] From San Francisco, Jones went to Sonoma, where he was entertained for a day or two by Colonel Vallejo, who has a most agreeable memory of his visitor's gentlemanly qualities.[34] The *United States* returned from Honolulu in December,[35] and all three vessels sailed from Monterey January 9, 1843—the *Dale* and *United States* for Mazatlan, while the *Cyane* with Jones on board touched at Santa Bárbara and San Pedro. The store-ship of the fleet, the *Relief*, Lieutenant Sterrett, had also arrived before the departure of the other vessels, and soon followed them southward,[36] while the *Cyane* came back later in the year.

Having thus recorded the 'American invasion' so far as it affected northern California, I have now to notice some southern aspects of the matter—aspects

[33] Dec. 14th, 15th, Capt. Richardson to Vallejo, announcing arrival of *Cyane* and *Dale*. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 315–16. Dec. 15th, com. of Monterey to V. All the vessels have departed. *Id.*, xi. 317.

[34] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 325–45, where the visit is described at considerable length. He says Jones and his men lost their way in coming to Sonoma; accidently as he said, but intentionally as some of his men told Leese, with a view to see more of the country. Vallejo honored his guest with a salute from his cannon, and entertained him with a *rodeo*, Indian dance, foot-races, etc.—finally escorting him to the landing. He speaks of the commodore in the most flattering terms. Dec. 24th, V. to Micheltorena, mentioning Jones' visit. He thinks the object may have been to win more trust in his good faith after the affair of Monterey. Political matters were not talked of. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 322. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 103–9, describes not only his own visits with Capt. Paty to the flag-ship at Monterey, and an entertainment given to Jones by the foreign residents of the capital, at which the writer was present; but also the friendly intercourse between the commodore and the Richardsons and Estudillos at Sauzalito, where he also made frequent hunting trips.

[35] Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 108, says the vessel made the round trip in 29 days, the quickest on record. Maxwell says she sailed from Monterey with the *Cyane;* and these statements are all the evidence I have that she returned to Cal. She was however at Mazatlan in February.

[36] She arrived at Monterey from Bodega on Jan. 26th, and sailed on Feb. 25th. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., iii. (644–6, 652–3); but I suppose she had been at Monterey earlier. Bidwell, *California 1841–8*, MS., 90–1, speaks of Jones having sent the *Relief* to Bodega, with some despatches for him to deliver (?).

more amusing than bloody, showing in a not very favorable light some peculiarities of the new governor. It was in the night of October 24th that Micheltorena, at Valle's rancho of San Francisco near Mission San Fernando, was aroused from his sleep by the arrival of messengers from Alvarado with the news that Monterey must be surrendered on the 20th. The general, if we may credit his statement made a little later, wished himself "a thunderbolt to fly and annihilate the invaders;" but not being a thunderbolt, he spent the next day in writing despatches to subordinates in all parts of the country, and in retreating with his batallon fijo some twenty miles to San Fernando. His plan of campaign, as declared in his despatches, was to establish his headquarters at Angeles, to concentrate there all available force and supplies, and to cause all live-stock to be driven from the coast to the interior. His confidence in success, like his patriotic enthusiasm, was unlimited; his own force was amply sufficient, he said, to defeat the intruder, but he was unwilling to deprive the Californians of the privilege of aiding in so glorious a cause; hence his call for aid. His communications to different officials were all of the same purport, and I append some choice specimens in a note.[37]

[37] Oct. 25, 1842, Micheltorena to Vallejo, to Alvarado, to Prefect Arguello at Angeles, to Comandante Carrillo at Sta Bárbara, in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 24–7; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 294; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 91–4; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 289. To Vallejo at 6 A. M. he writes: 'Monterey is no doubt occupied by these forces, as it is impossible to defend the place. I cannot just now fly to its aid, for I am over 100 leagues away, nor should I leave Los Angeles unprotected, where I have arms and ammunition, which in the hands of the valiant Californians, united with the force under my command, will serve to rout the enemy. You must therefore collect as many men as possible, sending me frequent reports on their number and movements in order to combine our operations. Triumph is certain; with my present force I should not hesitate to attack; but it is just that all share in the pleasure of victory, since we are all Mexicans, and it is the duty of all to defend in this war the holy religion of our fathers, national independence, private property, and even domestic order. Are there any stronger rights which move the human heart? Are there Mexican bosoms which do not feel themselves boil with valor at seeing this effort to rob us of our territory? Invite, then, excite, move the patriotism of all able to bear arms, and keep well in mind the whole and parts of this communication, which I recommend particularly to your responsibility.' To Alvarado: 'Every one who is able to bear arms and does not present himself, as soon as the infallible triumph of our arms is won, un-

Next day, October 26th, while still at San Fernando, Micheltorena received Jones' communication informing him that Monterey had been restored—news which, reaching other points about the same time, prevented any progress being made in the concentration of forces and supplies at Angeles. The general immediately addressed two letters to the American commodore. In the first he wrote: "God and Liberty! As the laws of the nation expressly forbid entering into any sort of relations with the enemies of the independence, liberty, and integrity of the territory, I was marching in consequence of the assault committed by you on Monterey, to fight you, and at all hazards to drive you from the Mexican territory without using any other idiom than those of lead and cannon; but as you, having adopted more prudent counsels, though I and my valiant men were only 150 leagues from you, have thought proper to evacuate the place, to reëstablish the authorities, to rehoist and properly salute the flag of my nation, and to reembark all your troops, declaring the Mexican vessels

der the protection of providence, will be declared unworthy of the Mexican name, an enemy of the country, to be expelled ignominiously from her soil.' To Argüello: 'I congratulate myself with you and every Mexican that these *miserables* afford us an opportunity to demonstrate the national valor, and that we are worthy to bear the name of Independientes.' He announces his retreat to S. Fernando—the other letters are written from the rancho—and his intention to continue the movement to Angeles. The authorities of S. Diego are ordered to send their cannon to Angeles. To the comandante at Sta Bárbara: 'Under these circumstances you will proceed forthwith to place in safety, by sending them to Angeles with all the forces that can be collected, all the arms, artillery, and other property of the nation, as they may direct their attack against that port. You will invite all the inhabitants, the most illustrious bishop, and other authorities to meet at Angeles, where I am about to establish my headquarters, in order to arrange the operations of a war so holy, so just, and so national.' The *Republicano* was to be sent to S. Pedro, and the munitions on board taken to Angeles in carts. 'Viva la nacion Mejicana!' In 1844 Micheltorena claimed that the rebels against him had removed all supplies from around Monterey, in imitation of his own policy in 1842! *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 59. Replies to Micheltorena's communications at various dates, from Oct. 25th—all more or less patriotic in tone. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 27–9; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 290–1. A writer in the *Los Angeles Express*, Oct. 15, 1874, claims that the intrenchments, traces of which are still visible at Angeles, were thrown up by Micheltorena's men at this time. Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 103–4; Botello, *Anales del Sur*, MS., 102; Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 426; Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 43; Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 128, simply state that Micheltorena on hearing the news of the capture retired to Angeles and began defensive operations.

free at the moment when you addressed to me the letter just received, I now answer you by this separate despatch, in order to assure you that we Mexicans know how to answer with arms and fire when we are addressed in terms of war, and, if peacefully, with the harmony and civility compatible with the age in which we live, and with the enlightened nations to which we both belong." The other communication, in words almost as pompous and much more numerous, declared that "the multitude of persons now surrounding me will not be content with such satisfaction as you can give me in a single official despatch;" the satisfaction, like the outrage, must be public; and he insisted on a personal conference at Angeles, eight leagues from Jones' force at San Pedro, and twelve leagues from Micheltorena's army at San Fernando; or if Jones feared to venture, "mistrusting the word and faith of an old soldier," then the general would boldly go in person with a few officers to San Pedro.[38]

It is claimed by Vallejo and Alvarado that Micheltorena heard of the capture and restoration of the capital at the same time, and that his orders of October 25th were issued with a full knowledge that all danger had passed; but the accusation is probably unfounded, and the orders were of the patriotico-bombastic type usually issued in such cases by Spanish American officials. No other style would have satisfied the people or the supreme government that the writer was doing his duty; and it was generally the effect in Mexico, and not on the foe, that was considered when such proclamations were issued. Moreover, the order to remove all supplies to the interior, as a means of resisting invasion, was in accord with Spanish and Mexican policy for many years past, and does not merit all the ridicule that has been heaped upon it. This is about as far as I can go in defence of Micheltorena's course. His replies to Jones were as

[38] Oct. 26, 1842, M. to J. Two despatches. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 34–6.

absurdly weak, affected, rude, and boastful as they could have been made; and indeed, Minister Waddy Thompson subsequently declared that, as he had the strongest reasons to believe, the first of the two communications of October 26th was never sent to Jones at all.

But Micheltorena's gasconade was not yet at an end. Jones not arriving as early as had been expected, the general prepared, on November 19th, a report of all that had preceded for his government, attaching to it the terms of the treaty which the American leader was expected to sign. With the report, which went to San Blas on the *Trinidad* sailing on or about the 20th, were enclosed twenty-seven documents, all referred to elsewhere. I append some portions of the report and the purport of the treaty, which show that Micheltorena told a deliberate falsehood, to the effect that he was marching to attack Monterey when he heard of its restoration; that he had the impudence to demand payment for uniforms and instruments spoiled during his march in the rain; and that he was vain enough to represent that Jones' real motive in restoring the capital had been fear of this valiant general and his batallon fijo! Even the Californians, who had large capacity for bombast, were disgusted with this exhibition from their new ruler.[39]

[39] Nov. (19), 1842, M. to Tornel, min. of war, with 27 accompanying doc., being for the most part the corresp. already cited, but containing several communications not included in those furnished by Jones direct to the U. S. govt. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 18–44.

The demand for surrender 'will justly excite the indignation of the sup. magistrate as well as of yourself and every Mexican, on seeing that without even a plausible pretext, and in defiance of the laws of nations and the treaties between the two countries, an armed force comes to occupy the national territory.' 'Your Excellency may imagine my indignation. I wished myself a thunderbolt to fly and annihilate the invaders; but 110 leagues intervened between me and them, and my forces are all infantry. I nevertheless spent the night in preparing measures...to organize an active and incessant war on the enemy until he should have been obliged to reëmbark, if any of his forces should remain alive. On the following day, the 26th, I began my march'—directly away from Monterey if at all—'with my troops, of whose enthusiasm I cannot say too much, when I felicitated them, in the name of our country, on the occasion thus presented for proving that we are worthy of the confidence of the nation, and worthy to defend the Mexican territory, our dear independence, and all the rights of society and man. North and south of my headquarters

The American ship *Tasso* was lying at San Pedro when the news arrived that Monterey had been taken. José Antonio Carrillo and Captain Prudon conceived the idea of seizing this vessel, applying to the prefect for authority. Argüello in turn referred the matter to Micheltorena, who disapproved the seizure and ordered the release of the captain, who had been detained, blaming Carrillo and Prudon for interfering in national affairs, which he himself was entirely competent to manage.[40] This act enabled the general in the report already cited to boast that not a single act of violence had been committed against the persons or property of subjects of the United States. But those subjects could show not quite so clean a rec-

everything was in motion; and the fever of patriotism which I excited with energetic force beat quickly...In this state of things I was met by Capt. Mejía,' who came from Monterey where he had 'wished not to sign any capitulation unless ordered to do so by his general, a general who would have ordered him to conquer or die,' and who brought details of the surrender. 'We thus marched for two hours, during which my soul was wrapt in ecstacies at the flattering prospect of a speedy and certain victory,...when another extraordinary courier brought me' news of the evacuation of Monterey. 'So his Excellency, Mr ——, did not choose to wait for our arrival as a hostile force, and the feelings of my heart...were at once of grief and joy, of regret and pleasure, of contentment and disappointment; but providence has so willed it; therefore it is for the best, and we have only to respect and bow to its decrees.' But for the activity, etc., of President Santa Anna and the min. of war in sending me and my force here, California would now have to be recovered at double the expense that Texas has cost. Therefore 'I pray your Excellency to ask the president whether the conduct of one of his generals in this negotiation has been such as to merit his high approbation.'

The articles of convention, sent unsigned by reason of Jones' non-arrival, were substantially as follows: i., ii. The indemnification for outrage on the flag, and settlement of claims for damages to individuals to be left to the sup. govt. iii. Jones declares that he took Monterey in the erroneous belief that war existed; and each promises never to attack the possessions of the other's country except in case of an express declaration of war. iv. The capitulation signed by Jones and Alvarado is forever void and of no effect. v. The U. S. men-of-war and merchant vessels at S. Pedro will salute the Mexican flag to be displayed before them by Micheltorena at noon of the next day after signing this treaty. vi. 'Mr Thos Ap C. Jones will deliver 1,500 complete infantry uniforms to replace those of nearly one half of the Mexican forces which have been ruined in the violent march and the continued rains, while they were on their way to recover the port thus invaded.' vii. Jones to pay $15,000 into the national treasury for expenses incurred from the general alarm; also a complete set of musical instruments in place of those ruined on this occasion. viii. Respecting copies and signatures of this document. These articles are several times reprinted in connection with later correspondence.

[40] Oct. 25th, Prefect Arguello to M. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 39. Oct. 26th, reply. *Id.*, p. 40; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., xii. 94–6.

ord. The *Alert* was lying at San Diego, having on board and on shore a valuable cargo of hides. Captain Phelps heard of the capture of Monterey, and at the same time a report that a force had been despatched by Micheltorena to seize all property at San Diego. Determined to save his cargo, he made ready for sailing, worked night and day to load his hides, and proceeded to remove every obstacle to his escape by sending a party of sailors to spike the guns at the fort. It is not likely that Micheltorena had ordered the seizure of the hides or vessel, but he had probably sent men to secure the cannon, and it was the approach of these men that chiefly frightened Phelps. The affair was considerably written about in Mexico, and to the charge of spiking the guns was added that of throwing ballast into the harbor; but the ground was taken that the offence was purely an individual and in no sense a national one; and as the owners were willing to pay the damage, the matter was allowed to drop.[41]

Leaving Monterey January 9th, Jones, on the *Cyane*, arrived at Santa Bárbara the 14th, and informed Micheltorena of his readiness for the proposed conference at San Pedro,[42] to which port he proceeded on the 17th, and late in the afternoon received an invitation to visit the general at his headquarters at

[41] *Phelps, Fore and Aft*, 261-3. He says he got the news from Alfred Robinson, his supercargo, at Sta Bárbara; also that his men took a barrel of copper shot at the fort and threw the rest into the sea; but no charge of this kind was ever made. Half the cargo was on board when the news came of Jones' mistake; and at that time Micheltorena's 'vagabonds' were within two hours' march of the ship. Dec. 10th, Phelps to Jones. Translation. *Diario del Gob.*, Feb. 19, 1843; *Bustamante, Diario*, lxvi. 69, with a letter of Jones on the subject. Nov. 4th, juez of S. Diego to prefect, announcing the spiking of 8 guns. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 28. Corresp. between ministers Bocanegra and Thompson, Dec. 28th-30th. *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones*, 1844, annexes xcii.-v.

[42] Jan. 14th, 15th, Jones at Sta Bárbara to M. *Diario del Gobierno*, Feb. 19, 1843; *Bustamante, Diario*, MS., lxvi. 69. At first he says the conference will have to be in writing, or by commissioners on account of his ill health; but in a P. S. he concludes to visit S. Pedro. He brought down despatches and money for M. from Monterey; and offered to carry a messenger to Mazatlan.

Angeles, an invitation which he accepted.[43] Next morning Jones landed with Captain Stribling and half a dozen others; and at 2 P. M., after a dinner prepared by Micheltorena's cooks at Stearns' storehouse, the party started for the pueblo, Jones, Stribling, Clymer, and Reintrie sitting with Major Medina in a barouche drawn by three horses, the rest on horseback, and all escorted by twenty-five mounted men of the Santa Bárbara guard. The visitors were taken to the residence of Abel Stearns, where they were soon waited upon by Micheltorena and his staff in full uniform, who made a most favorable impression by their gentlemanly bearing and polite attentions.[44]

At noon on the 19th the conference was held at the general's headquarters, where, after the drinking of toasts and making of complimentary speeches, Micheltorena proceeded to read his 'articles of convention,' with which the reader is already familiar, and copies of which were furnished for Jones' consideration. This ended the conference; but in the evening the Americans, in a drenching rain, attended a grand ball given by the general in their honor. In the forenoon of the 20th Jones returned the 'articles,' of course without his signature, and with a note explaining that he had no authority to enter into such an agreement, and that the whole matter of reparation must be left to the respective govern-

[43] Jan. 17th, M. to J. and reply, sent by Lieut Somoza, in *Unpublished Narrative of Commodore Thos Ap C. Jones, U. S. N.* This narrative by an unknown writer, who evidently accompanied Jones to Angeles, was published in the *Los Angeles Southern Vineyard*, May 22, 1858, and gives an interesting account of the visit and negotiations. Much of it is occupied with descriptive matter, for which I have no space here. The same communications, under date of Jan. 18th, are given in *Diario del Gobierno*, Feb. 19, 1843.

[44] *Jones' Unpub. Narr.* The author gives a well-written sketch of Micheltorena's actions and character. Of him he says: 'Had he contented himself with the issuing of countless orders and high-toned proclamations, few would have found fault with him, for in truth it was all that his situation left him; but to resort to the disingenuous artifice of writing letters never sent and of sending drafts of demands not yet made, and when made abandoned without an effort to sustain them, was an act which neither Mexican diplomacy nor Castilian gasconade can scarcely palliate, and certainly cannot justify.'

ments.[45] Micheltorena made no effort to change the commodore's views, nor did he show offence, but simply desired him to delay his departure until he could prepare his despatches for Mexico, which consisted of the correspondence that has been cited, and a letter to General Tornel, in which he described the negotiations with Jones, and the latter's objections to the articles of convention proposed.[46] Friendly relations continued, the subject of politics was not mentioned, and at their last interview complimentary speeches were exchanged. At 1 P. M., January 21st, Jones left the city, amidst the beating of drums, firing of cannon, and ringing of bells, saluted by the general and his wife from the door of his quarters, escorted as on his coming, and accompanied for some miles by many citizens. The arrival at San Pedro was at 5 P. M., and three hours later the *Cyane* sailed for Mazatlan, where she arrived the 1st of February to join the *United States* and *Yorktown*.[47]

[45] Jan. 20th, Jones to Micheltorena, in *Diario del Gobierno*, Feb. 19, 1843, and partly in *Jones' Unpub. Narr.* The author of this narrative says J. was very much vexed at the absurd demands made; yet he maintained friendly relations, and in his letter he takes pains to explain anew the reasons for his past action. The articles, 8 in number, are also given in the *Diario del Gob.*, as above, and in *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 38–41. Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 104–7, says M.'s soldiers drew the carriage that took J. to the ball. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 428–30, narrates an alarm at Angeles while J. was asleep, caused by a report that 3 ships had been seen off the coast, and by the burning of a house, which the general feared to be but a ruse to call attention while his own capture was effected! John Forster, *Pioneer Data*, MS., 24–5, speaks of the dinner at San Pedro, which he says was at his house. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 103–4, also speaks of the festivities at Angeles, as does Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 43–4. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 18–20, ridicules M.'s despatches. In *Los Angeles Hist.*, 15, it is stated that Jones visited Angeles in Nov. 1842. Mention also of the visit in *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 142; and by Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 109–10, who got his information from Henry Mellus. He says J. and his officers got several barrels of choice California wine from Luis Vignes, whose place they visited. Davis and Paty had already sent them some wine at Monterey.

[46] Jan. 20th, M. to Tornel. *Diario del Gob.*, Feb. 19, 1843, with 6 documents annexed. Same date, M. sends a similar report of his interview to the prefects. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 293; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 315. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 314–24, quotes the letter to Prefect Estrada, and gives some information on the authority of J. A. Carrillo, which, though amusing, is very inaccurate.

[47] *Jones' Unpub. Narrative*, which gives a parting note sent by Jones to the generals with some congressional documents that had been referred to in their interviews.

Micheltorena's despatches of November 19th by the *Trinidad* were sent in haste from Tepic on December 7th, and were published at Mexico in the *Diario del Gobierno* of the 14th, of course accompanied by some rather bitter comments.[48] Five days later José María de Bocanegra, minister of relations, addressed to the U. S. minister in Mexico, Waddy Thompson, a long letter on the subject, expressing in strong but dignified terms the surprise and grief of his government at having suffered from an officer of the United States—a nation whose protestations of friendly and peaceful feelings had been accepted in good faith—"the greatest outrage that can be done to an independent and sovereign nation." He closed by demanding, in the president's name, "for the conduct of Commodore Jones, due reparation and satisfaction, corresponding to the magnitude of the offence, together with an indemnity equivalent to the damages suffered by the government or people of California, in consequence of the aggression aforesaid."[49]

Thompson's reply was returned eight days later, he having in the mean time received Jones' explanation of his acts and motives. He declared that the "acts of the American commodore were wholly unauthorized by any orders from his government, and that the fullest disclaimer to that effect will promptly be made, with whatever other reparation may be due to the honor of Mexico, and which is not incompatible with that of the United States." He blamed Bocanegra for his insinuations that the act had been authorized; reminded him that the hostile attitude of Mexico in May—an attitude which, as he clearly implies, was assumed in expectation of war between the United States and England—gave Jones much reason to be-

[48] Dec. 7th, Castillo Negrete from Tepic to Minister Tornel, forwarding Micheltorena's despatches. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 17. The despatches in *Id.*, 18-44, already disposed of, were those published in *Diario del Gobierno*, Dec. 14, 1842. It was on the same day, Dec. 7th, that Parrott sent Jones' despatches to Mexico.

[49] Dec. 19th, B. to T. *Jones, Agresion en Californias*, p. 87-9; *Jones at Monterey*, p. 9-12.

lieve that war had been declared; and finally alluded most sarcastically to Micheltorena's conduct, expressing his regret that the general's "coarse and abusive epithets" applied to Americans, and the "rudeness and gasconade of his note of October 26th—a note which, as there were the strongest reasons to believe, had never been sent, no doubt from inadvertence"—had not been rebuked by the Mexican government.[50] In forwarding this correspondence to Washingon, Thompson says: "It would have done no good, you may be assured, to have assumed any lower tone, for the Mexican government are disposed to make the most of this unfortunate affair; and I should not be surprised if they were to attempt to have it considered as a payment of all our claims."[51]

With the exception of an interchange of letters on the subject of the *Alert's* actions at San Diego, as already noted, there was no further official correspondence in Mexico. The papers early in January published a short article, in which was expressed satisfaction at the reply of the U. S. minister, promising in the name of his government all the reparation due to Mexican honor for the unauthorized act of Jones. In February Micheltorena's despatches of January were published in the *Diario*.[52] Soon came the announcement that Jones had been relieved of his command and called home for trial; and Bocanegra, in his *memoria* of 1844, declared that all had been satisfactorily settled, and Mexican honor vindicated, by the action of the United States, in accordance with the just and firm demands of the nation as expressed through himself.[53] Several Mexican or Spanish writers

[50] Dec. 27th, Thompson to Bocanegra. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 12–14. *Jones, Agresion en Californias*, p. 89–91. To the letters are attached the documents from Jones and Micheltorena.

[51] Dec. 28, 1842, T. to Webster. *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 9.

[52] *Diario del Gobierno*, Jan. 7, 1843, Feb. 19, 1843; *Siglo XIX.*, Jan. 10, 1843; *Bustamante, Diario*, MS., lxvi. 35, 69.

[53] *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones*, 1844, p. 11–12. The annexes lxxxvii.–xcvii., containing the diplomatic correspondence on the subject, bear the following title, under which I have referred to them: *Agresion en Californias por el Comodoro de los Estados-Unidos de America, Thomas Ape Jones.* It is to be

have mentioned the American invasion of 1842, generally representing that Jones acted under instructions from Washington, that only fear of Micheltorena's forces impelled him to restore Monterey, and that the U. S. government promised reparation only in consequence of the firm stand taken by Mexico. None admits for a moment that both the commodore and his government acted in good faith, though from all the evidence that seems to have been the truth.[54]

The first information that reached the United States respecting Jones' movements was apparently contained in a letter from some person on the *Dale* at Panamá, which was published in December 1842, and contained a conjecture that California was to be saved from English clutches.[55] Early in 1843, however, the news came unofficially, before Lieutenant Hartstene had arrived with despatches from Monterey and Mexico; and on January 17th Webster directed Thompson to lose no time in assuring the Mexican government that Jones' action had been altogether unauthorized, notifying General Almonte, the Mexi-

noted that in nearly all that was printed on the subject in Spanish, the 'Ap C.' of Jones' name it rendered 'Ape'!

[54] Gen. Tornel, *Mexico, Mem. Guerra*, 1844, p. 49, in recording this *inaudito atentado*, says: 'Los invasores no hubieran quedado impunes si hubieran persistido en una agresion tan injustificable.' Cárlos María Bustamante, *Diario*, MS., lxv. p. 240–1, speaks of Jones' 'pretesto frívolo y miserable,' and goes on to say: 'Finally, Micheltorena ordered him to surrender, and after much gasconade (!) the commodore retired, saluting the fort of Monterey, which he would have kept permanently if he had not encountered unexpected opposition. Thanks to Sta Anna, who so opportunely sent the said chief with a battalion,' etc. Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz, *Mejico, 1808–1867*, ii. 252–4, criticises with much severity and ridicule this as one of the U S.' 'most scandalous and aggressive acts toward the Mexican republic.' He cites the fact (erroneous, I suppose) that Jones' proclamation was in print, as a strong point against the good faith of his excuses. 'Pero no obró el como doro Americano *motu proprio;* todo lo que él dijo se le dictó por el gobierno, que tenia seguramente el plan de que darse con las Californias.' 'El gobierno de los E. U. *desaprobó* el proceder de su comodoro; pero no le castigó ni le retiró el mando, á pesar do haberlo pedido el de Méjico, que hubo de contentarse con que se le dijéra que "no había querido injuriarle ni hacer *nada ilicito* contra sus ciudadanos." Que burla!' See also *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 548; *Ceballos, Vindicacion Mejicana*, 81–2, 148–50.

[55] Sept. 23, 1842, to Wm C. Bryant, editor of *N. Y. Post*, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 243.

can minister at Washington, to the same effect.[56] Almonte in his reply demanded the exemplary punishment of Jones, whose delinquency was "so serious, so obvious, and so notorious, that it would be superfluous to particularize its enormities." On the same day that this note was written, the secretary of the navy wrote an order recalling Jones and naming Commodore Dallas as his successor;[57] and Webster on January 30th informed Almonte that proper action had been taken, not specifying what action, and assured him that ample reparation would be made for all real injuries done; though, while expressing deep regret for what had occurred, he maintained that Jones "intended no in dignity to Mexico, nor anything unlawful toward her citizens," and that "in the clearly manifest absence of all illegal and improper intent, some allowance may properly be made for acts of indiscretion in a quarter so very remote." Almonte, however, was not disposed to make any such allowance; and he would not admit that Jones had any other motive for restoring Monterey than fear of an attack by Micheltorena, and disappointment at finding the Californians neither discontented nor defenceless. Moreover, he insisted in very plain terms on knowing whether Webster's statement that "the president had given directions for the adoption of such a course as in his opinion was due to the circumstances of the case," etc., might be interpreted to mean that Jones had been recalled for

[56] Jan 17, 1843, W. to T.; Jan. 21st, Id. to Almonte; Jan. 24th, A. to W.; Jan. 30th, W.'s reply, in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 3–6.

[57] Jan. 24th, Upshur to Jones, in *Jones at Monterey, 1842*, p. 66; *Jones, Agresion en Cal.*, 96–7. Official news had not yet arrived, but must have come through Hartstene in a few days. Upshur writes: 'In adopting this course, it is not designed to prejudge the case, nor even to indicate any opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of your conduct in the matter alluded to. This will of course be made the subject of proper inquiry after your return to the U. S. The present order has reference only to the just claims of Mexico on this govt, for such a disavowal of the attack on Monterey as will fully recognize the rights of Mexico, and at the same time place the conduct of the govt in a proper light before the nations of the world. Com. Dallas will relieve you as soon as he can conveniently reach the station; and you will return to the U. S. in such mode as may be most convenient and agreeable to yourself.'

trial and punishment, as the Mexican government had a right to demand.[58]

Webster did not furnish the interpretation desired by the Mexican minister directly; but on February 1st the matter had come up in congress. John Quincy Adams introduced resolutions calling upon the president to state by what authority Commodore Jones had invaded Mexican territory; to furnish all instructions given to Jones, and all communications received from him relative to the Monterey affair; and finally to state whether an order had been sent for his recall.[59] The resolutions were adopted, and the required information, that Jones had acted without authority and had been recalled, was furnished February 22d, the president's message and accompanying documents constituting a source of information which I have often quoted.[60] The message was forwarded to Almonte the 3d of March, as an answer to his demands, and seems to have been satisfactory.[61] The general tone of such newspaper articles of the time as I have seen seems to have been determined by political prejudices rather than by the merits of the case;[62] and neither in American newspapers nor books has there been shown a disposition to do justice to the honorable motives which animated Commodore Jones in his action under circumstances of difficulty. The reason is to be found in the connection of the subject with the complications of Texan affairs and sectional politics in the United States.

As may readily be imagined, no very terrible punishment was ever inflicted on the commodore for his

[58] Feb. 7, 1842, Almonte to Webster. *Jones at Monterey*, 6–8. There was no reply to this argument.

[59] *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 27th cong. 3d sess., House Jour., p. 294–8, 433; *Congressional Globe* (same congress), p. 232–5, 330.

[60] *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 27th cong. 3d sess., H. Ex. Doc. no. 166, or as already explained, *Jones at Monterey, 1842*.

[61] March 3d, Webster to Almonte. *Jones, Agresion en California*, p. 95–6

[62] In *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 322, 337, 369–70 (Jan.–Feb.) 1843; and *Diario del Gobierno*, March 31, 1843, are extracts and articles from the *National Intelligencer: N. O. Bee: N. Y. Courier*; *N. Y. Express*, *Madisonian*. *Pennsylvania Enquirer*, etc.

'inaudito atentado.' In August 1843 Dallas was at Callao, but had not yet met Jones, who had sailed for the Islands.[63] It is not clear that he ever met him, since Dallas died at Callao in June 1844. Jones had been ordered to return home "in such mode as may be most convenient and agreeable" to himself, and he found it most agreeable to keep out of his successor's way. After a cruise in the Pacific he returned to Valparaiso, and seems to have gone home in the *United States* before the end of 1844.[64] There was never any trial; and on March 1, 1845, the secretary of the navy, in an official communication, exonerated Jones from all blame, and promised him a new command.[65] In later years he again commanded the Pacific squadron.

[63] Report sec. navy, Dec. 1843. *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 28th cong. 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. no. 2, p. 484.

[64] I have not found any official narrative of his movements after he sailed for the Islands. Lancey, *Cruise of the 'Dale,'* 33, says Dallas 'took the old store-ship *Erie*, and started in search of Jones. Now that wiry little commodore was not to be caught with any such chaff. He got wind of the movement, and so sailed from one port to another, always keeping a little ahead of the *Erie*, leaving port ostensibly for one place and steering for another. He visited the Islands, and then returned to Valparaiso, when he told the consul he had brought the ship to the Pacific, and he would be damned if he wouldn't take her home. And so, snapping his fingers at Dallas, he sailed away round the Horn for Old Virginia.' Similar versions are given by Culverwell, in *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 96; and by Maxwell, *Monterey in 1842*, MS., 12-13.

[65] March 1, 1845, Mason to Jones, in *Honolulu Polynesian*, Jan. 3, 1846. I have not before me the volume of govt reports containing the original; but I suppose it is in *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 30th cong. 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. no. 8, p. 1304, with perhaps a reply in *Id.*, 30th cong. 2d sess., no. 1, p. 67. 'The president has authorized me to say to you, that in those circumstances of your conduct, while in command of the Pacific squadron, which induced your recall, on explanation he perceives evidences of an ardent zeal in the service of your country, and a devotion to what you deemed to be your duty, regardless of personal consequences, which entitle you to anything but censure from your government. Ample atonement having been made to Mexico for your acts complained of, there has been no disposition to visit you with punishment of any description for conduct actuated by such elevated principles of duty. Of this you were apprised immediately after your return. The department has been and still is anxious to give you employment; in this wish the president concurs, and it will give him the greatest pleasure to see you speedily placed in a situation corresponding with your rank and merits.' It is to be noted that in 1843 Mr Adams had attempted in congress unsuccessfully to pass a resolution making provision for the 'signal punishment' of any officer invading the territory of a nation at peace with the U. S. *House Journal*, 27th cong. 3d sess. p. 576.

The occupation of Monterey by the United States for a day was an accident that resulted in nothing good or bad. It involved no taint of dishonor or of sharp practice for either the American commodore or his nation. It was but technically an outrage on Mexico, for which ample reparation was made. Its lessons were not important. It showed clearly what had not been wrapped in mystery before, that the United States was not disposed to be forestalled by any European power in California, at least if it could be prevented by legitimate means. It confirmed what it had never occurred to anybody to doubt, that California was an easy prey for any nation that had only Mexicans to contend with. It gave Micheltorena a splendid chance to write himself an ass; and as to the Californians, while it was too brief to afford any reliable index to their sentiments, so far as it went it indicated a feeling of indifference at least. The leading Californians were more surprised at the restoration than at the capture, though perhaps it can hardly be said that they regretted it more. Most foreigners would have been pleased to see the occupation permanent. Mofras, writing from a French standpoint, declares that Jones should have kept Monterey and seized San Francisco. There was, however, among all classes in California, in Mexico, and in the United States a vague feeling that the whole transaction had a hidden mysterious meaning in politics entirely distinct from that which the commodore gave it. People were slow to accept a version which was at the same time plausible, natural, and true.

One of Jones' officers made a sketch of Monterey Bay with the men-of-war at anchor, which was lithographed and sent back for Larkin, and now hangs in my Library.

CHAPTER XIII.

MISSIONS, COMMERCE, AND FOREIGNERS.

1842.

MISSION MANAGEMENT—DECREE OF RESTORATION—DURAN AND ALVARADO—LOCAL ITEMS—BISHOP GARCÍA DIEGO AT SANTA BÁRBARA—GRAND EPISCOPAL PLANS—THE PIOUS FUND IN MEXICO—SANTA ANNA TAKES IT FROM THE BISHOP—INCORPORATED IN THE NATIONAL TREASURY—THE RESULT—INDIAN AFFAIRS—NO HOSTILITIES AND FEW RUMORS—COMMERCIAL AND MARITIME AFFAIRS—LIST OF VESSELS—FINANCIAL ITEMS—FOREIGNERS—LIST OF PIONEERS AND VISITORS FOR THE YEAR—PART OF THE BARTLESON COMPANY RETURN OVERLAND—MINOR ITEMS—NEW MEXICAN IMMIGRATION—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1842—ROBINSON'S LIFE IN CALIFORNIA—VISIT OF THE 'KING'S ORPHAN'—BIDWELL'S JOURNEY—MARSH'S LETTER TO JONES—PEIRCE'S LETTERS.

ON general management of the ex-missions in 1842 there is nothing to be added to my remarks for 1841.[1] True, the bishop brought a decree of November 17, 1840, issued in conformity with that of November 7, 1835, which required the missions to be restored to their former condition, for the restoration to the friars, "without delay or impediment, of the possessions and property used by them under their administration for the conversion of gentiles;" but this decree, not intended to restore the management of temporalities, but only the 'church property,' was not at once enforced in California, nor was there in 1842 any attempt to enforce it, as it was deemed best to wait until a new governor had assumed control.[2]

[1] See chap. vii. of this vol.

[2] I have not found the original of this decree of Nov. 17, 1840. A translation is given in *Hartman's Brief in Mission Cases*, 29-31. See also *Hayes'*

There is to be noted an increasing dissatisfaction on the part of the southern friar-curates because of the governor's grants of mission ranchos to private individuals. In the case of La Puente near San Gabriel, granted to Rowland and Workman, Prefect Duran went so far as to send a complaint and protest to the supreme government.[3] This case was selected for the purpose, I suppose, because the grantees were the objects of suspicion in Mexico; but nothing was effected, though Duran had a controversy with Alvarado, whose anger he had excited. The governor used violent language, but apologized on receipt of certain explanations from the friar, so that the old friendship was restored.[4] Among local items I may mention the order issued in September for the distribution of lands and other property at San Luis Obispo among such of the neophytes as were most deserving;[5] and an alleged attempt of the comandante at Santa Bárbara to prevent the delivery of three hundred head of cattle from Santa Inés, which had been ordered by Alvarado.[6] A Mexican item of a kind not unusual in

Legal Hist. S. Diego, no. 57, 45; *Id., Mission Book*, i. 17; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 304; *Land Commission*, no. 609; *Alemany vs U. S.*, p. 17.

[3] Feb. 21st, D. to min. of int. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1131-2; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 81-3; x. 232-4; *Sta Bárbara, Arch.*, MS., 39.

[4] Feb. 5, 1842, Alvarado to Duran; April 26th, D.'s reply, apparently only two of several letters, in *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 181-91; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 145-64; *Id., Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 259, 273. The padre is accused of not only having attacked the govt and incited discontent from his pulpit, but of sending a letter to P. Estenega which contained insults to Alvarado, and which was intentionally given a wide circulation. He is also accused of having said that the gov. had orders from Mexico to restore the missions (the decree of Nov. 17th had been published, it seems, but not sent officially to Cal.), which were not obeyed. D. in reply denied that he had done any of the things charged, or anything more offensive than to protest against the granting of mission ranchos, which he continues to do. Says he thought at first of reading the two letters from his pulpit, and then leaving the country; but in case of his departure there was danger of a popular tumult at Sta Bárbara, such as had been threatened once before. Both letters are long, and both Alvarado and Vallejo accord them more space and comment than the subject seems to merit.

[5] Sept. 10th, Alvarado to admin. of S. Luis Obispo. *Bonilla, Doc.*, MS., 10-11; *Pico, Papeles*, MS., 59; *S. Luis Ob., Arch.*, MS., 4. Bonilla was the administrator, and the form of grant is given in the case of the neophyte Odon, who got 75 varas of land, the house occupied by him, a copper pot, and two troughs. The fruit of certain trees on his land, however, was still to belong to the community.

[6] Nov. 24, 1842, A. to Valentin Cota. *Cota, Doc.*, MS., 15-16; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., v. 305-6.

the annals of earlier times, but of rare occurrence in these years, was the promotion of a friar formerly of California, Padre José Bernardino de Jesus Perez, to be guardian of his college in Zacatecas.[7]

Two current topics of some importance, closely connected with mission affairs and with each other, were the coming of the bishop and the fate of the pious fund. I have already recorded the appointment of Bishop García Diego, and his arrival at San Diego at the end of 1841. He had intended to establish his permanent residence at San Diego, but, owing mainly to the poverty of the mission establishment there, which he was authorized to appropriate to his episcopal uses, he soon changed his plans. On January 11th he arrived at Santa Bárbara, where the mission was in a better state of preservation than elsewhere, where the people were somewhat famous for their religious tendencies, and where he naturally determined to locate his episcopal see. He came up from San Diego on the *Guipuzcoana*, in company with the bridal party of the proprietor, José Antonio Aguirre. Alfred Robinson, who was an eye-witness, writes: "All was bustle; men, women, and children hastening to the beach, banners flying, drums beating, and soldiers marching. The whole population of the place turned out to pay homage to this first bishop of California. At eleven o'clock the vessel anchored. He came on shore and was welcomed by the kneeling multitude. All received his benediction; all kissed the pontifical ring. The troops and civic authorities then escorted him to the house of Don José Antonio, where he dined. A carriage had been prepared for his Excellency, with several others occupied by the president and his friends. The females had formed with ornamented canes beautiful arches, through which

[7] Perez elected Oct. 21st. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 64. Bustamante, *Hist. Sta Anna*, 40–1, speaks of the reduced state of the other colleges; but says there were still plenty of American friars in that of Guadalupe de Zacatecas.

the procession moved; and as it marched along, the heavy artillery of the presidio continued to thunder forth its noisy welcome. At four o'clock the bishop was escorted to the mission, the enthusiastic inhabitants taking the horses from his carriage and dragging it themselves. Halting at a small bower on the road, he alighted, went into it, and put on his pontifical robes; then resuming his place in the carriage, he continued on, amidst the sound of music and the firing of guns, till he arrived at the church, where he addressed the multitude that followed him."[8] This is the only record extant of his reception, and the formalities attending his assumption of the office; but Sir George Simpson visited him a few days later, and describes his gorgeous costume and magnificent surroundings, in marked contrast with the simplicity of the old padres.[9]

Bishop Francisco came provided with grand plans for his diocese, and with abundant means, on paper, for carrying them out. He had from the national treasury a salary of $6,000; and he had the administration of the fondo piadoso, the large revenues of which he could use elastically in accordance with the

[8] *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 195-8.

[9] 'Articles of furniture that would not have disgraced a nobleman's mansion occupied the floor. The carpet was the work of the Indians of Mexico; the table was covered with crimson velvet, on which lay a pillow of the same material adorned with gold; and the sofa and chairs had seats of the same costly and showy description. But the gem of the whole was a throne with three steps in front of it. It was hung with crimson velvet, which was profusely trimmed with tissue of gold; and its back displayed an expensively framed miniature of the reigning pope, painted by a princess, and sent by Gregory to the bishop, along with his diamond ring, as a gift.' *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 388-90. April 16th, John C. Jones writes to Larkin: 'We have nothing new here whatever; religion appears to be the order of the day; too much of it has made the people mad. The bishop rules triumphant, and the wretched priest-ridden dupes would lick the very dirt from off his shoes were he but to will it. For myself I am disgusted with his proceedings; if what is taught here is religion, the less we have of it the better; indeed, it is blasphemy. By the way, it is quite certain that his holiness will make this his place of residence, and here erect his college—the tenths will be paid by this good people with but few exceptions in preference—they unhesitatingly say—to all other demands. I am not certain that that will satisfy the rapacious appetites of these blood-sucking emissaries of the pope; they are all of the horse-leech family whose cry is continually, "Give! give!"' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 252.

wishes of the founders, to say nothing of tithes and other contributions from his subjects. Before leaving Mexico he had received from a generous government all the concessions he desired.[10] He was an enthusiastic, pompous, kind-hearted, rather weak-headed old man, somewhat overweighted with the dignities of his new office; and he was delighted with his reception at Santa Bárbara, which pious town, in compliance with a formal petition from the citizens, he resolved to honor by making it the site of his episcopal palace, cathedral, and seminary. We have not many details of his progress in 1842. Naturally it required a little time before funds should begin to come in regularly from Mexico, and the machinery of tithe-gathering could be set properly in motion; moreover, it was deemed well to wait until the actual administration should be succeeded by one more in sympathy with the bishop's plans than that of Alvarado was supposed, with much reason, to be;[11] but the Barbareños were liberal; the bishop readily obtained a concession of the mission buildings for present episcopal

[10] Nov. 7, 1840, bishop's petition, and decree of Nov. 17th, granting all that was asked. *Hartman's Brief in Mission Cases*, appen., 24–30; *Hayes' Legal Hist. of S. Diego*, MS., no. 57. He asked—1. The delivery of mission houses and orchards to the padres, and permission to use that of S. Diego or S. Luis Rey for an episcopal house, etc., until suitable edifices could be built. 2. Indian laborers at an equitable salary; and land on which to build cathedral, house, and seminary. 3. A notification to prevent the missionaries from leaving their posts until clergymen could be obtained to fill their places. 4. Permission to take with him to Cal. such priests as might be willing to go. 5. Authority to establish a board of missionaries with a view to the formation of new missions; also the Island of Los Angeles or some other suitable tract for the missionary college. 6. Authority to found a college for females, and a corresponding tract of land. 7. Tithes to be paid to the church, and not as before to the govt of Sonora. 8. The prompt settlement of certain claims which formed an intolerable burden on the pious fund. He desired permission to locate his edifices, 'or rather to form a settlement on a rancho situate in front of S. Diego;' and he recommended the stationing there of a military force, and the opening of communication by land with Sonora!

[11] In *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., ii. 193, I have a petition, not dated, signed by 123 residents, including 18 foreigners. In it the bishop is urged to fix his residence at Sta Bárbara. Simpson, *Narr.*, i. 388, says: 'In fact, all but the better classes were unfriendly to the bishop; the provincial authorities regarded him with an eye of jealousy as a creature and partisan of the central government; and the mass of the people dreaded any symptom of the revival of a system which had, in their opinion, sacrificed the temporal interests of the colonists to the spiritual welfare of the aborigines.'

uses, together with a site for his proposed cathedral;[12] and possibly a beginning was made before the end of the year. Robinson states that "large piles of stones were heaped up in several places for laying the foundations of the above-named edifices, . . . and there they will undoubtedly remain for some years, as monuments of the frailty of human speculations." It is said that Bishop Francisco carried some of these stones with his own hands, and that many of the fair and pious Barbareñas aided him in his task. It must be evident to the reader that the bishop's success was destined to depend entirely upon the receipt of funds from Mexico; and that, depending on Californian resources alone, utter failure was a foregone conclusion.

This matter of episcopal finances brings me to the cognate one of the pious fund and its administration; though this is a subject respecting which I present in these chapters only a general statement. The law of 1836 providing for a bishopic of the Californias had also given to the bishop the administration of the fund, the revenues of which were to be devoted to "its objects or other analogous ones, always respecting the wishes of the founders." Accordingly, when García Diego had been consecrated, the fund was turned over to him by the junta that for years had managed it; but the bishop, unable of course to attend personally to the administration from his distant home of the future, appointed Pedro Ramirez, a member of congress from Zacatecas, as his *apoderado*, or agent, in Mexico, naming Miguel Belaunzaran to look after the country estates. Ramirez assumed the administration in November 1840, and held it until February 1842. He found the fund burdened with a debt of $28,000, paying two per cent per month, which

[12] March 24, 1842, the bishop declares the altar of the hospicio at Sta Bárbara privileged for 10 years. *Arch., Misiones*, MS., i. 77. April 25th, bishop to Alvarado, asking for buildings. June 21st, granted. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 55, 58. July, land granted for a cathedral. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 39. See also Gleeson's *Hist. Cath. Church*, ii. 169-73; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 275.

he succeeded in cancelling; he paid over $30,000 due on old drafts, of which $22,000 had been drawn by the friars of Alta California; and he also furnished the bishop a small amount with which to pay his travelling expenses, since the $3,000 assigned from the treasury could not be collected. There was a claim for some $400,000 pending against the estates from an ancient lawsuit not brought to a final conclusion in his time; but at the beginning of 1842 Ramirez considered the fund in a condition to produce a yearly revenue of over $34,000.

In February 1842 the ministro de hacienda asked Ramirez for $40,000 to relieve the national necessities, with which demand the apoderado refused to comply, alleging that there was no such amount available, and that he had no right thus to dispose of the fund. On February 8th a decree was issued repealing article 6 of the decree of 1836, and restoring the administration of the pious fund to the supreme government, on the plea that all the objects of that fund were "of general interest and truly national," though the revenue of course must as before be devoted to its original object—the conversion and civilization of barbarians. On February 21st General Gabriel Valencia was made administrator, with the same powers that had been conferred upon the junta in 1832; and to him, under protest, Ramirez delivered the estates. Of Valencia's brief administration we have few details; but he doubtless served the purpose for which he was appointed, and Santa Anna is supposed, as a salve to his conscience, to have spent a little of the money thus acquired in fitting out Micheltorena's valiant band of convicts, arguing that "in order that California may be catholic she must first exist"—a *paralogismo miserable* for an *atentado escandalosísimo*, as it was pronounced by a prominent Mexican author.

Soon, however, another step was taken in the same direction of spoliation; for on October 24th Santa

Anna, anxious that the "beneficent and national objects proposed by the founder" should be accomplished, *con toda exactitud*, with a view "to save the expenses of administration and others that might arise," decreed that all the property of the fund should be incorporated into the national treasury; that all the estates should be sold for a capital sum represented by their products at six per cent; that the said rate should be paid regularly for the original objects of the fund; and that the tobacco revenue should be pledged for this payment. This decree also called out protests from the bishop's agent, to which no attention was paid; and before the end of the year the estates were sold—chiefly to the company that down to 1841 had farmed the tobacco monopoly. The exact price is not given; but according to the claims of the bishop's agents—Ramirez being succeeded by Juan Rodriguez de San Miguel—for the promised revenues during the next few years, it must have been about $600,000. Besides this sum, it was claimed that in 1842 the treasury was indebted to the fund to the amount of $1,075,182.25. Had this last measure been adopted in good faith by a responsible government, it would have been one of the wisest steps ever taken in connection with the subject; but down to 1845, and perhaps to the American conquest, the total amount of the pledged revenues actually paid was $1,183! The bishop's claim to the administration of the fund was not very firmly rooted in law or justice; but if he could have handled the revenues he would at least have spent a part of them in California, and the Indians would have received theoretically a small share of the benefits. In much later times an international commission has in its wisdom decided not only that Mexico must disgorge the plunder, but that the proceeds shall revert to the catholic church of California. Perhaps a very large part of the amount, when secured, will be devoted to

the welfare of the Indians in accordance with the 'will of the founders.'[13]

The Indians, if we may credit Vallejo's report to the Mexican government, were in 1842 hostile and ready to overrun the department unless the military force should be increased; or if we choose Alvarado's statement on the situation, they were all at peace and easily controlled by the existing force! I find in the records no definite evidence of serious hostilities. At San Diego in June the people were impelled by a rumored revolt of the Jacumeños to take the usual steps for defence, that is, to write about the advisability of borrowing arms from Captain Fitch.[14] At Angeles about the same time there were fears of an attack from the distant Payuches and Amajavas; and Antonio María Lugo was authorized at his own request to make a raid, with results that do not appear.[15] Farther north there was as usual an occasional sortie of citizen soldiers of the San José region after horse-thieves; and in June a plot was thought to be discovered on the part of the San José mission Indians and others to capture some of the leading citizens. The ringleader, Zenon, was sentenced to four months in the chain-gang.[16]

[13] All the documents referred to, and many more, with full comments on the topic of the pious fund in 1842–5, will be found in *San Miguel, Documentos relativos al Fondo Piadoso*. Mexico, 1845, 8vo, 60 p.; *Id., Segundo Cuaderno de Interesantes, Doc.* Mexico, 1845, 8vo, 32 p.; *Id., Rectificacion de Graves Equivocaciones*. Mexico, 1845, 8vo, 16 p.; *Escandon* and *Rascon, Observaciones que los Actuales Terceros Poseedores...hacen*. Mexico, 1845, 8vo, 12 p.; *Bustamante, Hist. Sta Anna*, 44–6, 267–70; *Siglo XIX.*, 1842, no. 134, 138, 146, 165, 393, etc.; *Doyle's Brief Hist.*, passim; besides very many other references that need not be particularized here. According to *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 64–5, and *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 90–6, one José Verdía, who had died at Monterey many years before, had left his property to the pious fund; but the effects had been burned by the authorities to prevent contagion. Bishop García Diego brought the claim with him and tried to collect it, but met with no very marked success.

[14] *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 287–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., vi. 125, 129.

[15] *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 188–9, 224, 231–4; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., vi. 122.

[16] *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 24–5; *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., v. 18–19; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 78; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 225. Nov. 13, 1842, Alvarado says

I present a list of thirty-eight vessels constituting the Californian fleet in 1842.[17] Five of the number

the Indians had taken advantage of the Jones affair of the 19th to retire to the woods and commit robberies. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 66.

[17] See full list for 1841-5 at end of chap. xxiii., this vol. Vessels of 1842: *Alert, Alex. Barclay* (?), *Barnstable, Bertha and Jenny, Bolivar, California, California* (schr), *Catalina, Chato, Clarita, Constante, Covólitz, Cyane, Dale, Don Quixote, Esmeralda, Fama, Fernanda, Hongue* (?), *Index, Jos. Peabody* (?), *Jóven Fanita, Jóven Guipuzcoana, Juan José, Julia Ann, Llama, Maryland, New Spring, Palatina, Primavera, Relief, Republicano, Rosalind, Tasso, Trinidad, Valleyfield* (?), *Yorktown, United States.*

The total of duties paid, according to the preceding list, was $67,382; but according to Hartnell, in *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 85, and a report in *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 37, 110, it was $73,729. 'Derecho de patentes de navegacion' for national merchant vessels, $13. *Mexico Mem. Hacienda*, 1844, no. 19. Other minor items of small sums on various accounts. *Id.*, no. 54, 64, 66, 71, 74. Balance in custom-house safe Dec. 1st, $0.50. *Dept. St. Pap., Cust.-H.*, MS., v. [276-85].

Feb. 1st, José Castro to be paid his full salary, and not subjected to the pro rata of his company—this for his great services. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 2; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 65-6. General remarks on condition of the treasury, necessity for reforms, and the new expenses caused by Micheltorena's coming. *Bandini, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 299-301; *Id., Doc.*, MS., 143; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 313-14; *Coronel, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 44-5; *Cerruti's Ramblings*, MS., 187; *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 37. Dec. 1st, pay of civil employés suspended to provide for Micheltorena's men. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 70.

Miscellaneous commercial items of the year: Orders that no vessel be allowed to trade or to remain over 24 hours at any port without papers from Monterey. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 374; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 254; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 241-2. Nov. 25th, order from Mexico that no foreign sugar must be admitted. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 2. *Barnstable* fined for admitting a private person before the visit of the officers. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 13. Belden to Larkin on smuggling, July 30th. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 293. A deduction in duties made for immediate payment. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 11. Duties on otter-skins at 50 cts each paid by Isaac Sparks. *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., vi. 115; vii. 16; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 288. Whales taken in S. Diego Bay. *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 433. Exports of hides not over 60,000, yet there are 16 vessels now on the coast (Jan.) scrambling for hides and tallow. *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 288-90. Lumber trade at Sta Cruz described in *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS., 31. A bad year for business. *Larkin's Accounts*, MS., v. fly-leaf.

Pablo de la Guerra, acting administrator of customs in April. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 27-8; *Id., S. José*, v. 62. Castañares gives bond in Mexico, April. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 10; Castañares arrives at S. Diego in Sept., and receives the office from Osio Sept. 23d. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., i. 32; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 285. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 422, speaks of the transfer of office to C. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 293-5, says C. came with the expectation of making a fortune, but found the berth not a profitable one. Feb. 3d, in Mexico. The treasurer must give a bond of $2,000. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 6-7. January, appointment of celadores. *Id., Ang.*, vi. 93. Nov. 11th, suspension of two minor officials by Alvarado. *Id., Ben.*, ii. 37. Corps of revenue officers in December: Manuel Castañares, administrator from March 8th, salary, $2,500; Pablo de la Guerra, oficial 1° from Jan. 1839, $1,750; Rafael Gonzalez, comandante de celadores, from March 1837, $1,800; celadores, Benito Diaz, Rafael Estrada, Joaquin de la Torre, Antonio Osio, salary, $700; Francisco Rico, clerk, $500; Atillan, coxswain, $300; a 2d coxswain, $210; 4 sailors, each $180; Pedro Narvaez, captain of port, $1,600. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., vi. 1-2.

belonged to the Pacific squadron of the U. S. navy, and their presence on the coast was connected with the American 'invasion,' to which a chapter has been already devoted. Of the Mexican vessels, four, the *Guipuzcoana, Clarita, Trinidad,* and *California,* were detained for a brief period by the hostile men-of-war; while, on the other hand, the captain of the American *Tasso* was temporarily detained by patriotic Californians at San Pedro; and the captain of the *Alert* took part in the war by spiking the guns at San Diego, in self-protection. Three Mexican vessels, including the *Chato* and *Republicano,* came to bring the new governor with his convict army and munitions to make them effective soldiers, the schooner *California* also aiding in this service. Of the remaining craft, only seven are shown by the records to have brought cargoes this year; and only nine paid duties or fines into the treasury. I find no evidence of the slightest effort to prevent the coasting trade by foreign vessels, nor of any other changes in the methods of trade; though neither trade nor visits to other ports were permitted until the proper papers had been obtained at Monterey. I have joined to my list a few minor items on the trade of the year. A prominent merchant recorded it on his books as a year of very dull business; and what the merchants had to do to gain a living may be inferred from this extract of a letter from Josiah Belden to Thomas O. Larkin: "The two barrels of liquor you sent I believe the alcalde knows nothing about as yet, and I shall not let him know that I have it if I can help it. If he does, I think I can mix it up so as to make it pass for country liquor"!

Receipts at the custom-house this year amounted to $74,000, of which amount two ships from Boston, the *California* and *Barnstable,* paid over $50,000. This was a falling-off of one third from the receipts of 1841; while of course the coming of the batallon fijo caused an increase of expenditure. Micheltorena

came provided with orders on the Mazatlan custom-house for $8,000 per month, in addition to Californian revenues; but it does not clearly appear that one of his drafts was ever paid. His soldiers, however, introduced some peculiar methods of supplying themselves with food and other needed articles, which perhaps went far to make up the deficits. The inhabitants did not approve the new methods, even preferring those practised in past years by the 'Monterey clique.' One of Alvarado's last official acts was to suspend the pay of all civil employés. Of course, and as usual, we have no definite accounts to show how the public money was expended; but as before, there was no complaint or controversy. José Abrego remained in charge of the comisaría; but Antonio María Osio in September surrendered the administration of customs to Manuel Castañares.

The year brought about ninety foreign visitors, including only prominent officers of the U. S. naval force; but only thirty-three of the number have a place in the appended list of pioneers,[18] and among those named, there are eight or ten respecting the exact date of whose arrival there is room for doubt. Lataillade and Teschemacher may be regarded as the men best known in later times; and of all the list, only three or four survived in 1884. Nearly all came, like those of former years, accidentally; for the overland immigration that had begun the year before was in 1842 temporarily suspended. There had not passed sufficient time for people in the east to get reports from their friends of the Bartleson and Workman parties, and to make their preparations. Some par-

[18] Pioneers of 1842: Alex. Bell, Wm Benitz, Geo. Bingham, Fred. G. Blume, Adolf Bruheim, Peter Collins, Theodore Cordua, Stephen Culverwell, Thos Cummins, John Evans, Ed A. Farwell, Joseph Flundin, Henry L. Ford (?), Alex. W. Frère, Omnes Guy, James B. Hatch, Thos Hickman (?), James H. Jones, Louis Jordan, Ralph Kilburn (?), Cesario Lataillade, François Lepage, Rich. T. Maxwell, Wm Oliver, Geo. W. Ross (?), Rowan (?), Salines, Peter Schubert (?), Ed L. Stetson, Fred. H. Teschemacher, Jos. P. Thompson, Ed Vischer, and John Yates (?).

ties, however, crossed to Oregon to come south in 1843, as we shall see; but so far as California was concerned, the overland travel was the other way, for a part of the Bartleson company returned to the United States, some of them to remain there. Nine or ten men, under the command and guidance of Chiles and Hopper, started from Sutter's early in the spring, went up the San Joaquin Valley, through Walker Pass, and thence to New Mexico, perhaps by the Wolfskill trail approximately, reaching Missouri in September.[19]

In a report of June 3d to the supreme government, Alvarado stated that at the end of January a party of two hundred persons, including forty foreigners, had arrived at Los Angeles from New Mexico. Their object had been not only to trade woollen goods for live-stock, as in the past, but to examine the country as a field for colonization, their former home being too much exposed to Apache raids. Most of them had gone back, many with the intention of bringing their

[19] In Springer's list, *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, i. no. 7, p. 39, the 10 men who returned are named as follows: Bartleson, Brolaski (probably an error), Chiles, Hopper, McDowell, Patton, Rickman, Springer, and the two Waltons. He gives the route, however, as by Tejon Pass, Mary River, Fort Hall, Green River, and Sta Fé. Hopper, *Narrative*, MS., 12–16, says there were 9 in the party; and Chiles, *Visit to Cal.*, MS., 11–12, that there were 13. Marsh, *Letter to Com. Jones*, MS., p. 14, gives the number as 14; and Belden, *Hist. Statement*, MS., 41, affirms that about half of Bartleson's company returned. Some of them, however, left Cal. by sea, and others went to Oregon the next year.

Miscellaneous items of 1842: Jan., Prudon says 4 foreigners arrived at Stokes' house from N. Mexico. Affairs going from bad to worse. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 12. Six Frenchmen on the southern frontier without passports. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 27; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 101. Those who came last year—Workman party—show no disposition to settle, except two. *Requena, Doc.*, MS., 3–4. Fifty hunters under Smith reported at the Gila junction. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 17. August, Salvio Pacheco complains that the trappers, and also Sutter's men, steal his cattle, as he can prove. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 9. Nov., a party of 7 Americans, including one family, has lately gone to settle in the northern part of the Sacramento Valley. *Marsh's Letter*, MS., 18. As early as 1842, Joseph Smith talked of colonizing Cal. with Mormons. *Young's Wife No. 19*, p. 58. June, condemnation of Taggett to death, and of Richards to 10 years on Chapala. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 64–5, 102. The crew of the schr *California* contained 5 kanakas, 2 New Zealanders, and 2 Chilenos. *Cooper, Libro de Cuentas*, MS., 198. Daniel Sexton claims to have raised the U. S. flag at his camp north of Gorgonio pass, and to have celebrated July 4th for the benefit of the Indians. *Frazee's S. Bernardino Co.*, 24.

families.[20] A few of the foreigners may have remained in California, but nothing is known of them. The New Mexicans were under the command of Francisco E. Vigil; they went back in several parties before the end of April, taking away about 5,000 head of horses and mules; and with one of the parties went John Rowland to bring his family and effects for the new rancho which he and Workman had secured.[21] Toward the end of the year some twenty New Mexican families did return to settle permanently.[22]

The most promising features of foreign relations having been disposed of in the chapter devoted to Jones' exploit at Monterey, it only remains for me to notice several narratives from foreign pens which belong to this year rather than to any other. The first of these—Simpson's *Narrative* and Mofras' *Exploration*, both pertaining to 1842 as well as to 1841, having received attention in the annals of the latter year—is Robinson's *Life in California*. Though not published until 1846, it belongs more properly to 1842, because it is mainly a record of personal experiences and observations which terminated in that year with the author's departure. Alfred Robinson came from Boston as a clerk on the *Brookline* in 1829. He became the resident agent of Bryant & Sturgis, spent a large part of his time in travelling from port to port, engaged in exchanging the cargoes of the Boston ships for hides, married into one of the best Californian families, that of Captain José de la Guerra y Noriega, and, with the exception of one trip to the east, resided continuously on the coast for twelve years, until he

[20] June 3, 1842, A. to min. of rel. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 16–18.

[21] *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 142–3, 157–8; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 23; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 105–7, 115; vii. 54; xii. 59.

[22] Nov. 9th, arrival of 19 families announced. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 23. Dec. 10th, Santiago Martinez, the comandante, sends a list of those who have come to settle: list not given. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 350. Rolfe, in *Frazee's S. Bernardino Co.*, p. 17, speaks of the coming of these families, who settled on a part of the Jurupa rancho. This was perhaps the Slover Mt colony mentioned in the annals of 1841, there being very likely an error in the earlier date. See *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 642–3.

sailed on the *Alert* at the end of 1842. An intelligent and active man of business, acquainted with everybody and enjoying the respect of all, though not personally so popular as some others of the foreign traders, his opportunities for accurate observation were excellent. It does not appear, however, that he entertained the idea of writing a book; but during his residence he obtained from his father-in-law an interesting account of the Indians found among Padre Boscana's papers, of which he determined to publish a translation; and he was induced, in view of California's increasing importance to eastern eyes, to extend his introduction to the translation as well as he could from memory and such memoranda as were available, including letters of as late date as 1844. The result was a most interesting narrative, the title of which, *Life in California*, is indicative of its contents. It is an agreeable presentment of personal experiences, mingled with glimpses of political history in 1829–42, combined with sketches of the country and its resources and its people, and including descriptions of most places, some of which are illustrated by the pencil of the author. Robinson wrote anonymously, represented names without any good reasons by initials throughout the work, and of course fell into some errors in presenting details; but as a whole, the book is worthy of much praise, and can be unfavorably criticised only by comparing it with what the author with his advantages might have written had he undertaken the task in time. I have had frequent occasion to cite this work, and from it as an authority Tuthill and other writers have drawn a very large portion of their information for the period it covers. Except the works of Dana and Forbes, Robinson's was probably the best known source of information about California down to the discovery of gold.[23]

[23] (*Robinson*) *Life in California: during a residence of several years in that territory, comprising a description of the country and the missionary establishments, with incidents, observations, etc., etc. Illustrated with numerous engravings. By an American. To which is annexed a historical account of the ori-*

Next a narrative of the 'King's Orphan' demands attention. Bidwell, Sutter, Hastings, and others have mentioned the visit in 1842–3 of an educated Swedish gentleman known as Dr Sandels, of scientific antecedents and proclivities, who had lived in Brazil, lost a fortune by mining operations in Mexico, and who declared that there were indications of gold in the region of New Helvetia.[24] The recollection of his presence was vague, and but for the mention of gold would perhaps have disappeared; but a manuscript signed 'King's Orphan' has come to light, which was doubtless the work of Sandels. It is a narrative of the author's voyage from Acapulco to Monterey and of his observations while travelling in California. There is a strong element of fiction in the production, or at least in some parts of it, intended apparently to enliven the story rather than to deceive the reader, and not perhaps affecting the value of the writer's observations on men and things in California—observations which, without containing anything especially

gin, customs, and traditions of the Indians of Alta California. Translated from the original Spanish manuscript. New York, 1846. 12mo, 226 p. (of Life in Cal.), and p. xii., 227–341, of translation. The illustrations are, Sta Bárbara Town, Id. Presidio, Id. Misson, S. Luis Rey, S. Gabriel, S. Buenaventura, Yerba Buena, portrait of P. Boscana, an Indian dressed in the 'tobet.' Feb. 1, 1846, Robinson writes to Capt. Fitch, announcing the appearance of his book, of which several copies are sent to California. Hopes F. will take no offence at the mention of his marriage adventure. *Fitch, Doc.*, MS., 388. Alvarado and Vallejo, taking offence at some criticism of their mission policy, are disposed to criticise Robinson unfairly. Attached to the book, with distinct title but continuous paging, is:

Boscana, Chinigchinich; a historical account of the origin, customs, and traditions of the Indians at the missionary establishment of St Juan Capistrano, Alta California; called the Acagchemem Nation; collected with the greatest care, from the most intelligent and best instructed in the matter. By the Reverend Father Friar Geronimo Boscana, of the order of St Francisco, apostolic missionary at said mission. Translated from the original Spanish manuscript, by one who was many years a resident of Alta California. New York, 1846. 12mo, p. 226–341. The introduction is signed by the translator's initials, 'A. R.' The original MS. from which the translation was made, remained in the possession of a branch of the Guerra family until a few years ago (about 1878), when it was purchased for the collection of M. Pinart, of Paris, whither another copy in P. Boscana's handwriting had drifted before, as it seems. I have also a few scraps of the work in the padre's hand.

[24] *Bidwell's Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 136; *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 22; *Sutter Co. Hist*, 21; *S. F. Alta*, Jan. 28, 1878; *Upham's Notes*, 470; *Hastings' Emig. Guide*, 82. Sandels is also said to have made a map of Sheldon's rancho on the Cosumnes.

new or important, seem to bear the marks of intelligence and accuracy.[25] Dr Sandels, several of whose original letters are in my Library, came from Acapulco to Monterey with Captain Cooper on the *California*, arriving at the end of September 1842.[26] He visited San Francisco, San José, Sonoma, Ross, New Helvetia, and Santa Bárbara; made an ascent of Mount Diablo; and being an artist, joined to his manuscript several pencil sketches of places seen. Of the chronology of his movements not much is known, except that his visit to Sonoma was in February or March 1843, and that he was at Santa Bárbara in April.[27] In his letter to General Vallejo he described himself as 'physician, mining expert, and naturalist.' I have occasion to cite elsewhere some of the 'Orphan's' remarks on local and personal matters. In September he sailed on the *Diamond* for Honolulu.[28]

John Bidwell's pamphlet has already been noticed so far as it was a journal of his overland trip. It was a letter, dated at Bodega March 30, 1842, containing an abridgment of his journal. Twelve pages are devoted to the author's hasty 'observations about the

[25] *King's Orphan, Visit to California, 1842–3*, MS., in possession of the 'Assoc. Pioneers of Ter. Days of Cal.' in N. Y., said to have been found at N. Orleans before 1848. I have not seen the original, but a portion, including the voyage to Monterey, was published in the *S. J. Pioneer*, June–July 1878; another portion, including travels in the Sacramento Valley, in *Id.*, Jan.–Feb. 1879; and a compilation from the part describing the country and visits to northern districts, in *Upham's Notes*, 537–62, with cuts of San Francisco and Fort Ross. The three parts form a scrap-book in my collection.

Of the five autographs of this visitor in my possession, three are apparently GmafSandels; one G M af Sandels; and one Gm Waseurts af Sandels. His name was therefore G. M. (or Gus.) Waseurtz (or Warcurtz) af Sandels—'af' being the Swedish form of 'von.' From the original MS. in N. Y. the name was thought to be Mafs or Mass.

[26] In *Larkin's Doc.*, i. 330, is found his signature to an inventory of Lieut Sarmiento. All the names and most of the incidents given by the 'King's Orphan' in connection with his voyage on the *Sta María*, Capt. Hatch, from Panamá to Monterey, touching only at Acapulco, are fictitious.

[27] Sandels' letters to Vallejo, Feb. 23, Mar. 18, Apr. 8, 1843, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 335, 341, 357.

[28] Aug. 28, 1843, Sandels' application for license to ship his luggage—books, mathematical and surgical instruments, natural history collections, Indian relics, etc. *Pinto, Doc.*, ii. 20. Arrival at Honolulu in Oct. *Friend*, Oct. 1843.

country,' which had been confined to Mission San José, Marsh's rancho, New Helvetia, Bodega, and Ross. "You will undoubtedly expect me to come out in plain language either for or against the country," he writes; "but this I cannot do, not having been able to see as much of it as I intended before I wrote to you. I have, however, been diligent in making inquiries of men who are residents in the country." Bidwell then proceeds to describe in succession the timber of California, its agricultural productions, climate—with a table showing the weather each day from November 4th to April 1st—its live-stock, prices, facilities for obtaining farms, and a great variety of such information as would be welcome to persons contemplating immigration. He says: "I have endeavored to state facts with impartiality. At least half of the company return this spring to the United States, many of them well pleased with the country; and others so sick they cannot look at it. People generally look on it as the garden of the world or the most desolate place of creation. Although the country is not what I expected, yet if it were not under the Mexican government I should be as willing here to spend the uncertain days of my life as elsewhere. It may be I shall as it is."[29]

[29] *Bidwell, A Journey to California*, n. p., n. d. (Weston, Mo., 1843?), 8vo, 32 p. Preface: 'The publisher of this journal, being aware that a great many persons in Missouri and other western states are at this time anxious to get correct information relative to Oregon and California, hopes in part to gratify them by giving publicity to these sheets through the press; having been solicited to do so by men of information who have perused them in manuscript. The author, Mr John Bidwell, a young man of good acquirements and unexceptionable moral character, came to Missouri from the Buckeye state about 4 years ago, and resided in Platte Co. two years, during which time he made many stanch friends, and was prosperous in business. But the many inducements held forth to enterprising young men to go to California caused him to adopt the motto, "Westward ho," shoulder his rifle, and join one of the California companies which leave the rendezvous near Independence annually. Prior to his going he promised his friends to keep a journal, noticing the incidents of the trip, and also give his observations of the country after his arrival there. This promise he has redeemed by forwarding the publisher this copy of his journal.'

Some brief quotations from Bidwell's remarks: 'I know of but two American families here, those of Kelsey and Joel Walker.' 'It is a proverb here, and I find it a pretty true one, that a Spaniard will not do anything which he cannot do on horseback.' 'To obtain a grant you must become a citizen

John Marsh, for six years a resident of the country, "complying with the request to be made acquainted with some of the most interesting facts relative to California," wrote a letter to Commodore Jones on November 25th of this year. The writer was an educated man, and his letter contains somewhat vivid pictures of Alvarado's rule, the Graham affair, and such other prominent topics as are briefly considered. Marsh evidently deemed California a desirable acquisition for the United States, and devoted some space to the task of showing that communication by land with Oregon was much easier than had been represented. I have had occasion to cite this letter, which I believe has never been printed, on several points.[30] Another similar letter was that written by Captain Henry A. Peirce to Thomas Cummins of Honolulu. It is dated February 1st, on board the brig *Maryland*, and contains a good description of the country's condition and prospects from the writer's observations during his late visit. The same man while in the east wrote a letter, which was published in the newspapers, upon the establishment and possible future encroachments of the Hudson's Bay Company in California. There were few letters written by Americans in this part of the world at this period which did not allude more or less

and a member of the catholic church. Whether persons of any other denomination would when piously disposed be interrupted by the law, I can't say, but think not.' 'All who would come to this country must bring passports from the governors of their resident states.' 'Missions are nearly all broken up.' The people all object to the bishop remaining in the country, fearing they will have to pay tithes. 'The country is acknowledged by all to be extremely healthy.' 'It is seldom a Spaniard makes a charge against a traveller for his hospitality; they are kind in this respect, but I can't say how much they p——r.' 'Capt. Sutter would give any information to emigrants, and I believe render any assistance in his power. S. José would be another good place to arrive at. Mr Gulnac is noted for his kindness to strangers.' Finally, directions about the route are given, though 'there would be many advantages in coming by water,' the author advising the use of pack-animals instead of wagons.

[30] *Letter of Dr John Marsh to Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, containing information on California*, MS., 19 p. Dated Nov. 25, 1842, at Farm of Pulpones. This copy was made April 3, 1843, by Dr R. T. Maxwell, who kindly presented it to me.

directly to the desirability of American, and the danger of English, occupation.[31]

Here may be mentioned the fact that Edward Vischer, who visited California in 1842 on the *California* schooner, published in later years a series of photographs from pencil sketches made by himself, with a pamphlet of descriptive text, entitled *Missions of California;* but it does not appear that any of the drawings were made at the time of his first visit, though doubtless his recollections of 1842 added to the value of both pictures and text.

[31] Feb. 1, 1842, *Peirce's Letter to Cummins*, MS., copy furnished for my use by the writer. May 1st, Peirce's letter on H. B. Co., in *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 242, written in Boston.

CHAPTER XIV.

MICHELTORENA'S RULE—POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

1843.

THE GOVERNOR AT LOS ANGELES—FINANCIAL TROUBLES—WARFARE AGAINST DESTITUTION—A JUNTA OF ANGELINOS—AID FROM CITIZENS, FROM VALLEJO, AND FROM LIMANTOUR—SYMPTOMS OF CONTROVERSY—MICHELTORENA WITH HIS BATALLON COMES TO MONTEREY—RECEPTION—RUMORS OF REVOLT—GRAHAM'S OFFER—JUNTA OF OFFICERS AT MONTEREY—PREFECTURES SUPPRESSED—ABSENCE OF RECORDS—SWEARING OF THE BASES—VOTE FOR SANTA ANNA—JUNTA DEPARTAMENTAL—ELECTIONS—CASTAÑARES FOR CONGRESS—INDIAN AFFAIRS—EXPEDITION TO MENDOCINO OR CLEAR LAKE—THE CHOLOS AT ANGELES AND MONTEREY—EXAGGERATED ACCUSATIONS.

DURING the first half of 1843 Micheltorena remained at Los Angeles with his batallon fijo. He had assumed the civil government on the last day of 1842, though holding the military command from an earlier period, and as general had rendered himself famous or notorious, by his methods of conducting the country's defence when it was 'invaded' by the Americans. His chief task during these months was to provide for the support of his men; and he waged continual warfare with as much energy as it was possible for a man of his character to show, against utter destitution. He could not get from Mexico or Mazatlan a cent of the money that had been promised; and the custom-house receipts, one third less for the whole year than in 1842, were hardly anything at all in the earlier months of the year. Writing on April 25th, Micheltorena rendered the following account of the treasury from September to date: "Entradas, $000; salidas, $000; existencias, cuatro reales;" this

latter sum of fifty cents being the amount he had found in the treasury at his arrival. In March he represented his men as living on six and a quarter cents per day, the officers receiving only one fifth of their pay; yet he looked forward to the time when he should get aid from Mexico, pay up all arrears, and convert his soldiers into farmers. These statements were made in connection with some of the governor's numerous appeals to Colonel Vallejo for aid.[1]

The records fail to show exactly how the troops were fed and clothed. The popular solution of the problem has always been that it was by stealing from the citizens; but I shall have more to say on that topic later. Micheltorena, by his gentlemanly manners, had made many personal friends in the south; and the more wealthy of the rancheros and traders doubtless contributed to his support. Vallejo cites a letter of José Antonio Carrillo, written in March, in which a junta of citizens is said to have been in session for three days to deliberate on ways and means after listening to a speech from the governor on the situation. A forced loan from merchants was proposed, but the proposition was not favorably received. The only result reached was that the gentlemen present decided to become responsible for the payment of Micheltorena's salary, for which purpose others outside of Angeles were subsequently invited to contribute.[2] From Vallejo the governor received a schooner-load of provisions sent down from Petaluma on the *California* in June, with a certain amount of money.

[1] March 15, April 25, 1843, Micheltorena to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 344, 365. Jan. 27th, M. to admin. of customs. The strictest economy is required. Creditors must submit to sacrifices as well as soldiers and officers. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 32-3. March 15th, Abrego ordered to suspend all back pay until further instructions. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 43. March 30th, one third of the customs revenue to be paid over to the comisario, with which to pay civil and military employés. One third of salaries to be paid; officers of the batallon will get one fourth, and their general nothing; judges of the tribunal must be content with their pro rata; Alvarado to get $1,300 on salary account, *de preferencia*. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 34-5, 123-5; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 48.

[2] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., iv. 349-52. The writer says that this meeting was secret, and not known to the public for several years.

So far as public funds were concerned, the times were hard also on the northern frontier, though the crops had been much better than in the south. Vallejo, though repeatedly declaring that he could no longer support at his own expense the Sonoma garrison, was unable to resist Micheltorena's appeals, accompanied as they were by hints from southern men that he was under especial obligations to aid in the support of an officer whose coming had been so largely due to his influence; but a motive still more potent in determining the colonel's action was the acquisition of the Soscol rancho granted to him this year, and for which the supplies furnished for public needs to the amount of some $11,000 were to be regarded as the price.[3] Another man who furnished aid to Micheltorena early in 1843, and received lands in payment, was José Y. Limantour, who had come to the coast as owner and supercargo of a Mexican vessel. What supplies were furnished and what lands granted, it is not easy—nor necessary here—to determine, so involved in later frauds and forgeries did the whole matter become; but that there was an actual transaction by which Micheltorena obtained aid from Limantour, there is no reason to doubt.[4]

[3] March 15, 1843, M. to V., begging him to send back the *California* with a load of provisions. No crops in the south except on irrigated lands, and these devoured by hungry geese and crows! *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 344. Voyage from Petaluma to S. Pedro in June. *Cooper's Log of the Cal.*, MS. Much information about the supplies furnished by V. was brought out in the litigation of later years respecting the Soscol rancho. April 1st, V. to M. Has received no reply to his representations about the scarcity of supplies for the troops on the frontier and at S. F. If relief cannot be afforded, he will not be responsible for results, and asks to be relieved from his command. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 355. May 19th, the comisario furnishes nothing, and V. cannot longer support the troops. *Id.*, xi. 377. June 18th, a public meeting held at Sonoma to raise funds for support of the garrison and the erection of public buildings. The amount raised, the Vallejos being the largest subscribers, was $3,063, besides 155 fan. grain, 20 head of cattle, 1,100 feet boards, 12,700 adobes, and 22 laborers. Capt. Castañeda was this day sent as a messenger to the gov. to explain the absolute indigence of the garrison. *Id.*, xi. 411–12.

[4] As another means of raising funds, on Jan. 2d Micheltorena orders the negotiation of a loan of $10–12,000 on future customs receipts, probably without success; though on Jan. 10th Castañares was thanked for some 'generous offer,' which was accepted. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 28–9.

In connection with Micheltorena's appeals to Vallejo for aid, there were some symptoms of a controversy between the two officers. Through Pablo de la Guerra in February, Vallejo heard a rumor that the governor had expressed doubts about the fact of his having supported the troops at his own expense, and an intention to remove him from his command of the northern line. The rumor was doubtless unfounded, and the colonel himself did not perhaps attach much importance to it; but he felt somewhat sore about his own instrumentality in having brought the general and his vagabonds to California, and there were many reasons why a grievance against him and a suspension of friendly relations were rather desirable than otherwise. Accordingly Vallejo, on the assumption that his word had been doubted and his honor offended, wrote some rather sharp letters to Micheltorena, enclosing proofs of his past expenditures in behalf of the troops, and a request to be relieved of his command. The general's reply was an assurance of his high personal and official esteem for Vallejo; a denial that he had ever doubted his word, or failed to appreciate his past sacrifices, which he hoped soon to repay; and an earnest request that he would not deprive the country of his valuable services. It was wellnigh impossible to quarrel with such a man under such circumstances.[5]

Besides the labor of conducting his financial campaign, Micheltorena had other duties quite sufficient to occupy the spare time of an indolent ruler, who rarely made his appearance before noon, and had no fondness for office work at late hours. There was daily necessity to hear the complaints of citizens concerning the depredations of the cholo soldiers, and constant effort was required to maintain a semblance of military discipline in the batallon. Moreover, there was a variety of routine correspondence on minor matters requiring no special notice here, in which the

[5] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 356, 365, 371; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 352-6.

general's secretaries required a certain amount of superintendence. Besides attending to the routine duties of his office, Micheltorena turned his attention to the mission problem, and after consultation with the friars, determined, rather wisely, as I shall explain more definitely in the next chapter, on a restoration of twelve missions to what was nominally the old system, a measure which was actually carried out. So much cannot be said of another scheme devised by him, that of establishing a newspaper at Monterey, in which citizens might read and criticise the acts of the government in their behalf.[6]

In midsummer Micheltorena left Los Angeles with his batallon, and came to live at the capital. There are no original records of his journey or of any circumstances connected with it. There is, indeed, a notable absence from all archives, public and private, of any kind of documents relating to the events of this period. Many Californians remember the transfer, and all agree that the Angelinos were perfectly willing to part with their guests of a year. Los Angeles was willing now as never before to relinquish its claims to the honor of being the governor's residence, wishing its old rival joy in the acquisition; while the cholos themselves, having stolen every eatable thing that the south afforded, were not sorry to transfer their industrial operations to new fields. All that is known about the date of Micheltorena's coming north

[6] *Micheltorena, Digest of Correspondence at Los Angeles, Feb. 22 to May 31, 1843*, is a printed pamphlet of 7 pages, 8vo, without imprint, doubtless printed in connection with some land case. It contains the purport of the 60 odd communications of the gov., chiefly on minor routine, from *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 37–59. March 15th, project of a 'pliego de imprenta.' *Id.*, and *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 33. May 1st, such a press of business in the secretary's office that a second clerk was appointed at $30 per month. *Arce, Doc.*, MS., 16. May 6th, Micheltorena deprives lieutenants Maciel and Limon of their rank, sending them as 'paisanos' to S. Diego. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iii. 55; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 53; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 295. May 20th, letter about a personal row between Sec. Arce and Lieut Somoza. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 107.

is the facts that he was at Monterey on August 13th,[7] and that on September 4th Vallejo wrote from Sonoma to congratulate him on his safe arrival.[8] It is said that the usual attentions were shown to the governor at different points on his journey; that Manuel Castañares succeeded in raising among government employés and citizens sufficient money to properly *festejar* his Excellency, who made some glowing speeches on his projects for the country's welfare, both on the day of arrival and in the later national festivities of September 16th; and finally, that the soldiers began their depredations with the least possible delay.[9] Thus the indications are that the people of Monterey entertained no very cordial feelings toward their new ruler and his men, their dislike being mainly of course for the cholos, of whose character they were not ignorant; but for reasons that will be more apparent later, it is difficult to obtain information from impartial sources respecting the popular feeling. Meanwhile the officers of the batallon, in accordance with a Mexican custom not known in California before this time I think, were quartered at the houses of citizens, a circumstance that did not tend to increase the popularity of the new-comers.[10]

There are two or three circumstances that point rather vaguely to the existence at this time of certain schemes of revolt. Hastings, who is far from good authority, says: "The timorous movements of the governor, and especially the fact of his being unwilling to venture among the Californians without an armed force for his protection, created much dissatisfaction among them, which became so general at one

[7] Aug. 13, 1843, M. at Monterey writes to Larkin, not, however, alluding in any way to his recent arrival. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 29.

[8] *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 445–6. Salvador Vallejo was also sent down to greet him, explain the state of affairs on the frontier, and invite him to visit Sonoma.

[9] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 20–1; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 364–8; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 79–80.

[10] Aug. 28th, a custom-house celador claims exemption from the billeting of officers at his house. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 109; *Id., Relacion*, MS., 86.

time that they determined to interpose their omnipotence to prevent his Excellency from marching his omnifarious troops to the seat of government. But before I left, his generalship was permitted to march northward, and was in full possession of the chief town, there to be seen marching and parading his cropped and branded troops about the streets with all imaginable pomposity."[11] This statement, though absurd in some respects—else it would hardly find a place in the work cited—may signify that the author had heard rumors of revolt from foreigners whom he met; for on August 14th Vallejo announced his discovery that certain persons were plotting against the government. By his order some documents supposed to have a bearing on the subject were seized at San José on the person of Juan Padilla; but the purport of the discovery is not stated.[12] Captain Sutter, without giving exact dates, claims to have warned Micheltorena of impending danger long before the revolution broke out. And finally, in August or September, Isaac Graham offered to the governor the services of himself and forty other foreigners living in the vicinity of Santa Cruz, doing this presumably in the hope of getting a blow at his old foes, Alvarado and Castro, in the troubles supposed to be brewing. But seven of the foreigners protested that they had given Graham no authority to act for them, and that their only desire was to live in quiet, without being drawn into trouble by that "seditious evil-doer and pernicious disturber of the peace." Micheltorena's reply was that California was at peace and his force amply sufficient. If the services of foreigners should be needed, they would be notified in writing through the proper authorities.[13]

Financial difficulties were not greatly modified in

[11] *Hastings' Emig. Guide*, 121-2.

[12] Aug. 14th, 19th, V. to com. of S. José, and reply. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 442, 444.

[13] Sept. 28th, Weeks, Morris, Majors, Barton, Sweet, Heath, and Buckle to Micheltorena. Oct. 7th, M.'s reply. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 51-3.

kind or degree by the governor's change of residence. A reduction of expenses or an increase of revenue was a matter of urgent necessity, and the 9th of October a junta of officials was held at the governor's house to devise means of relief.[14] Micheltorena presided, and explained the object of the meeting in an opening speech; after which Vallejo was chosen secretary, and the first session was terminated by the appointment of a committee of seven to report in four days.[15] At the session of the 13th a report was presented, discussed, and adopted, in substance as follows: The justices and secretary of the supreme court to receive each a salary of $1,200; the government secretary to have $1,200, with a clerk at $500; the offices of prefects and sub-prefects to be abolished; $1,200 to be paid to the principal of the school at Monterey, books and paper being furnished by the scholars, but in other towns schools were to be supported by the municipalities with contributions from citizens; the comisario to be replaced by a treasurer at a salary of $1,000 (or $1,500); alcaldes and justices of the peace, being entitled to fees as judges of first instance, not to receive the allowance of $30 per month; and finally, the administrator and chief clerk of the custom-house to receive the same salary as before, though the latter's additional pay as interpreter was to be reduced by one half. After thanking the members for the reduction of $20,000 effected in the civil budget, and promising his best efforts to bring about a corresponding reduction in military expenses, Micheltorena declared the junta at an end.[16]

[14] The officers present were Gen. José M. Micheltorena; colonels M. G. Vallejo and J. B. Alvarado; lieut-colonels Rafael Tellez and José Castro; captains Juan Abella and Francisco Noriega; chief of artillery, Capt. Mariano Silva; captain of the port, Pedro Narvaez; comandante of the presidial company, Capt. Nicanor Estrada; governor's sec., Manuel Jimeno; president of the tribunal, Juan Malarin; prefect of 1st district, Ramon Estrada; administrator of customs, Manuel Castañares; vista, Pablo de la Guerra; comisario, José Ábrego; and Rafael Gonzalez, comandante of celadores.

[15] Members of the committee: Castañares, Tellez, Vallejo, Malarin, Ábrego, Alvarado, and Jimeno.

[16] *Junta Consultativa y Económica en Monterey, Octubre de 1845*, MS.

Besides the fragmentary blotters preserved by the secretary of this meeting, I find no other contemporary record on the subject until January 1, 1844, on which date Micheltorena issued a proclamation carrying into effect the economical measures recommended by the junta. By this proclamation the governor's salary was stopped; three of the five judgeships of the tribunal were suppressed; some other minor changes were introduced beyond those suggested in October; and some military salaries were saved. The saving in the civil budget amounted to $34,350; and in the military to $5,042, by stopping the pay of auxiliary officers, of the general's secretary, and of the surgeon. By a regulation that officers for the present must be content with half-pay, a further temporary saving of over $10,000 was effected.[17] On November 14th an order was issued for an election, to be held in December, of ayuntamientos and alcaldes to serve from the beginning of 1844. In this order the suppression of the prefectures was incidentally alluded to, and the first alcalde in each place was instructed to perform the duties both of prefect and judge of first instance.[18]

These are blotters and fragments preserved by Vallejo, the secretary, some parts being in duplicate, and the whole perhaps not quite complete. There were perhaps other sessions, as on Oct. 10th Micheltorena writes to Larkin that there will be a meeting at his house to-morrow at 4 P. M. to consider the matter of smuggling, trade by whalers, etc. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 43. The junta is briefly mentioned in *Botello, Anales*, MS., 108-9; and *Amador, Memorias*, MS., 152-3. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 379–82, gives some details—as to the accuracy of which I express no opinion—about the junta, not included in the original record. At the first meeting after the gov. had made his opening speech and left the room, Prudon submitted a proposition that the batallon be sent to Sonoma, where they could be fed and put to work. The officers of the batallon protested that it would be derogatory to their dignity even to consider such a proposition; and the Californians left the hall in disgust. At a second meeting Vallejo himself urged the sending of the army to the northern frontier, where he could supply them with plenty of meat and corn, but no money or liquor. Micheltorena was inclined to think favorably of the plan, but the Mexican officers began to bluster as before. Alvarado made a speech, in which he declared that it was useless to talk of effecting reforms so long as the defence of Californian homes and families was confided to convicts, and the junta broke up without accomplishing anything in the only direction which might have afforded relief and prevented revolution.

[17] *Micheltorena, Bando Económico, 1 de Enero, 1844*, MS.

[18] Nov. 14, 1843, Micheltorena's proclamation on local elections. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 117–18; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 297–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 31; *Micheltorena's Admin.*, 16–17; *Duhaelde's Colon. Hist.*, add., 84–5. At Angeles and Monterey the ayunt. was to consist of two alcaldes, four

This important change in local government has left but little trace in the archives for the period during which it was in operation, from January 1844 to July 1845, beyond an occasional and incidental allusion to alcaldes instead of prefects.

Indeed, from the middle of 1843 the chain of archive evidence is in certain respects extremely incomplete in comparison to that of earlier years. It would almost seem that there had been a deliberate effort to destroy or conceal documents relating to the governor's acts in these years, for their absence is nearly as marked in private and local archives as in those of the department. It is not unlikely that the researches of later years in connection with land litigation may have had something to do with the disappearance of these papers.

In obedience to instructions from Mexico—whence no less than sixty coins were sent, or at least promised, for distribution to the crowds!—Micheltorena in September and October ordered a public and ceremonial swearing of allegiance to the new constitution, the *bases orgánicas* of the republic. The prefect or other chief local authority was to march through the streets with a military escort, amid ringing of bells and with all practicable pomp, before taking the oath of public employés and citizens. The oath was taken at Los Angeles October 15th, at San Diego the 29th, and at Sonoma late in December, "not as a mere formality of law, but because the bases promise a future of peace and prosperity," as the comandante wrote. Few people in California knew or cared to know anything about the bases de Tacubaya; yet all the same the oath was doubtless taken at every town.[19]

regidores, and a síndico. At S. Diego, Sta Bárbara, S. Juan (Bautista), Branciforte, S. José, S. F., and Sonoma two alcaldes were to be chosen. The primary election to be held on the second Sunday in Dec., and the secondary on the following Friday. Nov. 13th, the junta departamental had fixed the number of alcaldes, etc., *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 13.

[19] June 17, 1843, Bocanegra to gov., promising coins. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 2. Sept. 28th, Micheltorena to prefect. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS.,

Not only did California swear to the bases, but on November 1st, through her junta departamental, assembled in extra session at the capital, and desirous of expressing its obligations "to the illustrious author of the nation's regeneration as a reward of his civic virtues and heroic deeds," she cast her vote with absolute unanimity for General Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, benemérito de la patria, for president.[20] At the beginning of the year an order had been circulated to the effect that until the national organization could be perfected, all officials, including judges and members of the junta, should continue in the exercise of their functions.[21] The old junta, composed of Jimeno, Castro, Estrada, and Gonzalez, or those members who could most conveniently be assembled at Monterey, held two extra sessions this year. One was on November 1st, when the vote of the department was cast for Santa Anna, and the other on the 13th, when it met to determine the number of members to be chosen for the new junta, as well as for the different ayuntamientos.[22] Meanwhile Micheltorena had ordered an election to take place in accordance with the Mexican law of June 19th, though at a later date than was prescribed by that law.[23] The primary election was to be held on October 22d; the secondary on the 29th; and the electors were to be at

xii. 72. Oct. 3d, M. to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 459. Jan. 1st, reply. *Id.*, xii. 2. Swearing at Angeles. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 114. At S. Diego, *Hayes' Doc.*, MS., 170. The friars take the oath. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 35, etc.

[20] Session of Nov. 1st. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 12. Nov. 4th, Micheltorena's proclamation announcing the vote. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 299; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 468; *Micheltorena's Administration*, 15. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 374–6, says that this vote did not represent the popular opinion.

[21] Jan. 24th, 27th, Jimeno to prefect. *Micheltorena's Admin.*, 11–12. Jan. 27th, gov. says his affairs are so urgent as to prevent his attendance at sessions of the junta at present. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 98. Feb. 2d, pay of sec. of junta to continue. *Id., Ben.*, iii. 119–20. Feb. 4th, 20th, all last year's judges to hold over. *Id., Ang.*, xii. 70–1; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 29.

[22] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 12–13.

[23] Sept. 28, 1840, M.'s election proclamation. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xi. 11; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 112–13; *Micheltorena's Admin.*, 13–14; *Mexico, Reglamento de Elecciones, 19 de Junio, 1843*, MS. By the terms of this law, the primary election was to be held the 2d Sunday in August, and the electoral college to meet at the capital on the last Sunday in September.

Monterey as early as November 15th.[24] Having attended to the usual preliminaries in the sessions of November 16th–17th, on the 19th the electors voted for a deputy to congress, to fill the place of Andrés Castillero, of whose services for California during his term of office I know nothing. The choice fell upon Manuel Castañares, a Mexican, who desired the position, and was favored by the governor. Antonio M. Osio was elected suplente.[25] Next day, the 20th, seven vocales were chosen to compose the new junta, as follows: Pio Pico, Francisco Figueroa, Narciso Botello, Francisco de la Guerra, David Spence, Ramon Estrada, and Estévan Munrás, with the same number of substitutes. It is to be noted that though the name of junta was still retained in California, the term *asamblea*, or assembly, was used in the bases orgánicas.[26]

Indian horse-thieves were still troublesome in Central California. In June various citizens of the Monterey district sent a petition to Micheltorena, relating their troubles of past years, and stating that they would soon be obliged to abandon their ranchos, as no majordomos could be found to take charge of them, so great was the insecurity of life. The Indians came to the very town to commit robberies. Complaints had been made to the authorities, and some expeditions had been sent out, but they had never accomplished anything, and had generally failed

[24] The electors chosen were Joaquin Ortega for S. Diego, Ignacio del Valle for Sta Bárbara, Ignacio Palomares for Angeles, José F. Bucna for S. José, Manuel Castañares for Monterey, and Ignacio Peralta for S. F. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 9-11, 13; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 364; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 95-6.

[25] Castañares doubtless sailed with Capt. Cooper on the *California*, which left Monterey Dec. 10th. He took with him a power of attorney to collect $4,002 due his brother, José María, for salary as supreme court judge. *Bonilla, Doc.*, MS., 14–15.

[26] *México, Bases Orgánicas, 1843.* The suplentes were: Cárlos Carrillo, Antonio Suñol, Juan M. Anzar, Salvio Pacheco, José Castro, Ignacio Peralta, and Ignacio del Valle. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 14-16. Nov. 22d, Micheltorena proclaims the result of both elections. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 300; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 32; *Micheltorena's Admin.*, 18.

to return the horses and saddles furnished by the rancheros. Sometimes the latter had carried thieves to jail, but they had been set at liberty without punishment, and robbers de razon were almost as troublesome as the Indians. This petition having been forwarded by the governor to the comandante of the northern line, the latter sent out several expeditions, of which we have no details.[27] This was early in the year; but it does not appear that the soldiers of the batallon after they came north ever performed any service against the Indians. In the south, however, no hostilities are reported this year, and perhaps this fact should be attributed to the presence of the cholos.

One expedition of this year from Sonoma consisted of seventy Californians and two hundred auxiliary Indians, under the command of Captain Salvador Vallejo, starting March 5th and returning the 27th. On the evening of the 12th a fight took place on an island, where one hundred and seventy Indians were killed. According to the official reports the object of the expedition was to punish several tribes who had been plotting against the white people; the island where the fight occurred was represented as in the ocean near Cape Mendocino. It seems to have been in connection with this campaign that a negro deserter from the *Cyane* was killed while resisting capture.[28]

[27] June 4th, petition of citizens of S. José. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 343; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 357–60. Jan. 26th, gov. orders presidial company to be reorganized, and a detachment to be stationed at Pacheco's rancho, the rancheros being invited to share in the expense. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 31. March 14th, Manuel Larios writes to Castro that the campaign against the Chuciles amounted to nothing. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 6. April 12th, José Castro wants $300 for having maintained an armed force in the sierra for two months past. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., v. 10. Dec. 8th, citizens of S. José petition the gov. for a permanent detachment of troops, for the support of which they will contribute. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 89.

[28] March 13, 1343, Salvador Vallejo from Mendocino to M. G. Vallejo, describing the fight of last evening from 8 to 11 P. M. on the large island of Moth, which was reached by 12 soldiers and 30 auxiliaries by means of rafts. The Indians refused to give up their weapons, and seemed treacherous; therefore they were attacked. Lieut A. M. Pico commanded the force on the mainland. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 342. April 1st, Col Vallejo's report to gov. The Ind. against whom the expedition was sent were the Mottiyomi,

Dr Sandels was at Sonoma when this party returned; and he represents the outrage to have been committed on a tribe on an island in the northern part of San Francisco Bay, in the absence of all the fighting men, the provocation being a threat to steal the settlers' cattle. The negro deserter was found hidden here, proclaimed a foe to Mexico, and shot in the back.[29] Juan Bojorges, one of Vallejo's party, gives many details of the raid, and says its object from the first was to obtain Indian laborers and servants, of whom a large number were obtained from another ranchería. He says the battle was on an island in a laguna grande, where none but the guide had ever been,[30] and I have no doubt that Clear Lake, and not the ocean or bay, was the scene of this massacre.[31] An investigation was ordered, but the result is not known. Salvador Vallejo in such distant raids committed many barbarous acts; but an outrage so gross as this is represented to have been would hardly have been excused by his brother.

I have had frequent occasion already to mention Micheltorena's soldiers, the cholos, as they were commonly called by Californians, and in no complimentary manner. Their character and acts, however, had so important an influence in bringing on the revolution of the next year, that it is necessary to present the subject somewhat fully here. The reader is aware that the batallon fijo was composed chiefly of criminals, a large part of them having been taken from

Chiliyomi, Holiyomi, Tuliyomi, Supuyomi, Paguenjelayomi, Sicomyomi, Hayomi, and Clustinomayomi. Snow-storms and the large numbers and threatening attitude of the Indians made it imprudent to continue hostilities the next day. Some prisoners were brought back. *Id.*, xi. 354. On the killing of the negro. *Id.*, xi. 361. April 26th, gov. to V. Says the public mind is troubled about the killing of so many Indians; and he orders a strict investigation. *Id.*, xi. 366.

[29] *King's Orphan's Visit*, 7-8.

[30] *Bojorges, Recuerdos*, MS., 24-37.

[31] Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 290, mentions the affair as having occurred in the Clear Lake region, and as having been regarded at S. F. as a brutal outrage, But he makes the date 1841.

the jails of Mexico and Jalisco, where the rest of them might also have been confined without much injustice. That such men would prove useless as soldiers, and intolerably vicious as citizens, was to be expected. The sending of such a band of convicts was an outrage amply sufficient to justify revolution. Yet it must be admitted that the conduct of the cholos in California, though not exemplary, was wonderfully good when compared with what might be expected from their vicious antecedents, from the outrages committed by men of similar class in different parts of Mexico, from their destitute condition, and from the bitterly prejudiced medium through which nearly all the testimony extant against them has come down to us. It would be easy to fill a long chapter with this testimony; but I content myself with comparatively few citations.[32]

[32] Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS.; 84–90, says that Lieut Marquez was clearly implicated as an accomplice of Juana Hernandez in poisoning her husband; but was punished only by being sent to Sta Bárbara. He also describes a noisy demonstration by the cholos under Capt. Mejía one night at Monterey. May 1843, Lieut Maciel and Limon suspended and sent to S. Diego. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iii. 55. Nov. 1844, a servant of Larkin assaulted, wounded, and robbed by a soldier; but the culprit was kept in irons for 3 months. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 20. Torre, *Remin.*, MS., 106–9, relates a beastly outrage by a party of soldiers on a drunken Indian woman in the streets of Monterey. Swan, *Hist. Sketches*, MS., 2, notes the stealing of all the contents of José Castro's kitchen. Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 33–6, 56–61, relates several instances of robbery, his own store being robbed twice.

Pierre Atillan, a Frenchman and patron of the custom-house boat at Monterey, was terribly cut and crippled for life on March 15, 1844, by a party of soldiers to whom he had refused aguardiente. The victim received a pension from the Mexican govt until 1846, and from the U. S. for a few years later, when it was stopped, most unjustly as the Californians think. *Unbound Doc.*, MS., 287–9; *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 17–18; 31st cong. 1st sess., *H. Ex. Doc.*, 17, p. 320; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 368–72; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 42–8. The crew of a French whaler in 1844 are said to have had a fight with a party of the cholos, in which several were badly wounded on both sides, one or two of the soldiers perhaps mortally, though there is no agreement about details. *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 439–42; *Gomez, Lo que Sabe*, MS., 347–52; *Ezquer, Memoria*, MS., 17; *Swan's Hist. Sketches*, MS., 2. Swan, *Monterey in '43*, also speaks of a fight in which the soldiers were badly beaten by the men of the English man-of-war *Carysfort*.

Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 125, 131–4, records two robberies in her own house, one of cooking utensils by the soldiers, and the other of a portfolio in Pablo de la Guerra's office, which was supposed to contain gold coin. Captains Noriega and Segura are accused of having been the chief culprits in this affair. Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 46–54, tells of some minor depredations which came under his own observations as judge at Los Angeles, including a description of the cholos' methods of catching fowl by means of lines baited with corn. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 106–7, affirms that the soldiers were encouraged in their thefts by many of the officers. He says one of the thieves

There is great unanimity of testimony from all sources that members of the batallon were, both at Los Angeles and Monterey, addicted to petty thefts of poultry and other edibles, as well as of other miscellaneous articles that could be utilized in barracks; so much so as to become an intolerable nuisance to all citizens whose houses, stores, or ranchos were within reach of the marauders. This is about the sum and substance of all that can be said against the cholos;

was shot while entering Oreña's store at Angeles. See also the following authorities, all in comdemnation of the cholos as intolerable thieves and broilers: *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 433-40; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 9; v. 20-2, 33-48; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 266-8, 360-1, 376-7; *Arce, Mem.*, MS., 31-6; *Gomez, Lo que Sabe*, MS., 341-63; *Torres, Peripecias*, MS., 96; *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 89-93; *Galindo, Apuntes*, MS., 48; *Vallejo (J. J.), Remin.*, MS., 163; *Ezquer, Mem.*, MS., 16-17; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 17; *Hastings' Emig. Guide*, 121-2; *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS., 40-1; *Forster's Hist. Data*, MS., 23-4; *Streeter's Recoll.*, MS., 51; *Wood's Wandering Sketches*, 238.

Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 101-2, states that he and others often talked with Micheltorena on the outrageous conduct of his troops; but M. was afraid, not only of his own men, but of the Californians, if he should disarm or get rid of his batallon. Pinto, *Apuntaciones*, MS., 84-5, affirms that M. sometimes ordered severe punishments, but they were rarely enforced, most of the officers favoring the culprits. Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 53-4, says that in private conversations with him M. often lamented the conduct of his men, which he could not control, but which he felt would surely defeat all his efforts for the welfare of Cal. Spence, *Hist. Notes*, MS., p. 20, blames M. for not having sent away his convicts as he was often urged to do.

In his letter of Dec. 12, 1844, to the sup. govt, while admitting that his men had originally been malefactors, M. claimed so well to have controlled them that not a murder, nor rape, nor serious robbery had been committed; the 400 minor thefts complained of did not amount to over $500; and soldiers had repeatedly been punished with from 200 to 600 blows. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 58-9. Thos O. Larkin in 1845 stated that so far as he knew robbery had been neither more nor less prevalent in 1843-4 than in previous years. He had known of but one instance of a person being wounded, in which case the offender had been promptly arrested; and he had once been called upon as U. S. consul to quell a disturbance between the soldiers and some American and French sailors. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 271. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 37-41, charges Larkin with having deliberately misrepresented this matter on occount of his business relations with M. being perfectly aware of the continual outrages committed. Bidwell, *Cal. in 1841-8*, MS., 119-20, who was among M.'s soldiers for two months, does not think they deserve to be called convicts or thieves. Davis, *Glimpses of the Past*, MS., 127-9, who was much in Monterey while the batallon was there, who was intimate with Capt. Paty, on whose vessel the soldiers left Cal., and who conversed with many prominent residents of the capital and of Los Angeles, speaks in very complimentary terms of these men. It is true that a few of them stole chickens, but most of them had great respect for their general, and behaved themselves wonderfully well. Abrego, in *Cerruti's Ramblings*, MS., 188, defends the cholos, who did nothing worse than steal to satisfy their hunger and cover their nakedness. Janssens, *Vida*, MS., 177, thinks the soldiers committed only thrifling thefts, for which they were often punished. Machado, *Tiempos Pasados*, MS., 35-6, says they behaved well enough at S. Diego.

and it is doubtful if any soldiers could be restrained by any discipline—certainly not by any Mexican discipline—from such excesses when, as was true in this case, they were not paid, and very inadequately fed and clothed. In respect of gambling, intoxication, licentiousness, and proneness to disorderly conduct or murderous assaults, no Mexican or Californian soldiers had of late years borne or deserved a very high reputation; but I find no clear evidence that Micheltorena's men were any better or much worse than others. And this it must be remembered is a high compliment to the cholos, when we consider their antecedents and the circumstances. The statements of Alvarado and other Californians, representing the stay of the cholos at Monterey as causing a reign of terror in which vice, robbery, outrage, and murder were rampant—neither property, life, nor the honor of women being safe—must be regarded as the exaggerations of men in search of a justification for later revolt. On the other hand, there was much of prejudice in favor of Micheltorena and his men on the part of Sutter, Bidwell, Larkin, and others, who defended them more or less warmly because they hoped to receive personal benefits from the governor, whose friendly policy in land matters covered a multitude of sins in the eyes of foreigners.

While many officers of the batallon are represented as having been as bad as their men, whose raids on the hen-roosts they did not discourage, Micheltorena must certainly be credited with having displayed much tact in the management of his undisciplined followers. Even those who grossly exaggerate the excesses of the latter generally admit that the general did his best to restrain them. He listened patiently to complaints; paid for all losses so long as he had any money, it being more than hinted that some thrifty housewives got pay for divers pots and kettles never lost, or which they had been glad to lose; and not only chided the offenders, but often had them arrested and flogged,

always retaining, however, the friendship and respect of all, and thus a certain control over them which it would have been dangerous to lose. Osio says that Micheltorena not only made a jest of his soldiers' thieving achievements, and refused to punish them, but quarrelled with Colonel Tellez and other officers who protested against such excesses and insisted on maintaining a semblance of discipline—being moved to wrath and tears at sight of the cholos' bloody backs, the result of floggings inflicted by order of Tellez! This writer, like Alvarado, Vallejo, Spence, and others, blames the general for his "criminal lack of energy" in failing to control his men. He should have shot some of the worst cholos as an example, they said, or should have shipped them all away, or sent them to fight Indians in the Tulares, or to work and be fed on the northern frontier. It is true enough that Micheltorena was an easy-going, indolent officer; and it is possible that a more energetic man might have managed the matter better, though difficult to say exactly how. "It was hard," as he wrote to the government, "to shoot a hungry, unpaid soldier for pilfering food;" and there was moreover no little danger, if severe measures were resorted to, of transforming the convict batallon into an armed band of roving marauders, with the property and lives of the Californians largely at their mercy. The general had no right as a Mexican officer to send his soldiers out of the country, and to have done so would have been to involve himself in serious complications with his superiors; even had he been free from the apprehension, as he certainly was not, that without the support of an armed force his own authority was likely enough to be disregarded by the Californians. So much for the cholos and their conduct. In a later chapter we shall see what means were eventually employed to get rid of them.

CHAPTER XV.

MISSIONS—COMMERCE—MARITIME AFFAIRS.

1843.

ANTICIPATION OF A CHANGE—POLICY OF GOVERNOR AND PADRES—MICHELTORENA'S DECREE RESTORING THE MISSIONS TO THE FRIARS—MOTIVES—THE CHANGE EFFECTED—MISSION LANDS—MISSIONARY PERSONNEL AND OFFICIALS—THE BISHOP AND HIS FINANCIAL TROUBLES—TITHES—GARCÍA DIEGO AND VALLEJO—PATRONESS OF THE DIOCESE—FRIARS NOT TO BE POLITICIANS—SCANDAL PREVENTED—COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS—SMUGGLING—FEAR OF LOSING THE BOSTON TRADE—WHALERS—MINOR ITEMS—CUSTOM-HOUSE OFFICIALS—FINANCE—FALLING-OFF OF REVENUES—LIST OF VESSELS.

SOME change in mission management was to be expected under a new ruler, especially in view of Micheltorena's extraordinary powers, and the concessions made in Mexico to Bishop García Diego. It does not appear that Micheltorena's policy respecting the mission property differed in any essential respect from that of Alvarado; but that property, so far as it was available for the needs of the government, was practically exhausted; and the governor was willing to conciliate the bishop and friars by introducing any kind of a change that would not involve expense. There was no thought of really restoring the old mission system. The padres had no hope of such a restoration, and probably no desire for it, being old men, unfit for a resumption of the active missionary work of other days; while the bishop of course would have opposed any real restoration of a system which would have left no place for his episcopal services. The fact was recognized by all that the mission system was dead.

The plan was now to support the friars, acting practically as curates, by restoring to them the church property, with such lands and cattle as had not yet been disposed of, and such neophytes as could be induced to work in community, in the hope that the establishments might thus be rendered at least self-supporting, and perhaps might yield a surplus for governmental and episcopal needs.

On the 29th of March, 1843, Micheltorena issued a decree restoring to the padres the temporal management of twelve missions, on condition that one eighth of the total annual produce of every description should be paid into the public treasury.[1] In a pre-

[1] *Micheltorena, Decreto por el cual devuelve la administracion de Misiones á los frailes, 29 de Marzo, 1843*, MS.; also in *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., vi. 141-7; x. 213-24; *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 22-5; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 327; *Hayes' Miss. Book*, i. 358; *Halleck's Report*, appen., no. 19; *Jones' Report*, 71; *Duinelle's Colon. Hist.*, add., 83-4. Some of the documents bear date of March 26th, when the decree was addressed to the mission presidents before being formally published. The articles of the order are as follows:

1. The govt will deliver to the padres named by their prelate for each—the missions of S. Diego, S. Luis Rey, S. Juan Capistrano, S. Gabriel, S. Fernando, S. Buenaventura, Sta Bárbara, Purísima, Sta Inés (erroneously called Sta Cruz by Halleck), Sta Clara, S. Antonio, and S. José, to be administered by them as guardians of the Indians, as in former times. 2. Since policy makes irrevocable what has already been done, the missions cannot reclaim any lands that have been granted; but they may gather in all the live-stock and implements that have been loaned by the guardians or administrators, making friendly arrangements with the debtors or holders as to time and manner. 3. They will also collect all scattered neophytes except, 1st, those lawfully freed from neophytism by the govt, and 2d, those now in the service of private persons; though those of both classes may return voluntarily to their missions with the consent of their masters and of the missionaries. 4. The dept. govt, in whose possession the missions have been till now, by virtue of its most ample powers and for the reasons already stated, authorizes the ministers to provide from the mission products for the indispensable expenses of the conversion, food, clothing, and other temporal necessities of the Indians; and also to take from the same fund the moderate sum needed for their own sustenance, for the economical salary of the major-domo, and for the support of divine worship—on the condition that they be held bound upon their honor and conscience to pay into the treasury, on the governor's order, for the support of troops and needs of civil employés, one eighth of the total annual produce and revenue of every kind, taking care also to render through their prelates an exact report at the end of each year on the neophytes and property of each mission. 5. The govt, priding itself in being religious as well as wholly Californian, and thus interested in the progress of the catholic faith and prosperity of the country, offers all its power in aid of the missions, as it will also protect private individuals in the possession of lands which they now hold; promising, however, to make no new grant without a report from the local authorities and from the padres, unless in case of notorious non-occupation, non-cultivation, or necessity.

lude he explained that this action was taken in accord with the ideas of presidents Jimeno and Gonzalez; and stated as his motives the facts that the mission establishments had now been reduced to the mere space occupied by the buildings and orchards; that the padres had no support but that of charity; that public worship was hardly kept up; that the Indians preferred a savage life in the desert to one of slavery with insufficient food and clothing; that continual changes of the Indians from mission to private service and back again was a great drawback to agriculture as well as to religion; that there had been notorious fraud and waste in past management; and finally, that there was "no other remedy for reviving the skeleton of a giant like what remains of the missions than that of having recourse to experience and propping it up with the lever of civil and ecclesiastical authority."

Under the regulation just cited, the padres became independent of the administrators, with whom as a rule their relations had not been friendly. They were enabled to protect from injury and loss certain property in the shape of buildings and gardens, which in the natural order of things would revert to the church. With the small remnant of cattle and implements left from the general wreck, with the few Indians whom past changes had left in the communities, and with the temporary use of such poor lands as had not yet been granted to private ownership, the friars might now toil to support themselves. To do so was doubtless deemed a privilege by them, though the new life was in strong contrast to that of former years. Few if any dreamed of recovering their old power and wealth; but they hoped by the change to avoid at least certain personal humiliations and annoying complications with local and departmental authorities. On the other hand, the act was doubtless a wise one on the part of Micheltorena, who did for the friars all that he had a right to do. So completely had the missions been

stripped in one way or another of all that was valuable, that revenues could no longer be depended on; and the eighth of total production guaranteed under the new management was expected to prove a gain. In the matter of granting lands, no real change was introduced; mission lands could still be granted—indeed, the governor had no power to divest himself of that right—whenever they were not needed for the neophytes, or whenever public necessity required it; and without these conditions, they could not have been granted, theoretically at least, before.

In April the governor instructed administrators to deliver the missions in accordance with the new regulations; and Prefect Duran issued corresponding instructions to the padres. The latter were exhorted to receive the property by inventory; to perform with the utmost exactness the duties imposed on their honor and conscience; to invest any surplus of revenue in live-stock or in means for new conversions, but not in any case to sell anything for money; and to make the best use of this opportunity to save the neophytes and their property from utter destruction. None of the friars were to be transferred from the missions where they were living.[2] I suppose the change was promptly effected as ordered without opposition from either friars or administrators, though I find no definite record on the subject beyond a few local items of minor importance.[3]

The only changes to be recorded in the missionary personnel in 1842–4 were the arrival of padres Gomez, Muro, and Rosales from Zacatecas; the departure in 1844–5 of Mercado, Real, and Quijas to the

[2] April 3, 1843, gov. to admin. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 50-1. April 18th, Duran to padres. *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 24-5; *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., vi. 284-9.

[3] April 4th, order from prefect for S. José Indians not emancipated to report themselves to the person in charge. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 33. March (?) 1st, admin. of S. Gabriel ordered to surrender the temporalities to P. Estenega. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 42. S. Luis Rey delivered to P. Zalvidea in April. *Id.*, xiii. 46, 56; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 40-3. April 23d, gov. appoints *interventores* for the delivery of S. Fernando. *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 227. June 10th, P. Zalvidea lends J. M. Osuna of S. Diego 89 cattle and José Lopez 50, each to have half the increase. *Marron, Papeles*, MS., 1.

same college; and the death in 1842 of Padre Ramon Abella, the senior Fernandino in California, and the only survivor of those who had come to the country before 1800. Meanwhile Duran continued to hold the office of prefect, and Jimeno that of president, of the southern missions; while, on the resignation of Gonzalez, the vice-prefect and president of the Zacatecanos, Lorenzo Quijas was appointed to the former office, and Antonio Ánzar to the latter.[4] At different dates in the late autumn the friars took the required oath in support of the bases constitucionales of Mexico.[5]

Bishop García Diego was prevented from carrying out his grand schemes for the development of Californian piety by the same difficulty that embarrassed the governor in his efforts for the country's secular well-being—namely, a lack of funds. He could obtain from Mexico no part either of his salary or of the pious-fund revenues which the government had pledged itself to pay for the propagation of the gospel in California.[6] The bishop's only other resources were the voluntary contributions of his flock, which are said to have amounted to several thousand dollars in the Santa Bárbara region, and the collection of tithes. In this collection he found great obstacles and small profits. Few had paid tithes in past years, and many refused to do so now. By law the payment was optional and a matter of conscience; accordingly the secular authorities refused to interfere in the bishop's behalf, though Micheltorena ingeniously contrived to put his refusal in the shape of a zealous plea in favor of church prerogatives.[7] In the north the opposition was more

[4] March 6th, appointment at Zacatecas of Quijas and Ánzar announced in Cal. Oct. 10th. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 65; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 226-31; *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 28.

[5] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 35, etc.

[6] The govt had, however, the assurance to call for a statement of the bienes de temporalidades de religiosos in California, since the estates of friars, save those devoted to charity, had been placed at the disposal of the treasury! *Unbound Doc.*, MS., 2-3.

[7] March 1, 1843, M. to the bishop. 'This govt, which has always gloried in being catholic, apostolic, and Roman, and which takes pride in protesting

pronounced than in the south, though nowhere outside of Santa Bárbara did the revenue much exceed the cost of collection. Vallejo at Sonoma flatly refused to pay the *diezmo*, and had a controversy, verbal and in writing, with Padre Mercado, the collector. Vallejo declared that he had for years supported the church at Sonoma at his own expense; that he would still make liberal contributions for religious purposes, and would contribute still more liberally for the establishment of new missions on the frontier; but that he would by no means recognize the right of the bishop to a tenth of his property, to be spent on impracticable and profitless episcopal schemes.[8] Vallejo was too powerful and liberal a man to be punished by excommunication, though that terrible penalty was freely held over the heads of others. José Sanchez was refused the consolations of religion on his death-bed in consequence of having followed Vallejo's example in refusing the payment of tithes; and for the same reason his body, for a time at least, was denied Christian burial by Mercado and Quijas.[9]

in the face of the universe that it will remain so, has learned with the greatest displeasure that sordid avarice pretends to cloak its ambitious views with reference to the payment of tithes under the pretext of being liable to pay them double—to the holy mother church and to the civil authority. Therefore it is a sacred duty to exercise the first obligation of the departmental executive by assuring all citizens and your most illustrious lordship that this govt, confiding altogether in divine providence, will need no more than its own revenues and resources for its necessities; and that while he has no right to lend his civil authority, and will in no way meddle in the collection or payment of tithes, a matter left entirely to religion and to individual conscience, yet he will feel the most grateful satisfaction if citizens of the department will fulfil in this respect the first of their duties toward divine worship and its ministers.' *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 98–9; *Micheltorena's Administration*, 12–13. March 9th, April 26th, June 22d, prefect's orders that the civil authorities are not to enforce the payment of tithes. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 28, 93; *S. Diego, Arch., Index*, MS., 127. Jan. 20th, bishop's order—from the hospicio episcopal of Sta Bárbara—that all the faithful must pay tithes to the administrators appointed—the padres being exempt. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 24.

[8] March 18th, 19th, corresp. between V. and Mercado, with reference to personal interviews. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 347–50; *Soberanes, Doc.*, MS., 282–3. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 70–80, tells the story; and also copies the appointment and instructions of Hartnell as administrator of tithes in the south, under date of Jan. 8th. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 35–6; iv. 150–3, represents Quijas as having preached very pointedly at Vallejo in connection with this matter, to the great indignation of Solano.

[9] June 29, 1843, sons of José Sanchez to com. gen. *Soberanes, Doc.*, MS.,

The bishop was despondent in consequence of his failure to provide properly for financial necessities and of the indifference to church obligations and episcopal authority manifested by so many prominent Californians. Yet there were certain benefits that could be conferred on an undeserving people in spite of themselves. On January 4th, he announced the designation of our lady the vírgen del Refugio as chief patroness of the diocese, naming San Francisco de Asis and San Francisco de Sales as co-patrons of the second order. The swearing of allegiance to these divine patrons was to be performed with all possible ceremony at every church on the first Sunday following the receipt of the proclamation.[10] Bishop Francisco also found time this year to issue a pastoral letter, in which he enjoined it upon his clergy never to speak in public exhortation or private conversation any word that might be construed as censure of the country's rulers. They must inculcate a spirit of obedience to the authorities, but keep aloof from politics. Another evil to be avoided was that of speaking against their brethren, whether Mexicans or Californians.[11] Yet another achievement must be placed to the bishop's credit. He succeeded in inducing Micheltorena to give a practical illustration of his devotion to church precepts and to the cause of good morals, by marrying the woman he had brought from Mexico as his mistress.[12]

Foreign vessels entering any other port than that of Monterey were in 1843, as before, required to take

292–5. Dec., Prado Mesa to Vallejo. Excommunication from the bishop is hourly expected by many. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 473.

[10] Jan. 4, 1843, bishop's proclamation, beginning, 'Rejoice, for ye are already under her powerful protection,' etc., prescribing the ceremonies of the oath, granting 40 days' indulgence, bestowing his pastoral blessing, and concluding, 'What a memorable and happy year for the Californias!' *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 215–25. The required ceremony was performed at S. José mission on April 16th, *Id.*, 225–6; and at S. Antonio on March 26th, with great rejoicings, bells, rockets, salutes of cannon, church adornment, and illuminations. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 64.

[11] Pastoral letter. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 25.

[12] I have not seen any contemporary record of the marriage, but many remember the fact.

a guard on board and to depart with the shortest possible delay for the capital and only port of entry. Yet many vessels, whose masters knew the regulations perfectly, came first to the other ports on some more or less plausible pretext, and remained a day or two with the guard in charge as the law required. The supercargo of one vessel explains how a cargo of $20,000 was landed secretly by night at San Francisco, leaving goods on board to the amount of about $1,100 for the later inspection of the revenue officers. Of course the guard was bribed to remain in a state-room with a liberal supply of aguardiente and cigars, in pretended ignorance of what was being done with the cargo; and it is even implied that he had been selected for this duty by the receptor, with a view to the result.[13] The methods adopted by this vessel were naturally employed by others, the masters and supercargoes being guided in their choice of ports by the influence they could bring to bear on local authorities. This method had now supplanted to a great extent the earlier one of landing goods in out-of-the-way places to be reshipped after settlement at the custom-house. I think there can be no doubt that three fourths of the year's importations paid no duties, the amounts entered at Monterey being, as a rule, absurdly small.

After visiting Monterey, vessels were free to trade at retail or wholesale up and down the coast under no restrictions as to landing-places; and this in spite of Mexican laws on the subject, laws supplemented this year by a decree absolutely prohibiting the retail trade by foreigners.[14] Indeed, the fear was that the Boston ships would abandon the trade altogether, so difficult had it become to obtain cargoes of produce, to collect debts, and to compete successfully in trade with rivals,

[13] *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 89-90. The vessel was the *Don Quixote*, Paty master, from Oahu. Davis and Spear were intimate friends of D. Francisco Guerrero, the receptor.

[14] Sept. 23, 1843. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 48. It does not clearly appear that this decree, however, was formally published in Cal. before the end of the year.

whose number was increasing and whose methods were illegitimate. But it was from the Boston ships that the country's revenue was mainly derived, and to encourage their coming Micheltorena at one time resolved to go so far as to prohibit the introduction of foreign goods by Mexican vessels, though it does not appear that he issued such an order this year.[15] Another obstacle to the success of legitimate trade was the privilege that had been allowed to whalers of selling goods to pay for the supplies they needed. Not only, having no tonnage duties to pay, no long stay to make on the coast, and no extra expenses by reason of their commercial ventures, could they undersell all rivals; but they took advantage of their license to sell secretly an amount of goods greatly exceeding their privilege, both on their own account and in aid of smugglers. This year, in the fear of losing the benefits of the Boston trade, whalers were deprived of the privilege, always illegal, of selling goods at all.[16] The total

[15] Aug. 13, 1843, M. to Larkin. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 29.

[16] Jan. 30th, whalers exempt from tonnage dues temporarily. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 397. March 15th, 17th, April 4th, strict orders, both general and in the cases of particular vessels, requiring that whalers with goods for sale be shown no special favor, and be required to show papers from Monterey like other vessels. *Id.*, ii. 3–4; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 345; *Soberanes, Doc.*, MS., 284–6. Aug. 13, Micheltorena to Larkin. Refuses his request for a whaler to sell goods sufficient to purchase supplies, and explains his reasons at some length. L. had apparently complained as U. S. consul; but M. claims that the prohibition has been in force more than the 6 months required by international comity. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 29. Oct., a whaler seized at Sta Cruz. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 74. Oct., Nov., whalers at S. Diego required to pay tonnage dues, and not allowed to take whales in the bay—though they did so all the same. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 7; *Id., Index*, 148; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 97. April 25th, Dec. 31st, stringent regulations on the sale of hides, marks, etc., issued by the juez at Monterey first, and later by the gov. There was to be a police agent at every port, without whose examination and approval no hide could be sold, under penalty of confiscation and fine. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 333; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 361–3; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 294; *Micheltorena's Administration*, 19–20; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 436. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 356–7, says M. approved his plan for moving the custom-house to S. F., but had to wait for resources from Mexico! Jan. 10th, complaint against Richardson for allowing vessels to anchor at Sauzalito, and also allowing whalers to trade. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 40. Jan. 30th, besides 25 per cent on value of some flour, salmon, and butter, a 'consumption due' of 20 per cent on the 25 per cent was collected. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 400. Strict orders from Monterey on precautions with vessels at other ports. *Id.*, i. 396–7; ii. 2–3, 7, 23, 36. March 21st, order to burn all foreign cotton not obeyed in Cal. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 45. April 7th, order from Mexico to add 20 per cent to import duties during the war

amount of receipts at the custom-house was only $52,000, or about half of what it had been in 1841. Manuel Castañares retained his position as administrator, though Pablo de la Guerra was usually acting in that capacity; and the revenue employés obtained their salaries to the extent of $11,000. A balance of some $40,000 was turned over to Micheltorena for his army and to Sub-comisario Ábrego for the civil budget. I need hardly repeat here that the income was altogether inadequate to the payment of current expenses.

In the appended list I name forty-six vessels whose presence on the coast is recorded in 1843,[17] though

in Texas and Yucatan. *Id.*, ii. 33. Feb. 28th, *derecho de avería* extended to the whole republic. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 6. Some permits to take otter and seals. *Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 317–27; *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xi. 7. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 48. Jacob P. Leese and Joel Walker—or possibly each on his own account—drove a large number of cattle, horses, and sheep to Oregon this year. *Hesperian*, ii. 147–56; *Walker's Narrative*, MS., 12. About 2,000 bbls of wine and brandy exported in 1843. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 23.

Revenue officers: in April the corps consisted of Pablo de la Guerra, administrator (acting); Hartnell, Id. (provisional); Rafael Gonzalez, comandante of celadores, who were—Benito Diaz, Joaquin Torre, Francisco Rico, Rafael Pinto, and Jacinto Rodriguez; José F. Álvarez, escribiente. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., viii. 7–8. In Nov. there were only two celadores, Rico and Rafael Estrada. *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, v. 11. October 6th, Castañares notifies director de rentas, Mexico, that he has assumed his office of administrator (though he must have assumed it long before). *Id., Ben.*, iii. 46. Jan. 1st, and May, Rico resigns as escribiente of customs and of the comisaría. *Id.*, iii. 116; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 55. The administrator is a 'miembro nato de la junta de fomento' of his port—which must have been a great comfort to him. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., viii. 8. No customs officer must take any goods from a vessel before a settlement is made about her duties. *Id.*, viii. 7; *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, v. 11. *California, Aduana Marítima, 1842–5*, n. p. n. d., is a printed col. of 6 documents on custom-house affairs under Micheltorena. Probably translated and printed in connection with some land suit.

Financial items: full account for the year—receipts: balance from 1842, $120; import duties, $37,693; cotton goods, $340; 1 per cent importation, $380; consumption duty on effects, $8,807; Id., on liquors, $376; tonnage, $3,605; excise, $1,169; coin exportation, $12; total, $52,504. Expenditures: salaries and pay of guards, sailors, interpreter, etc., $11,679; leaving a balance of $40,825, of which $21,894 was paid over to the comandante general, and $18,931 to the sub-comisario (for the civil list?). *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 112–13. Revenue for the year, $52,000. Hartnell to Wyllie, in *Pico, Doc.*, MS., 85; *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 37, 110. Total of receipts as per list of vessels, $42,630. Civil list amounts to about $100,000. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 29. Jan.-March, various orders by Micheltorena, urging economy, suggesting a loan, suspending back pay, etc. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 28–35, 123–5; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 43, 48. Sept. 12th, com. gen. had no right to interfere and change rules of the comisaría, etc. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 45. Some fragmentary accounts of no value in *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1844, *Doc.*, 1, 7, 10.

[17] See full list for 1841–5 at end of chap. xxiii., this vol. Vessels of 1843: *Alexander, Alex. Barclay, Admittance, Barnstable, Bertha, Bolívar, Bremen,*

some fourteen of the number had remained over from the preceding year. There were six men-of-war and ten whalers; while twenty-five made new trading trips, sixteen of them being shown to have paid duties at the custom-house, though generally in very small amounts. There are no circumstances connected with the arrival of particular vessels this year which call for further notice than is given with the list or incidentally elsewhere.

California, California (schr), *Caroline, Caryafort, Catalina, Charles W. Morgan, Clarita, Constantine, Constellation, Corvo, Cowlitz, Cyane, Dale, Dramond, Don Quixote, Esmeralda, Fama, Fanny, Ferdinand* (?), *George Henry, Index, John Jay, Jóven Fanita* (?), *Jóven Guipuzcoana, Juan José, Julia Ann, Magnolia, Merrimac, North America, Rafak, Relief, Robert Bowen, Soledad, Susannah, Tasso, Trinidad, Tuscany, United States, Valleyfield, Vancouver.*

CHAPTER XVI.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND IMMIGRATION.

1843.

MEXICAN EFFORTS TO PREVENT AMERICAN IMMIGRATION—ALMONTE'S LETTER—SANTA ANNA'S ORDER—A DIPLOMATIC CONTROVERSY—THOMPSON AND BOCANEGRA—ENGLISH SCHEMES OF COLONIZATION—WYLLIE TO HARTNELL—FORBES' PLAN—LARKIN AND FORBES, CONSULS OF U. S. AND ENGLAND—FOREIGNERS KINDLY TREATED IN CALIFORNIA—SUTTER'S ESTABLISHMENT—FALSE PRETENSIONS—IMMIGRANTS OF THE YEAR—HASTINGS COMPANY—TROUBLES WITH INDIANS—CHILES-WALKER COMPANY—A NEW ROUTE—NARRATIVES—NAMES—STEPHEN SMITH AND HIS STEAM-ENGINE—HASTINGS' BOOK—IGNORANCE, PREJUDICE, AND DECEPTION—LIST OF PIONEERS OF 1843.

AT the end of 1842 Almonte, the Mexican minister in Washington, published in the American newspapers a letter of warning to prevent emigrants from being drawn to California by false representations respecting the cordial welcome and liberal land grants to be expected from the Mexican government. He declared that Mexico did not desire foreign colonists for that part of her territory, and that by a recent law such foreigners would not be admitted without special permission. I give the letter in a note.[1]

[1] 'Having seen in your paper of Friday an article taken from the *St Louis Republican*, in which the people of this country are invited to emigrate to California under the pretence that the Mexican govt will give liberal grants of land to persons who shall take the oath of allegiance and conform to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith, I feel it to be my duty to contradict such assertion, and to state for the information of those persons who may feel desirous of removing to Cal. in that belief, that the Mexican govt has never thought of colonizing the said territory with foreigners; and that it has expressly provided by a law of March 11th that no foreigner will ever be permitted to colonize or purchase land or property in the said country without an express permission of the govt of Mexico. Knowing as I do that no such permission has ever been allowed to any person or corporation whatever, and

Such a statement coming from so high an authority, when contrasted with the letters of Bidwell and Marsh, must have caused some confusion in the minds of emigrants who did not understand fully the difference between Mexican sentiment in Mexico and in California. The Mexican government, however, seems to have gone much further in its determination to arrest American immigration and to save California from the fate of Texas. On July 14th Santa Anna is said to have issued to the governor the following order: The president, "being convinced that it is not proper for natives of the United States of the north to reside in your department, has been pleased to resolve that they shall quit it within the reasonable time which you may fix for that purpose; and that henceforward no individual belonging to the said United States is to be allowed to enter the said department"—the same order being sent to Sonora, Sinaloa, and Chihuahua. There is a mystery about this order and the motive which prompted it that I am unable to penetrate. I find no evidence that it ever reached California; and in Mexico it was kept so secret that the U. S. minister heard nothing of it until December. Then the minister, Waddy Thompson, wrote to Bocanegra, ministro de relaciones, enclosing a copy of the order and demanding to be informed if such an order had actually been issued. No attention was paid to this note, nor to a second or third on the same subject, though in the latter Thompson denounced the measure as "a flagrant violation not

believing that the project set forth in the *St Louis Republican* is a mere scheme of some land speculators who wish to take advantage of the credulity of the ignorant, I think it proper to inform the public of this country of the true facts of this new plan of encroachment, lest they should be deluded and brought into difficulties that would end in the destruction of their fortunes and the distress of their friends. Believing that you take a deep interest in the welfare of your countrymen, I doubt not that you will readily insert this communication for the purpose of arresting the execution of a project totally destitute of any probability of success and calculated only to fill the pockets of a few speculators, who care not for the peace of nations nor the happiness of their kind, and who only consult their avarice and cupidity.' Dec. 24, 1842, Almonte to *Baltimore American*, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 277 (Dec. 31st).

only of the treaty, but of every principle of right and justice—an act only to be palliated by an apprehension of immediate war, and not even then to be justified." He demanded a revocation of the order; and even threatened in the event of refusal to suspend diplomatic relations. In a fourth letter of December 30th he announced the termination of his official relations, and demanded his passports. This brought a reply from Bocanegra, in which he claimed that the action of July 14th—neither admitting nor denying that the order had been issued as charged—was a general measure directed against all foreigners, of whatever nation, who might endanger the public tranquillity; said that 'proper explanations' had been sent to the authorities of California; and quoted laws against colonization by foreigners. This evasion was of course not satisfactory, but it led to further correspondence; and while Thompson never succeeded in getting a direct admission or denial that the order of July 14th had been issued, he did obtain before the end of January a copy of instructions forwarded to the governors of California and the other departments, to the effect that "the order of July 14th... in no manner related directly to citizens of the United States (!), but was general, and comprehended all, of whatever nation, who from their bad conduct should be considered as prejudicial to public order." Thus the war-cloud passed over, and I think that no one in California even heard of it at the time; for of the countermanding instructions, as of the original order, I find no trace in public or private archives.[2]

[2] *Expulsion of Citizens of the U. S. from Upper California, Message of the President communicating copies of correspondence with Government of Mexico in relation to the expulsion, etc., 1845*, 28th cong. 1st sess., Sen. Doc. no. 390, p. 1–15, vol. vi. Waddy Thompson, *Recollections of Mex.*, 226–7, also tells the story, confessing that he was very much afraid his passports would be sent as requested; yet he hoped that this resort to the *ultima ratio* of diplomacy would cut short a long discussion. Mentioned also in *Young's Hist. Mex.*, 294–5; *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 352. June 7th (17th), Sta Anna issued a decree, sent to Cal., that all foreigners taken with arms in their hands, be they few or many, and whatever their pretexts of protection to the country, should be immediately shot. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 35–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref.* y

In February President Tyler, in accordance with a request of Congress, stated to that body that the government had no knowledge of any treaty or overtures for the cession of California to England by Mexico.[3] There is, however, some interesting information extant respecting the English scheme in its aspect of 1843. Robert C. Wyllie, a prominent member of the committee of Mexican bond-holders, wrote at some length on the subject to Hartnell from Tepic in August. He explained that the bonds had been divided in 1837 into £5,000,000, active, bearing interest at five per cent, and $5,000,000, deferred, bearing no interest until October 1, 1847, when they would become active. At any time before 1847 these deferred bonds were, at the option of the holders, exchangeable at par, with interest added, for lands at five shillings an acre; and 125,000,000 acres of vacant lands were hypothecated by the government in different departments, including California. No lands had yet been taken, because the bond-holders preferred money; but as 1847 was drawing near, and as it was almost certain that Mexico would not be able to pay the doubled amount of interest after that date, it would be advantageous to both parties to cancel that part of the debt. It was a prevalent opinion of the bond-holders and their committee that lands should be taken, if at all, on the Atlantic coast; but Wyllie believed that a location in California would be better for both England and Mexico: to the former because of the climate and other natural advantages, and to the latter as a protection against other aggressive nations. What was wanted of Hartnell was information about the country, to serve as a basis for Wyllie's arguments before the committee. Answers were desired on twenty-four

Juzg., MS., ii. 2. Oct. 9th, Bocanegra to gov. Has learned that 1,000 families have left Ark. and Mo. on the pretext of going to Oregon, but really to settle in Cal. Let no Americans settle in the country. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 3. This is the only allusion to the order against American settlers.

[3] *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 27th cong. 3d sess., House Journal, p. 266, 341; *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii. 384, 397.

different points relating to the country, its lands, its products, its trade, and its people. It was deemed especially desirable to know whether the people were "so orderly and contented under the Mexican government that European farmers could establish themselves there with a reasonable security of being able to live quietly, and of the government being able to protect them;" for, says Wyllie, "the British government will give no protection whatever to British subjects settling in California as citizens of Mexico, nor do they wish to see it in any other hands but those of Mexico. I know this to be the fact, and that Commodore Jones' apprehension was a perfect bugbear." Hartnell was also requested to recommend a suitable site for a settlement.[4] On his arrival in England, Wyllie published for the benefit of "traders, emigrants, and bond-holders," an exhaustive report on Mexican finances, in which book two documents are given pertaining to my present topic. One is a letter addressed by the author on October 17th to Bocanegra, "on the great advantages to be derived by the Mexican republic from the colonization of her public lands." The system recommended was similar to that of the United States; and the benefits were to come not only for the payment of public debts, and the development of the country's industries, but, in the case of the northern frontier departments, from the security acquired against the foreign aggression to which they were especially exposed. True, there was a prejudice against colonization, well founded on the "ingratitude and treason of the Texan colonists;" but the latter were much influenced by the fact that they came from an adjoining nation, by the arts of land speculators, and by the 'notorious project' of a part

[4] Aug. 10, 1843, Wyllie to Hartnell from Tepic. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 349. From Mexico on Nov. 5th, Wyllie wrote again, repeating the substance of the former letter, and giving some details about the situation of affairs in Mexico pointing to trouble between Mexico and England, but which will not, the writer thinks, result in war. *Id.*, xxxiii. 369. Of Hartnell's reply I shall have occasion to speak in the annals of 1844.

of the American congress to annex the territory with a view to the extension of slavery; while "a colony of Europeans, subjects of monarchical governments, being in circumstances diametrically opposite, would adhere spontaneously and in gratitude to the Mexican government." The other document alluded to was a plan for Californian colonization formed by Alexander Forbes. This plan provided that the government should remain in the name of Mexico, but that all else should be intrusted to the company and the colonists, except that the mineral wealth should be shared by the company and government. Not only new colonists must pay a rent to the company, but so must those who had already obtained grants of land; and above all, there must be free trade, or at least a freedom from the interference of all 'vagabond' customs officials. Forbes admitted that his scheme was likely to seem utopian; but unless its essential features could be adopted, he did not believe that colonization in any Hispano-American country could be made successful.[5] Forbes deems the action of Jones a sufficient indication of American designs; has no doubt that France has similar ambitious plans; and predicts that "if there be not adopted, and that soon, a prudent scheme of colonization, the Californias will cease to be a province of Mexico."

James A. Forbes was at the end of 1842 appointed British vice-consul to reside at Monterey; and this appointment, forwarded from Mexico in January, was officially recognized in California in October.[6] On

[5] *Wyllie, Mexico, Noticia sobre su Hacienda Pública bajo el Gobierno Español y despues de la Independencia.* Mexico, 1845. 8vo, 91 p.; 13 sheets, 37 p., 2 l. The original, probably published in London, 1844, I have not seen. *Wyllie, Observaciones*, Oct. 17, 1843, in *Id.*, appen., p. 14–28. July 1, 1843, Forbes to Wyllie. *Id.*, appen., 28–33.

[6] Appointment made by British minister in Mexico, and approved by Mexican govt Dec. 29, 1842; forwarded to Cal. Jan. 4th. *Siglo XIX.*, Jan. 8, 1843; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., xi. 12; viii. 6; iv. 61–2; *Id., Angeles*, xii. 73; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 3–4; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 13. Swan, *Monterey in '43*, says that Forbes came to Monterey on Oct. 11th to take possession of his new position. Dec. 30th, Consul Forbes makes inquiries about a British subject arrested. *S. José, Arch.*, MS.

May 1st Thomas O. Larkin was appointed consul of the United States at Monterey; on December 2d his *exequatur* was issued in Mexico; his commission was forwarded from Washington February 3, 1844; and on April 2d he took formal possession of the office, being officially recognized by the Californian authorities.[7] On November 18th the minister of relations announced the appointment of Louis Gasquet to serve as French consul ad interim until M. Barrier, the regular appointee, should arrive; but Barrier never came to California, nor did Gasquet until 1845.[8]

In California, notwithstanding the feeling in Mexico against Americans, all foreigners were welcomed, and were treated with uniform kindness by both authorities and people, Micheltorena showing himself no less favorably disposed than had been his predecessor. Even Hastings, of whom I shall have more to say presently, admits that strangers were now treated "with all the deceptive kindness imaginable." Bidwell asserts that the governor encouraged immigration, a fact that is proven, moreover, by the facility with which land grants were obtained by all desiring them and willing to comply with the laws; but he also states that there were occasional rumors of an in-

[7] May 1, 1843, Larkin's appointment. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., ii. 20–5. Aug. 13th, Micheltorena addresses L. as U. S. consul. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 29. Dec. 2d, exequatur issued. *St. Pap., Sec.*, MS., xix. 9. Feb. 3, 1844, Upshur to Larkin, sending commission. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 60. The commission was dated Jan. 20th. *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 7. April 2d, Larkin assumes the office. *Monterey Consulate*, MS., i. fly-leaf; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 22. April 8th, L. asks permission to hoist the U. S. flag on national days. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 1; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 104. April 9th, gov. recognizes L. and authorizes him to hoist the flag. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 77–8; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 74–5. April 10th, L. to U. S. sec. state, acknowledging receipt of commission. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 1. April 11th, Id. to Id., asking for the necessary books, etc., for his office. There have been 2 or 3 men appointed to the office, and though none of them has ever come, there are packages directed to them, which he asks permission to open. *Id.*, ii. 1. April 16th, L. to Waddy Thompson, and circular to other consuls in Mexico and Sandwich Islands. *Id.*, i. 2–3. April 20th, L. to sec. state. Asks permission to leave Monterey when his business requires it, by leaving a vice-consul in his place. *Id.*, ii. 4–5.

[8] Nov. 18, 1843, Bocanegra to Micheltorena. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 3; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 55–6.

tention to expel all Americans, rumors which caused the more timid of the new-comers to talk of congregating at Sutter's Fort for defence, or even of starting for Oregon with their live-stock.[9] Vallejo, referring to his correspondence with Stribling of the *Cyane*, noted a "constant tendency on the part of the Americans to raise questions against the country's authorities, ignoring their side of the case, reviving questions already settled, presenting accusations against the supreme government, and making absurd demands." Yet he avers that he exerts himself constantly to avoid involving his government in complications with foreigners, who are always treated with frank hospitality, and, in the administration of justice, with less severity than are natives of the country.[10] There was a disposition on the part of the Mexican element to complain that Micheltorena was much too liberal in bestowing lands on foreigners, who were gradually getting possession of property that ought to be in Mexican hands, and that one day would be of immense value. These views were clearly expressed by Manuel Castañares in a letter to Vallejo, in which he alludes to a Frenchman who had already obtained most of the lands at Yerba Buena, and seemed likely enough to become possessor of the whole department if no check could be put upon Micheltorena's extraordinary powers. This letter is of much interest in connection with that *causa célebre* of later years, the Limantour case.[11] The New Mexican traders came this year as

[9] *Bidwell's Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 115–16, 130. April 13th, Sub-prefect Suñol complains to the prefect that there is a gathering of foreigners north of Feather River. Many residents of S. José have gone, including Gulnac and Lassen, taking their cattle with them; and some lumbermen from the sierra have left their debts unpaid and their contracts unfulfilled, besides taking along stolen horses, and leaving an insulting letter for the judges. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xi. 6. In *S. Joaquin Co. Hist.*, p. 16, it is stated on the authority of Chas M. Weber, that that gentleman located his grant at Stockton in 1843, with a view to be on the American side of the river after the division, which was believed to be near at hand.

[10] May 19, 1843, V. to gov. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 373.

[11] Oct. 31, 1843, Castañares to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 467. Don Manuel wants a piece of land at S. F. before 'that confounded Frenchman' gets it all.

usual, including probably a few families who remained; but there is little information about them; the Chaguanosos committed no outrages that are recorded.[12] Early in the spring there was reported the presence of a large party of Canadian hunters on the San Joaquin. These hunters had also commercial proclivities; the trade in stolen horses experienced a 'boom;' and the Indians became correspondingly active.[13]

At New Helvetia the state of Sutter's business affairs in 1843 did not differ materially from that of the preceding year. Crop prospects seemed good even after harvesting had begun;[14] but the result was disappointing, and the Russians got no grain; indeed, Sutter had all he could do to pay the tonnage dues on the vessels that came for wheat. In October, the Hudson's Bay Company trappers not having made their appearance, the captain saw before him a rich harvest of furs, putting forty men into the field; yet the beaver skins did not come down the river in such abundance as was deemed desirable by Suñol and other creditors, nor so often as demands for new credit. But a few skins were sent, and some grape brandy and Indian servants, and rifles bought of immigrants. When hard pressed, Sutter promised great things for 1844, authorizing his importunate creditors to do as they pleased with him and his property if his debts were not cancelled within a year.[15]

There are indications of some slight controversy between Sutter and Vallejo, arising from the fact

[12] Nov., mention of a caravan under Salazar, with 165 men and 10 families. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 95, 97.

[13] *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xi. 1; *S. José, Arch., Loose Pap.*, MS., 56; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xix. 19-20; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Jurg.*, MS., ii. 9.

[14] June 13th, *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 19. But Nov. 8th he says the grain crop was very short. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 25. Belden describes 1843 as the driest year he has ever known in Cal. *Hist. Statement*, MS., 61. Item on the drought. *Niles' Reg.*, lxvi. 192. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841-8*, MS., 92, says the season of 1842-3 was very dry, and that of 1843-4 the driest ever known, almost rainless. Robbins, *Diary*, MS., 1-13, gives a record of the weather at Sta Bárbara from Jan. to March. Very few rainy days. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 218, describes a heavy rain-storm at S. F. in August.

[15] *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 1843.

that the latter, as commandant of the northern line, his jurisdiction including the Sacramento Valley, had occasion sometimes to send orders and officers to New Helvetia in connection with the search for deserters and horse-thieves; while Sutter was inclined to chafe under every attempt at interference, from whatever quarter it came. There is no evidence that Vallejo ever showed a disposition to exceed his authority by meddling in Sacramento affairs, or that relations between the two magnates were down to 1843 very unfriendly.[16] These controversies have been exaggerated with a view to magnify Sutter's services in behalf of immigrants. In his autobiography Sutter says: "Vallejo and others of the Californians, against whom rather than the Indians I kept my fort and guns in order, were jealous of my settlement. I gave passports to those entering the country, and this they did not like. I was friendly with the emigrants, of whom they were jealous. I encouraged immigration, while they discouraged it. I sympathized with the Americans, while they hated them."[17] This, as the reader knows, is not a well-founded claim. Sutter treated the immigrants well, because it was his interest to do so; but not more kindly, except in aiding them to evade the laws, than did Vallejo; and he never favored Americans more than other foreigners; neither were the Americans in any sense hated by

[16] July 26, 1843, V. to S. Does not question S.'s lawful authority at N. Helvetia, though he has no other proof than his word, does not exactly like the use of the term 'fortress' by a 'judge,' and knows not by what authority that region was erected into a district. At any rate, the writer's military jurisdiction covers N. Helvetia, and to him rather than to the comandante general S. should direct his communications. Desires S. in future not to protect fugitives of any class, but to send them to Sonoma. He in return will send back all of Sutter's men who present themselves without passports. Now sends Prudon for some deserters and horse-thieves. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 401-2. S. perhaps questioned V.'s authority; for the latter, on Oct. 7th, writes to Micheltorena to ascertain just what Sutter's authority and jurisdiction are. *Id.*, xi. 462; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 118. The desired information was obtained from Jimeno and sent to V. in Dec., namely, that S. had been invested with local civil authority. *Id.*, v. 118; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 472.

[17] *Sutter's Personal Remin.*, MS., p. 78-9. He also says he treated the foreigners with great familiarity; but was more particular with Mexicans and Californians, requiring them, officers and men, to remove their hats in his presence! etc.

the most influential Californians. Sutter's establishment was a great convenience to overland immigrants, as a place of rendezvous where all could stay for a while and many obtain temporary employment, and all the more convenient by reason of its master's disregard of his duties as a Mexican official, but at the same time more convenient to the least desirable class of Americans than to any other. It is well that pioneers look back with gratitude to the captain's kindness, whatever may have been his motives. A better man would probably not have done so well; and were it not for the absurd pretensions and the unlimited flattery of later years, it would be in doubtful taste now to look so closely into Sutter's true character and merits.

Meanwhile the magnate adventurer of New Switzerland had taken steps to conciliate the new governor by sending a messenger, probably Charles W. Flügge, to Los Angeles, to make Micheltorena acquainted with the situation. A store of friendship was laid up between the two, to be utilized according to mutual needs. In March, Sutter was congratulated by Micheltorena that there were no grounds of complaint against him or his dependents.[18]

The immigration of 1843 was not so large as had been anticipated, owing perhaps to contradictory rumors about the reception new-comers were likely to meet from Mexican authorities. The hardships of the long journey were quite sufficient without the risk of an inhospitable reception on the western shores. One party, however, dividing into two before its arrival, came across the plains from Missouri to California direct, and another came down from Oregon.

Lansford W. Hastings, a native of Ohio, and more or less a lawyer, had left Independence, Missouri, May 1842, with a company of one hundred and sixty

[18] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 48; *Sutter's Pers. Remin.*, MS., p. 73.

persons, including eighty armed men, bound for Oregon, being after a time elected captain of the company. The adventures of this party have no special bearing on the present subject, and they reached Oregon in October. On account of excessive rains and other conditions, the country, viewed through the medium of homesickness, "did not appear to be in reality that delightful region which they had thus
1843 long and laboriously sought." In the spring some desired to return to the states, while others resolved to seek sunnier climes in California. Hastings himself had not intended to remain in Oregon; and found no difficulty in assembling a party of fifty-three persons, twenty-five of them armed men, as Hastings states, at the rendezvous in Walamet Valley for an overland trip to the south. It is not stated that all were of the party that had crossed the continent in 1842, but it is supposed that most were so. They started at the end of May 1843; and Hastings was again made captain, being an intelligent and energetic man. At Rogue River the Indians were troublesome, though not actually hostile. Soon after leaving that river they met a party of cattle-drovers bound to the north,[19] and a few emigrants who hoped to find in Oregon "refuge from the oppression which they had suffered in California"! Several of Hastings' party, one third, as he says, were induced to turn back, but the rest pressed on, sixteen or seventeen men, besides nearly the same number of women and children. I append a list of names.[20]

[19] This was the party of Leese or Joel Walker, both of whom drove cattle to Oregon this year, perhaps in company. *Bennett's Pioneer of '43*. *Walker's Narr.*, MS., 12; *Hesperian*, ii. 147-56. The emigrants with the drovers probably included the two Kelseys, Andrew and Benjamin, and perhaps John and other members of the Bartleson company. Moss, *Pioneer Times*, MS., says John McClure was with Leese; and this is confirmed by Given.

[20] Hastings immigrant company of 1843: Barnum (?), Geo. W. Bellomy, Vardamon Bennett and family (including perhaps Dennis and Jackson Bennett), Winston Bennett, J. C. Bridges, Francis Clark (?), James Coates, Nathan Coombs, Alex. Copeland, John Daubenbiss, Geo. Davis, Sam. H. Davis, L. W. Hastings, James M. Hudspeth, Wm Jones, Thomas J. Shadden and family, and Owen Sumner, Jr (and family ?). Bellomy is the only one named by Hastings. Bennett, *Pioneer of '43*, describes the journey,

Of the journey to California we have no details except some rather vaguely recorded troubles with the Indians, for which, as there is reason to suppose, the latter were not altogether the parties at fault.[21] In a night attack on Shasta River, Bellomy was seriously wounded in the back by an arrow, and when the travellers had reached the Sacramento River hostilities were renewed. About twenty Indians were killed, "victims to their own ignorance and insolence."[22] The company arrived at a point opposite Sutter's Fort on or about July 10th, without other mishap than the temporary loss of two men, Daubenbiss and Davis, who, after wandering four or five days with much suffering, also reached the valley ranchos in safety. While the main party was in camp opposite New Helvetia, Davis and Miss Sumner crossed the river and were mar-

naming all but Clark, and being the only one to name Barnum. He says that Smith and Kelsey with their families were the only ones that turned back, and if so, Hastings is in error about the original number. Daubenbiss, *Biog. Sketch*, says 19 men and four families started from Oregon.

[21] Hastings' ideas on Indian affairs are well illustrated by the following circumstance, that occurred just after they had parted from the cattle-drovers: 'As I moved on, a half or three quarters of a mile in advance of the party, my meditations were interrupted by the sudden appearance of two Indians in close pursuit of a fine, fat cow which had strayed from the party to which I have just alluded. I gave chase to these intruders on my solitude without being observed by them until I had approached within about 30 yards, when I fired upon them.' They escaped to the willows. 'The party soon came up, and the cow very soon fell a victim to our returning appetites'! Comment is unnecessary. *Hastings' Emig. Guide*, 66.

[22] Hastings' version is that several hundred Indians suddenly appeared, advancing with 'frantic yells and fiendish gestures and demoniac grins.' A gun fired in the air only brought a cloud of arrows, whereupon 14 of them were shot, and half a dozen more when they renewed the attack. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 108–10, says that on the trip 2 or 3 men were continually shooting at Indians. Near Red Bluff one of them swam the river, knocked an Indian down with a stone, and killed him with a knife. Another was shot from behind a tree. At Stony Creek another was shot on suspicion of having stolen a bridle. The fight was between Stony Creek and Colusa; but Bidwell says the firing was across the river, and no one was killed, though Sutter later sent out a party to punish the Indians, many of whom were killed. Daubenbiss, *Biog. Sketch*, says a bridle was stolen by an Indian who was shot at, but escaped. Later this Indian with 300 others approached, and as they did not halt when the captain fired his gun, the Americans charged, and in an hour about 40 were killed. Bennett, *Pioneer of '43*, says the attack by about 400 Indians opposite the Buttes was on July 6th. Of the number, 30 were killed, two of them by B. himself at one shot, his mother being present in the thickest of the fight. Dr Sandels on the other side of the Sacramento heard the discharge of fire-arms. '*King's Orphan*,' *Visit to Cal.*, 21. See also *Sacramento Illust.*, 4.

ried by Sutter, as Bennett states. The new-comers soon scattered in different directions, some remaining in the Sacramento Valley, some going to Napa, and several going to work for Captain Smith at Bodega.[23]

The other company of immigrants of 1843, and the only one that came to California direct by the overland route, was one organized by Joseph B. Chiles, a returned member of the Bartleson company of 1841.[24] Leaving Independence in May, Chiles followed the usual route, that which he had followed before with Bartleson, to Laramie and Fort Hall, often in company with other parties bound to Oregon.[25] At Fort Laramie, or in that region, the immigrants met Joe Walker, who, as the reader knows, had been in California, and who was engaged as a guide. The exact number of persons in the company there are no means of ascertaining, but it was perhaps not much less than fifty men, women, and children. No contemporary list was made, and there are wide discrepancies in different statements from memory, but I append a list of twenty-eight men, which may be regarded as approximately accurate.[26]

[23] Hastings, *Emig. Guide*, 64-9, of which book more presently, gives only a brief narrative of the journey. July 19th, Sutter to Vallejo, announcing the arrival of a party of emigrants, to whom he has given passports! *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 426. This was the letter which caused some controversy about Sutter's authority. Daubenbiss, *Biog. Sketch*, was one of the men who was lost, and he describes his voyage down the Sacramento on a raft made of two cottonwood limbs, until he was rescued by Cordua and taken to a rancho on Feather River.

[24] In *Niles' Reg.*, lxiii., Dec. 24, 1842, is an item from the *St Louis Enquirer*, on the preparations of a company to start for Cal. in the spring. The directors might be addressed at Fourche à Renault, Mo.

[25] Frémont, *Rept of Explor. Exped.*, 106-7, camped at Elm Grove on May 31st, 'in company with several emigrant wagons, constituting a party which was proceeding to Upper California under the direction of Mr J. B. Childs of Missouri. The wagons were variously freighted with goods, furniture, and farming utensils, containing among other things an entire set of machinery for a mill which Mr Childs designed erecting on the waters of the Sacramento River.' Probably not all started together from Independence. Martin, Winters, McClellan, and Johnson are said to have been overtaken by Chiles on the Platte. See also *Hist. Or.*, i. 393-400, this series, on the immigration to Oregon.

[26] Chiles-Walker immigrant company of 1843: Lewis Anderson, James Atkinson, Wm Baldridge, John Boardman, Thos W. Bradley, Jos. Chiles, Thos Cowie, Fleurnaye (or F. W.) Dawson, John Gantt, Sam. J. Hensley, Wm Hicks, Johnson, Milton Little, Milton McGee, Charles McIntosh, John

Chiles seems to have been the only one of the returned Bartleson company that came back to California this year; though several came later. Among the women were two daughters of the old trapper George Yount, one with her husband, Vines, and the other unmarried. Another unmarried woman was Miss Ayers, who subsequently married John Sinclair. Julius Martin was also accompanied by his family. Several members became somewhat prominent citizens in their new home, and it is largely from biographical matter touching those men that information respecting the journey is derived.[27]

At Fort Hall, there being a great scarcity of provisions, a division of the company was resolved on. Chiles with nine or ten men, leaving the families and wagons in charge of Walker to follow a southern route, pressed on down the Snake or Lewis River, with a view to obtain fresh provisions at Fort Boisé, to reach California by a direct route talked of by the hunters, and perhaps after reaching Sutter's Fort to send aid to meet the other party. This plan was carried out successfully so far as the journey was concerned, though no effective help was sent back for Walker's party, if, as it is stated by Frémont and others, that was a part of the project. Chiles, Hens-

McIntyre, Julius Martin, Wm J. Martin, Pierson B. Reading, John Thompson (?), Bartlett Vines, Jos. R. Walker, Isaac Williams, James Williams, John S. Williams, Squire Williams, Wm H. Winter (?), and John Wooden (?). The *Napa Co. Hist.*, 388, has a list which, omitting 9 of these names, adds—apparently on the good authority of Baldridge—those of Jesse Beasley, John Conn, Adam Fisher, Sanford, and Major Walton, for which I find no other authority. Hittell adds Ira and John van Gordon. Thompson is named only in a newspaper sketch. See also *Hist. Or.*, i. 400, this series. The narratives referred to in the next note name from 2 to 6 of the party each. In Feb. 1844 Capt. Walker applied for passports for himself and his companions, Anderson, Cowie, and Dawson. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 41.

[27] *Immigrant Company of 1845*, in the *S. F. Bulletin*, July 20, 1860, is a narrative of the trip founded on information derived from a member not named. Baldridge tells the story briefly in his *Days of '46*, MS., 1-3; and much more fully in *Napa Co. Hist.*, 387-90. Some details are also given in a sketch of Atkinson in the *Independence Inyo Indep.*, Oct. 3, 1870; of Hicks, in the *S. F. Alta*, Aug. 10, 1866; of McClellan, by 'Juanita,' in the *Oakland Transcript*, Jan. 26, 1873; and of Martin, in the *S. José Mercury*, April 21, 1864. Also vague mention of the arrival, in *Sutter's Pers. Remin.*, MS., 72-4; *Bidwell's Cal. 1841-8*, MS., p. 105-6.

ley, Reading, and their companions thus entered California by an entirely new route, crossing from Boisé to the Sacramento by way of the Malheur and Pit rivers; but we have no details of either route or adventures; nor do we know the exact date on which they arrived in safety at New Helvetia.[28]

Walker had been confident of his ability to conduct the rest of the company with the wagons and families by a long détour southward into the route by which he had left California in 1834; that is, round the 'point of the mountain,' since known as Owens Peak and Walker Pass, and thence through the San Joaquin Valley to the Sacramento. He proceeded from Fort Hall[29] to the Mary River, and down that stream as he and others had done before to its sink. Here, as some writers say, they waited a week, expecting relief from Chiles; but this seems unlikely. From the sink our adventurers crossed to Walker Lake, and thence with infinite hardships over the mountains to what are now known as Owens river and lake. They had been the first to enter California with wagons; but in the vicinity of Owens Lake the wagons were abandoned, and the machinery buried in the sand.[30] With the rest of their effects on pack-animals, the

[28] *Frémont's Rep.*, 165–6, 247; Juanita (J. C. McPherson), in *Oakland Transcript*, Jan. 26, 1873; and in *S. José Mercury*, April 21, 1864; Bidwell, in resolutions on death of Hensley, in *S. F. Alta*, June 1868, and other papers of the time. Sutter, *Personal Remin.*, MS., 72–4, says they had several fights with Indians, and that McGee fell into a bear-trap. The men who composed this party seem to have been Chiles, Reading, Hensley, Gantt, Williams (4 brothers), Winter, Wooden, McGee, and perhaps Bradley. Sutter, in his *Diary*, 4, implies there were 11 men.

[29] Frémont was on his wagon trail on the Snake River below Ft Hall on Sept. 26th. *Rept Explor. Ex.*, 165.

[30] In Dec. 1845, Lieut Kern with Walker passed what he calls 'Chiles' cache' of mill-irons, etc., less than a day's march south of Owens Lake. *Kern's Jour.*, 482–3. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 383–90, relates that Chiles appeared at Sonoma with a black mule and a negro to ask permission to build a saw-mill in that region. The permission was granted, and C. said good-by and started for Kentucky for his mill. A year later, when V. had forgotten the circumstance, C. reappeared with the same outfit as before to claim his land, saying that his mill had been buried in the Tulare region. Baldridge, *Days of '46*, MS., says the mill was found by miners in 1863. Some say the wagons were not only left, but burned. The only trouble with Indians on the whole trip was the wounding of Milton Little by an arrow while standing on guard one night.

weary company plodded on to the 'point of the mountain' and through Walker Pass. It was here, according to Frémont, that Chiles was to meet them, but he did not appear, though, according to Baldridge, he did come with three men, but could not find the party. Their hardships from this point are described as more severe than those they had suffered in the mountains. Their route, not known exactly, lay up the great valley, past the region of the modern Visalia, and thence across the Tulares westward to the coast range. At Christmas-time they were encamped, with abundance of game, grass, and water, which put an end to all their troubles, in a delightful vale, still known by Walker's name on the maps, on the head waters of a tributary to the Salinas River. In January they descended into the Salinas Valley, thence proceeding to Gilroy's rancho, and scattered to different points in northern and central California.[31]

In connection with immigration, it is proper to mention here the arrival of Stephen Smith with the first steam-engine ever seen in California. Smith, a native of Baltimore, over fifty years of age, and married in South America, had visited the coast in 1841, and had obtained from Alvarado a promise of lands on which to erect mills. He brought his machinery from Baltimore, by way of Paita, on the *George Henry*, which arrived at Monterey in May. He brought with him from Baltimore Henry Hagler, and from

[31] References to authorities have already been given in speaking of the party under Chiles. I find in the archives not a single reference to the arrival of Walker's party, except his demand for passports in February. A writer in the *Sta Cruz Times*, July 25, 1870, speaks of a Major McKinstry who in 1843 had a plan of crossing the mountains with a band of frontiersmen to conquer California, and establish an independent republic. Letters were published and speeches made; but McKinstry was warned by the govt at Washington that he would not be allowed to depart on such a mission. C. E. Pickett, *Paris Exposition*, 10–11, claims to have agitated the scheme of a Pacific railroad in 1843. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young*, 214–15, speaks of 'that bold offer made to the govt by Joseph Smith in 1843, to enter into the service of the nation with several thousand well-armed volunteers, to be followed by the entire Mormon community, to conquer the Pacific dominion for the U. S., and checkmate the aims of Great Britain to establish herself on this coast by the connivance of Mexico.'

South America William A. Streeter, David Dutton, and Philip Crawley, besides his brother-in-law, Manuel Torres. The new enterprise was favored by the authorities, and some special concessions were made by Micheltorena in the matter of duties. Before the end of 1843 Captain Smith had chosen Bodega as the site of his operations, though Sutter and his agents are said to have interposed some obstacles. He had applied for naturalization, purchased lumber at Santa Cruz, and hired several members of Hastings' company, Hudspeth, Coombs, Daubenbiss, Bridges, and Copeland, and had begun operations at Bodega, where his machinery had been landed from the brig. In 1844 he obtained his grant of land, and perhaps by the end of that year both saw-mill and grist-mill were in running order. Their completion was celebrated with festivities, which included speech-making by Vallejo and Prudon, and the engine did good service until 1849–50. Not only did Smith introduce the first steam-engine, but he is also accredited with having brought three pianos, the first ever heard in California.[32]

Lansford W. Hastings left California early in 1844 to publish a book, and to return with another party later. It is said by Bidwell, who was well acquainted with him, that Hastings had come at first with a half-formed purpose of exciting a revolution, of wresting California from Mexico, and of establishing an independent republic with himself as president, or at least of annexing the country to Texas. Finding, however, that the foreign population was yet too small for the successful carrying-out of his plan, he determined to return to the states with a view of promoting an increased immigration through the agency of a glowing description of the country's advantages, supplemented

[32] *Streeter's Recoll.*, MS., 15–25; *Torres, Peripecias*, MS., 120–30; *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 53–5; *Hastings' Emig. Guide*, 111, etc.

by lectures and other personal efforts.[33] While there may be a degree of exaggeration in this version, it is evident that Hastings was not only an enthusiastic advocate of California's separation from her national allegiance, but one of the large class who could not or would not understand that either the Mexican government or the Californian people had any claim to be consulted in the matter.

Hastings' book, which appeared in 1845, contained a description of his journey to Oregon, a brief narrative of his trip to California, a sketch of the two countries, with something of history, and finally advice to immigrants respecting routes and outfits. The book, so far as California is concerned, covered the same ground as Bidwell's pamphlet, the subject being treated of course more elaborately, though not with greater accuracy. The author was an intelligent man, with some ability as a writer; but his book was a piece of special pleading intended to attract immigrants, and accordingly all was painted in couleur de rose. Though visited in a year of extreme drought, not a single defect was pointed out in the country's natural condition. "In my opinion, there is no country in the known world possessing a soil so fertile and productive, with such varied and inexhaustible resources, and a climate of such mildness, uniformity, and salubrity; nor is there a country now known which is so eminently calculated by nature herself in all respects to promote the unbounded happiness and prosperity of civilized and enlightened man." His description of natural features is, however, though tinged with exaggeration, by far the best part of his book. What he says of the different settlements is superficial and marked by absurd errors; an amusing instance being his statement that each of the two largest towns was named Poabalo, one being called 'Poabalo above' and the other 'Poabalo below.'

[33] *Bidwell's Cal. in 1841–8*, MS., 110–12. It is said that Hastings returned by way of Texas, for a conference with leading men of that country.

In all that Hastings wrote of the native Californian people, and of recent historical events, he displayed nothing but inexcusable ignorance and bitter prejudice. The people were 'scarcely a visible grade in the scale of intelligence above the barbarous tribes by whom they are surrounded," though "the higher order of Mexicans are perhaps about equal to the lower order of our citizens in the western states." "The priests, the most dissolute and abandoned characters of the whole community, are not only the sole proprietors of the learning and intelligence, but also of the liberty and happiness of the people, all of which they parcel out to their blind votaries with a very sparing hand. In describing the Graham affair of 1840, he is more absurdly bitter against Alvarado, so far as the possibilities of his vocabulary go, than even Farnham. A Mexican in man's clothing, as italicized by this writer, is a phrase that fully shows his spirit toward the people. "Yet it is with these wild, shirtless, earless, and heartless creatures," alluding more particularly to Micheltorena's cholos, "headed by a few timid, soulless, brainless officers, that these semi-barbarians intend to hold this delightful region as against the civilized world." Lest the "terrible oppression" of foreigners by the government should frighten some of his expected immigrants, Hastings admits that all is changed now; that the Californians, from motives of cowardice, now treat foreigners "with all the deceptive kindness imaginable," that passports were rarely demanded, and that lands were freely granted, notwithstanding the statement of "a certain high functionary at Washington." Hastings and his companions had settled on lands without even making the formal applications required by law, hoping to avoid the disagreeable necessity of becoming Mexican citizens.

To immigrants Hastings' information respecting routes can hardly be said to have been of any value. He says: "Those who go to California travel from Fort Hall w. s. w. about fifteen days to the northern

pass in the Californian mountains; thence three days to the Sacramento; and thence seven days to the bay of St Francisco. The California route from Fort Hall to the Sacramento lies through alternate plains, prairies, and valleys, and over hills amid lofty mountains. The Indians are entirely inoffensive. Wagons can be as readily taken from Fort Hall to the bay of St Francisco as they can from the states to Fort Hall; and in fact, the latter part of the route is found much more eligible for a wagon-way than the former"—rather a rash assertion to be made before any party had succeeded in crossing with wagons. "The most direct route would be to leave the Oregon route about two hundred miles east from Fort Hall; thence bearing w. s. w. to the Salt Lake; and thence continuing down to the bay of St Francisco by the route just described."

In conclusion, the author draws a glowing and extravagantly colored picture of California's prospective grandeur in the time, not far off, when "genuine republicanism and unsophisticated democracy shall be reared up and tower aloft, even upon the now wild shores of the great Pacific; where they shall ever stand forth as enduring monuments to the increasing wisdom of man, and the infinite kindness and protection of an all-wise and overruling providence."[34]

I append the usual list of pioneers for the year, sixty-six in number.[35] As many more new-comers 1843

[34] *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California, containing scenes and incidents of a party of Oregon emigrants; a description of Oregon; scenes and incidents of a party of California emigrants: and a description of California: with a description of the different routes to those countries; and all necessary information relative to the equipment, supplies, and the method of travelling. By Lansford W. Hastings, leader of the Oyn and Cal. emigration of 1842.* Cincinnati, 1845. 8vo, 152 p. The part devoted exclusively to Cal. is found on p. 64-133. One of my copies of this work is one that made the trip overland in 1846 with the famous Donner party. The work was reprinted from the same type, with a new title, and the addition of 8 pages containing a sketch of Cal. by Robert Semple, and a copy of the Oregon Treaty, as *Hastings, A New History of Oregon and California, etc.* Cincinnati, 1847, 8vo, 160 p.; and again with Col. Mason's report on the gold region, as *Id.* Cincinnati, 1849. 8vo, 168 p.

[35] Pioneers of 1843: Alfred Ancelin, James Atkinson, Wm Baldridge, Wm Bartram (?), Geo. W. Bellomy, Vardamon Bennett, Dennis Bennett (?),

are named in the records—and in my Pioneer Register at the end of these volumes—who did not remain in California, or at least about whom nothing more is known than their presence during 1842–3. The list includes many men locally well known, eight or ten of whom still lived in 1884; but the names historically most prominent are those of Gantt, Hastings, Hensley, O'Farrell, Reading, and Swan—the latter because of his fame as a writer of pioneer reminiscences.

Jackson Bennett (?), Winston Bennett, John Bichol, John Boardman, Thos W. Bradley, J. C. Bridges, Henry P. Chace, Wm S. Church, John C. Clark, Nathan Coombs, Henry J. Dally, Henry Dalton, John Daubenbiss, Geo. Davis, Pedro Davis, Rich. S. Den, Ludovico Gabel, John Gantt, Ira van Gordon (?), John van Gordon (?), Henry Hagler, Thos M. Hardy, L. W. Hastings, Charles Heath, Sam. J. Hensley, Wm Hicks, James Hudspeth, John Keyes, Wm Laroche, Charles Levelain (?), Milton Little, Harry Love, Charles McIntosh, Julius Martin, Wm J. Martin, Arno Maube, Wm Money, Anderson Norris, Jasper O'Farrell, Harrison Pierce, Pierson B. Reading, John Rohlman, John F. Romie, Charles Roussillon (?), Truett St Clair (?), Henry St John, Thos J. Shadden, Bezer Simmons, Wm A. Streeter, Owen Sumner, Jr, John A. Swan, John Thompson, Bartlett Vines, Isaac Williams, James Williams, John S. Williams, Squire Williams, and Wm H. Winter (?).

CHAPTER XVII.

MICHELTORENA'S RULE—POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

1844.

ECONOMY—ÁBREGO AND PICO SENT TO MAZATLAN—AID FROM VALLEJO, LARKIN, AND LIMANTOUR—RUMORS OF REVOLT—ARREST OF ALVARADO—A NEW GENERAL EXPECTED—RISING OF THE CHOLOS—ARREST OF CASTAÑARES—WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES—PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE—MILITIA ORGANIZED—LARKIN'S LETTERS—INDIAN AFFAIRS—PRESIDIO ON THE SAN JOAQUIN—JUNTA DEPARTAMENTAL—CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR—THE CAPITAL—MONTEREY AND ANGELES—SANTA INÉS AS A COMPROMISE—CASTAÑARES IN MEXICO—HIS BOOK—WARNING AGAINST FOREIGNERS—NO RESULTS—GENERAL VIEW OF MICHELTORENA'S CHARACTER AND ADMINISTRATION.

AT the beginning of the new year Micheltorena issued a decree carrying into effect the economical measures decided upon by the junta of October 1843.[1] By this reform a saving of about $40,000 was effected in the estimated expenses of the year, chiefly in the civil budget; while by a system of half-pay reductions in the military branch, a further saving of about $12,000 was promised; and the total sum to be required of the treasury for 1844 was reduced approximately to $120,000, or $10,000 per month. The remaining problem was where to obtain the $120,000. By the *California*, the government schooner leaving Monterey in December, Ábrego, Andrés Pico, and Larkin had sailed for Mazatlan, the business of the former two, and probably of the last as well, being to obtain funds on Micheltorena's orders drawn for the amount of $8,000 per month that had been assigned him on

[1] Jan. 1, 1844, *Micheltorena, Bando Económico*, MS.

his departure from Mexico. There is no record of their negotiations or of definite results. The commissioners returned in the *California* in March, but it does not appear that they brought any money on government account; certainly they brought but little.[2] The schooner made a second and third trip to the Mexican ports before the end of the year, carrying on the second Captain J. M. Flores as a commissioner to obtain succor, but with results that are altogether unknown, so far as the obtaining of material aid is concerned. Yet two Boston ships early in the year paid $58,000 in duties, more than two thirds of the total revenues of the year; $2,000 in money was obtained from Vallejo in payment, together with provisions supplied the year before, for the Soscol rancho; additional aid was obtained from the trader Limantour; and probably also from Thomas O. Larkin. So that the financial troubles of 1844, excepting perhaps those at the end of the year, resulting from extraordinary events to be noticed later, were not altogether insuperable after all.[3]

Micheltorena deserves credit for having given considerable attention to the subject of education, taking

[2] Larkin says that Micheltorena in 1842-4 drew on the Mazatlan customs for about $150,000, only a small part of which was paid, contrary orders having been issued in Mexico. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 37. Jan. 26th, John Parrott to Larkin. There is no hope of getting M.'s drafts cashed at Mazatlan; so he has sent them to Mexico. *Larkin's Papers*, MS. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 382-3, says that Pico and Abrego succeeded in selling at a heavy discount enough of the drafts to produce $10,000, a part of which was invested in powder. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 47-8, explains how men having small claims of undoubted justice against the govt, despite Mexico's notoriety for not paying debts, almost always could sell their claims for 20 to 40 per cent of their face to the *agiotistas*, who, after collecting large amounts in all parts of the republic, got an order for payment by giving the minister and his secretary a share of the profits.

[3] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 385, tells us that Micheltorena applied to him for a loan and received $2,000, for which the grant was issued in June. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 203, says Larkin on one occasion lent the gov. $2,000, and took a sight draft for $3,000 on the Mazatlan customs, which he could not collect. The same writer says, *Id.*, v. 389, that M. invested some $30,000 in goods which were put into Larkin's hands for sale, but proved unsalable. Aug. 26th, an invoice of goods furnished by Limantour to M., to the amount of $32,868. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., ii. 173-6. The gov. probably took some goods not needed by the soldiers, hoping to sell them through Larkin. It was not, as Alvarado implies, an investment of public funds for his own benefit.

a deeper interest in the public schools than any of his predecessors except Sola and Figueroa. Not only did he aid the bishop in the establishment of his ecclesiastical seminary at Santa Inés, but the archives of 1844 contain many communications from his pen showing a lively interest in the primary schools, which he is also said to have visited often in person. In May he issued a reglamento for the primary schools under female teachers, *amigas*, ordered to be established at each of the seven chief towns under the patronage of our lady of Guadalupe. There is little information respecting the progress made with these schools, though there was a beginning at several places. At Los Angeles Lieutenant Medina met with flattering success as teacher in a school containing at one time a hundred pupils. A scheme was also devised to obtain from the United States a teacher to open a school of higher grade at Monterey; for which purpose a subscription was raised in September to the amount of $900 per year for three years.[4]

In January there were rumors of revolt in the Monterey district, the only tangible fact in connection with which trouble was the arrest of Juan B. Alvarado. In a private letter to Vallejo, Micheltorena said that, on account of certain *vociferaciones alarmantes*, he had resolved to send Alvarado as a prisoner to Sonoma, he having listened to evil counsellors who induced him to engage in plots. He confessed to having torn the passport of an officer travelling on duty. On the supplication of several persons, however, and on Alvarado's promise to abstain in future from

[4] More of this topic in local annals and elsewhere. May 1, 1844, *Micheltorena, Reglamento de Escuelas Amigas*, MS., and in the archives. May 8th, proclamation on the subject of education accompanying the reglamento. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 305. Many items of this year on the Angeles school, in *Angeles, Arch.*, MS., iii. 1–5; v. 107–225, passim; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 27–8, 31–9; *Id., Ang.*, xii. 10, 25–7, 74–88; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 61–9, 76, 90. Sept. 8th, subscription by Hartnell, Larkin, Ábrego, Pio Pico, Jimeno, Watson, Guerra, and Wolters for $100 each, and some conditions respecting the proposed school. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 192. Sept. 16th, Larkin to Alfred Robinson, asking him to select a teacher. *Id.*, ii. 196.

such practices, the governor concluded to spare him this time, and allowed him to return home.[5] Florencio Serrano is the only Californian who has thought to mention this affair in his narrative. He tells us that Micheltorena, being informed that Alvarado was planning a revolution, sent Captain Mejía to arrest him at Alisal. But Alvarado refused to be arrested by an officer of lower rank than himself, donned his colonel's uniform, bade Mejía be off, and came voluntarily to Monterey.[6] Rumors of an impending revolt at Monterey reached Los Angeles, where they were considered in a special meeting of the ayuntamiento, which body agreed upon repressive measures—that is, to keep a strict watch, and to have all arms carried to the comandante's house; for some of the soldiers in their cups had been heard to give vent to "suspicious utterances, indicative of speedy disorders." In case the northern rumors should prove true, it was thought practicable to station a force of fifteen or twenty men on the Santa Bárbara frontier![7]

The next disturbance to be recorded, not much more serious in its results than that of January, was a rising, not against, but in favor of, Micheltorena, the revolutionists being the cholos of the batallon. It occurred early in August, in consequence of news from Mexico through private letters, that Micheltorena was to be superseded by a new general.[8] Early one morning a demonstration was made by the soldiers, who declared they would serve under no other general, and that Micheltorena should not leave California unless they

[5] Jan. 15, 1844, M. to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 5. The gov. protests his strong desire to preserve peace and insure the prosperity and harmony of the Californians.

[6] *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 90–1; *Id.*, in *Pioneer Sketches*, MS., p. 33–4.

[7] Feb. 19, 1844, ayunt., secret and special session. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., v. 117–23. Little credit was given to the rumors by speakers at this meeting; but it was thought best to be on the safe side. Feb. 24th, alcalde to Micheltorena, announcing precautions. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 32.

[8] According to Pio Pico's proclamation of Feb. 15, 1845, this officer was Teófilo Romero. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 59; also *Micheltorena, Expediente*. Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 352, says that the report causing the trouble was that of Gen. Iniestra's proposed expedition to California.

could accompany him. It does not appear which they feared most, the vengeance of Californians, whose chickens they had stolen, or the possibly stricter discipline to which a new chief might subject them. The leader among the officers of the batallon was apparently Captain Mejía, with the coöperation of José María Castañares. The tumult, perhaps intended to intimidate certain Californians who had been somewhat free in their expression of hostility to the cholos, lasted but a few hours, Micheltorena having rebuked the officers, who were put under arrest, and explained to the men that these were not proper methods of expressing their devotion to a leader. Castañares was sent to Sonoma on parole; but falling sick at Yerba Buena, was allowed to return to Monterey in September, perhaps without having gone farther than San Francisco.[9] The people of the capital were considerably alarmed by this demonstration, fearing that it might lead to a sacking of the town, the cholos, from petty thieves, becoming an organized band of robbers.[10] The alarm was increased by the arrival at this time of a reënforcement to the batallon, a detachment of forty or fifty men who had deserted at Mazatlan, and had been recaptured and sent to California on the *Bolívar*, landing at San Pedro and remaining for a time at Angeles.[11] Still another cause of popular alarm arose from

[9] Aug. 6, 1844, M. to V. Sends Castañares to remain at Sonoma until further orders, to be treated according to his rank, but not allowed to leave the place. The good of the national service demands it. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 75. Aug. 17th, Prudon to V. Castañares ill at Yerba Buena. Fears the climate of Sonoma (!), and will probably be allowed to go back. *Id.*, xii. 86. Sept. 5th, M. authorizes V. to permit the return. *Id.*, xii. 90.

[10] Larkin, writing on Sept. 16th, describes the affair, and says: 'The people of this town were in great alarm, expecting a sack of the town by the soldiers; the affair was, however, hushed up.' *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 10. Later, in an account intended to justify Micheltorena after the revolution, Larkin wrote: 'I know of no trouble or alarms caused by the circumstance, in Monterey.' He says the affair was all over by 8 A. M. Capt. Abella was living at Larkin's house at the time. *Id., Doc.*, MS., iii. 271. Aug. 17th, Prudon says that Monterey looks like a town taken by assault, only officers and soldiers to be seen. All families have retired to their ranchos. A new division of the batallon has arrived from Angeles. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 86. Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 87–90, and Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 352–8, give some details of the night's occurrences.

[11] García, *Apuntes sobre Micheltorena*, MS., 1–5, was one of the men, and

the current reports of war between Mexico and the United States, to be noticed presently. There was little fear of the Americans; but an apprehension that the Mexicans might make the threatened invasion a pretext for plundering the town.

It was in May that the Mexican minister of war informed Micheltorena that positive news had been received of a treaty having been signed for the annexation of Texas to the United States;[12] that it only required confirmation by the senate; and that such confirmation would probably result in war. The general was therefore to prepare for the defence of California by seeing to it that weapons were kept in good condition, that the troops were well organized and disciplined, that the militia was ready to be called into active service, and that the government was informed promptly of any aid that might be required—though no hostilities were to be committed against such American men-of-war as might visit the coast pending the receipt of more positive orders or some act of aggression on the part of those vessels.[13]

This order was received early in July, and was at once published by Micheltorena, who announced that in consequence of it he had resolved to establish his headquarters at San Juan Bautista, and "to defend the department, whose independence, religion, and integrity the *patria* intrusts now more than ever to her sons, and to me the duty of showing them the path to glory and honor in case of war." At the same time he ordered the immediate enrolment of all citizens between the ages of fifteen and sixty years, in-

gives the only narrative of the reënforcement that I have seen. He says 43 of the 50 men had been deserters; and there were 7 women in the company. They marched from Angeles under Comandante Valdés.

[12] The treaty was signed by the Texan commissioners and by John C. Calhoun, secretary of state, April 12, 1844, but was rejected by the senate June 8th.

[13] May 11, 1844, min. of war to com. gen. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 35; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iii. 131. June (May ?) 11th, min. of hac. orders that the militia be put on a war footing. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 80.

cluding naturalized foreigners, to be formed into nine companies of militia, which were to be drilled every Sunday, and to hold themselves in readiness to be called into active service as defensores de la patria. Some days later a series of formal regulations for the militia was issued; and it appears that the organization of defenders was effected to some extent, on paper at least, in northern California; but in the south we hear nothing of the matter until the end of the year, when, as we shall see, it came up in another connection.[14]

[14] July 6, 1844. *Micheltorena, Medidas de Defensa contra los Estados Unidos*, MS.; *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 77; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 35; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 43–50. Companies were to be formed at S. Diego, Angeles, Sta Bárbara, S. Luis Obispo, Monterey, S. Juan Bautista, S. José, S. F., and Sonoma—all of cavalry. The colonels and lieut-colonels were to be those already holding those commissions; the captains were to be named by the govt; and lower officers were to be chosen by the companies. All officers, inválidos, and public employés chosen by the people were exempted from the enrolment; and merchants were only required to serve in defence of their places of residence—armed and supported at their own cost. Full regulations for details of organization, discipline, uniform, etc., which need not be given here even en résumé, were issued in print on July 16th. *Micheltorena, Reglamento de la Milicia Auxiliar de Defensores de la Patria y Departamento de Californias.* In *Earliest Print: Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 51; *Taylor's Specimens of Press*, 623; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 467.

July 8th, officers named by Micheltorena for the defensores: 1st regiment, col, J. B. Alvarado, lieut-col, J. M. Castañares; adjutants, Marquez and Correa; captains, 1st squadron, S. Diego co., Andrés Pico, Correa as instructor; Sta Bárbara co., Raimundo Carrillo, Flores as instructor; 2d squadron, S. Luis Obispo co., J. M. Villa, Marquez as instructor; Monterey co., A. M. Osio, Estrada as instructor. 2d regiment, col, M. G. Vallejo; lieut-col, José Castro; adjutants, A. Somoza and Ant. Pico; captains, 1st squadron, S. Juan co., Fran. Pacheco, Vargas as instructor; S. José co., A. M. Pico, Somoza as instructor; S. Francisco co., F. Sanchez, Ant. Pico as instructor; Sonoma co., Salvador Vallejo, Rodriguez as instructor. 1st squadron of Angeles, Pio Pico, comandante; J. M. Ramirez, adjutant and instructor; 1st company, capt., M. Dominguez; 2d co., capt., J. M. Palomares. 2d squadron of Angeles, J. A. Carrillo, comandante; N. Helvetia co., J. A. Sutter, captain. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 44–6. July 19th, at Sonoma 59 men enrolled, including 12 foreigners. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 55. July 21st, 53 citizens and 22 unnaturalized foreigners at S. Francisco. *Id.*, xxxiv. 42. July 26th, Micheltorena to Vallejo, intrusting to him the organization of the companies from S. Francisco northward, Castro to attend to those at S. José and S. Juan. Only one person should be taken from a family. *Id.*, xii. 61; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 89. Aug. 4th, Capt. Osio and his company of 32 men at Monterey choose subordinate officers. Aug. 20th, list of the S. Francisco company, 48 men beside capt. and lieut. *Soberanes, Doc.*, MS., 308.

In January the min. of war proposed the organization of all the presidial companies of the Californias and the batallon into a regiment, to have besides its regular officers a comandante de escuadron to serve as commandant in Baja California. *Mexico, Mem. Guerra*, 1844, annex 23–4. List of unat-

Besides taking steps to organize the militia, Micheltorena moved all the serviceable cannon with munitions from Monterey to San Juan, where he proposed to make a final stand against the invaders should they make their appearance on the coast. The capital presented the appearance of a military camp for a week or more, the soldiers holding possession, always in readiness to retreat; while many of the citizens had retired with movable effects to the interior, fearing, as I have said before, not so much the coming of the Americans as the excesses of the cholos, who were likely on the approach of an enemy to sack the town. So Consul Larkin wrote to his government, declaring that the property of Americans was safer than that of natives, and expressing the opinion that Micheltorena, in case of war, could depend only on his 250 Mexican troops to follow him, the 150 Californian soldiers and the 1,000 citizens available as militia not being disposed to fight for a government in which they took very little interest.[15] To provide pecuniary means for the country's defence, the junta departamental was convoked in August, and authorized a sale of the mission estates;[16] but before anything was done in this direction news came that the war-cloud had passed over, and California resumed its peaceful attitude; though the cannon and other war-stores were not immediately brought back from San Juan.[17]

tached and retired officers, etc., in Cal.; J. B. Alvarado, col auxiliary militia; José Castro, lieut-col Cal. squadron; M. G. Vallejo, lieut-col permanent cav.; Pedro Narvaez, lieut of navy; V. Prudon, capt. permanent infantry; José Ramirez, lieut cavalry; Narciso Fabregat, lieut Mazatlan militia; José de la Guerra y Noriega, ret. capt. of cavalry; Sant. Argüello, ret. capt. cav.; José Estrada, ret. lieut cav.; Dámaso Rodriguez, ret. alf. cav.; Anfceto Zavaleta, Isidoro Soto, José Peña, Manuel Verdugo, and Sebastian Rodriguez, soldiers retired with rank of lieutenants; Manuel Rodriguez, inval. corporal; Eleuterio Villa, inval. soldier; Luisa Argüello de Zamorano, widow with pension of $60 per month. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, lxxxvi. 3–4.

[15] Aug. 18, 1844, L. to sec. state. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 8. Vallejo to Micheltorena, Nov. 18th, declared that it had not been the fear of invasion by foreigners that had caused the citizens to leave Monterey. *Bear Flag Pap.*, MS., 3.

[16] Aug. 15th, 20th, 24th, sessions of the junta. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 18, 20; *Earliest Printing, Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 7–9; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 91–2. More about the sessions a little later.

[17] I find no announcement by the gov. that the danger had ceased; but

In connection with the military preparation just noted, I may take up the topic of Indian affairs, respecting which, however, there is almost nothing to be said in 1844. With a view to prevent the incursions of Indian horse-thieves, who were a constant terror to the rancheros in central California, a scheme was devised in the spring of this year, not only to send out an expedition against the foe, but to establish a kind of frontier presidio somewhere in the Tulares, where a detachment of soldiers could be stationed permanently for service against the Indians. In May the plan was announced by Micheltorena, and certain vaguely recorded preparations were made; but all we know of the result is that in the middle of November Castro was in the San Joaquin Valley engaged in this service, when recalled by the outbreak of revolt, as will be seen in a later chapter.[18]

There was an extra session of the junta, or asamblea, on February 10th, convoked for the purpose of choosing a *quinterna* for governor. The names chosen to be submitted to the supreme government as candidates were, in the following order: Micheltorena, Alvarado, Tellez, Osio, and Jimeno; and the result was announced by the governor in a bando of the 13th.[19]

Larkin writes on Sept. 16th, that, as Texas has not been annexed, warlike preparations have been postponed. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 10.

[18] May 31st (13th ?), gov.'s order for a *destacamento* on the S. Joaquin. Contributions to be solicited and all to be ready at Sta Clara by June 10th. *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 75–6. May 13th, saddles, etc., to be borrowed from citizens. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 81. May 14th, gov. to alcaldes of S. José and S. Juan; José Castro to command the force in the Tulares. Padres to furnish Indians. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 81–2. June 14th, P. Mercado refers to same matter. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 6. Mention also in *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 89–91; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 413; *Serrano*, in *Pioneer Sketches*, MS., p. 38. Weber's treaty with the S. Joaquin tribes. *S. Joaquin Co. Hist.*, 16. Aug. 24th, Sutter speaks of services rendered by the Moquelemos by returning stolen horses. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 7. Oct. 1st, an expedition alluded to, in which one 'vecino' lost his life. There is to be another sally. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 98. Oct., Indians defeated by govt troops. *Pabellon Nacional*, Nov. 26, 1844. Jan., a ranchería attacked by 23 citizens, and the chief, José del Cármen, killed. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 29–30. Feb., savages and Cahuillas fighting near S. Bernardino. *Id., Angeles*, viii. 6–7.

[19] Feb. 13, 1844, M.'s proclamation. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 46; *Id., S. José*, vi. 3; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 302; *Micheltorena's Administration*, 21.

It appears, however, that the meeting was not quite legal, being composed of northern members and substitutes only. The four southern vocales either were not summoned at all, or were notified too late; or at any rate were not present to insist on the proper proportion of abajeños in the list of candidates; and they were much offended at the wrong done them, protesting both to the governor and to the national government, with results of which nothing is known.[30] The southerners, having a majority, were desirous that the junta should be convened in regular session, and complained, evidently with much reason, that the arribeños were intriguing to prevent a meeting.

Again the assembly was convoked by orders of June 19th and August 13th, and met in special sessions on August 15th, 20th, 24th, and 26th, Estrada, a northern member, and Guerra from the south, being absent. Narciso Botello was made temporary, and J. M. Covarrubias permanent, secretary, in place of Zenon Fernandez, deceased. The southern vocales took the oath of office, the others having done so at the former session. The business before the junta was the raising of funds with which to protect the country from foreign invasion. Micheltorena made an opening speech on the subject; and Pico responded by pledging the junta to use its best efforts in so just a cause. As related more fully elsewhere, the action finally taken was to authorize the sale or renting of mission estates. An attempt was made to bring up various other matters of minor importance; but they were decided to be out of order at special sessions;

[30] A letter to Castañares in Mexico declared the election an *escándalo de gran tamaño;* stating that the order of convocation was issued on Feb. 4th, so that the southern members could not possibly arrive by the 10th. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 17. June 8th, Pio Pico, the 1st vocal, to min. of the int., enclosing the protest of himself, Figueroa, and Botello, to the gov. on April 8th. It is a long document, in which they demand that the assembly be again convened and its past acts be declared null. The sup. govt is called upon to protect the rights of the people. *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 55. Pico's report of Apr. 8th is also given in print in *Micheltorena, Expediente no. 1.*

and with one exception, no action was taken on any of them.[21]

The exception to which I have alluded was the old question of Monterey versus Los Angeles on a change of capital. Since the beginning of the year the Angelinos had resumed the old agitation of the subject; Juan Bandini having written an exposition, in which he showed that the southern city deserved some reward for her old-time constancy to Mexico; and the ayuntamientos of the rival towns having taken new steps in the matter.[22] It was on this account that the northerners had intrigued to prevent a regular session so long as their opponents were in a majority. But Pio Pico brought the matter up in the session of August 24th, and a lively discussion ensued. Pico and Botello insisted on southern rights, and Figueroa agreed with them, though he did not think the subject could be legally disposed of in a session called for special purposes. Spence favored the claims of Monterey; while Munrás, leaning in the same direction, proposed to select some third town for capital or to leave the whole question to be settled in Mexico. Micheltorena himself as president argued at first strongly against moving the capital away from the town where the custom-house was located, also opposing any action whatever at a special session; but he finally proposed as a compromise that further definite action should be suspended until a decision

[21] Records of the sessions, in *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 17–27; *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 7–12. The records of the opening session of Aug. 15th and the closing one of Aug. 26th were issued in print by Micheltorena in bandos of Aug. 28th and Sept. 3d respectively. *Earliest Printing; Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 3–4; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., vi. 6; *Micheltorena's Administration*, 24–6; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 309.

[22] Jan. 16, 1844, alcalde of Angeles to Micheltorena, sending Bandini's exposition. The gov. promises to represent the matter. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 28. March 13th, Alcalde Serrano announces that on the 9th the ayunt. of Monterey agreed to petition for a repeal of the decree making Angeles the capital. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xi. 16–17. June 4th, Angeles ayunt. complains that the govt sec. is wrong in writing 'muy ilustre ayuntamiento de esta capital de Monterey.' *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 11–12. July 29th, Judge Requena forwards to assembly the law of May 23, 1835, and asks that it be enforced, making Angeles the capital. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 17.

could be obtained from Mexico respecting the right of the assembly to act in the matter, and that in the mean time the sessions should be held in some other place than either Monterey or Angeles, suggesting Santa Inés as a convenient point. The three southerners would not accept any compromise, and at last voted solid in favor of Los Angeles; but the two northern members with Micheltorena voted for the compromise, the latter also decided the tie by his casting vote; and the next session was thus to be convoked at Santa Inés. No session ever was held there, however, and nothing more was ever heard of the project. The compromise was a most inexplicable concession on the part of the arribeños, especially if the president had the right here exercised of casting a double vote.[23]

Let us turn to the national capital and follow the deputy Manuel Castañares in his efforts in behalf of California. He was a much more diligent representative than had been his predecessor, Andrés Castillero; though perhaps the real does not quite equal the apparent difference, because the efforts of Don Manuel were recorded in print, while those of Don Andrés were not—even if there were any to be recorded, which is doubtful. Before the end of 1844 Castañares received some complaints from his constituents respecting Mexican neglect, coupled with implications that the neglect was due to the deputy's own inattention to his duties. As the best means of proving that such charges were unjust, Don Manuel resolved to print his communications and speeches. Letters certifying his zeal were obtained from such high dignitaries as Tornel, Reyes, Cortina, Trigueros, and Bocanegra; and this correspondence, with the documents mentioned, was published in pamphlet form in 1845. I proceed to glance at the contents of the pamphlet

[23] Record of the discussion in *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 156; *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 11; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 20-2.

in chronologic order as a record of what was being done for California in Mexico.[24]

Having left California in December, Castañares directed his first official communication to the minister of relations on March 2d. It promised a detailed report to be presented a little later; contained a warning of impending danger from foreign aggression and internal troubles; recommended the sending of a force of 700 or 800 veteran soldiers, properly equipped and provided for, to protect the department; and insisted on the prompt payment, *sin excusa ni pretesto alguno*, of the $8,000 per month assigned for the support of the troops already there.[25]

In the extra session of March 30th, the diputado presented an able argument on the topic of missions and the pious fund, in opposition to the reports of certain committees. He declared California to be "a rough diamond, requiring only application to the lapidary's wheel to adorn the aureola of Anáhuac with a jewel of the most beautiful splendor"! Missionary work must be a prominent element in the polishing process; and the fund must be devoted in good faith to California, in accordance with the wishes of the

[24] *Castañares, Coleccion de Documentos Relativos al Departamento de Californias, Publicados por el Ciudadano Manuel Castañares, Diputado al Congreso General por aquel Departamento.* Mexico, 1845, 8vo, 70 p. The latest communication in the collection bears date of July 17, 1845, but though published in 1845, and containing information about events of the first part of that year, I choose to notice this book as belonging to 1844. The letters of Mexican officials all speak of Castañares in flattering terms. Tornel says: 'El celo de V. por el bien, felicidad, y adelanto de las Californias que dignamente representa, es imponderable, segun me consta en el largo tiempo que desempeñé el ministerio de guerra, y en el cual dia por dia concurria V. conmigo, esforzando la justicia de que aquel precioso departamento no fuese abandonado á su suerte...jamas ha abandonado su noble propósito y en el congreso, en el gabinete, en la opinion pública, y en todos los medios imaginables, ha llenado perfectamente sus deberes.' The others, all men with whom Castañares had come constantly in contact in his efforts in the different departments, wrote in terms no less positive and favorable.

[25] 'Porcion de intereses encontrados; un refinado provincialismo aumentado por el racional sentimiento del abandono con que se ha visto á aquel departamento, y algunas faltas graves cometidas por individuos de los que componen la espedicion militar que marchó á las órdenes del Exmo Sr Gen. D. Manuel Micheltorena, son suficientes elementos, entre otros, para temer el trastorno de su tranquilidad interior.' Castañares to min. of rel., Mar. 2d, 1844, in *Id., Col. Doc.*, 10. He insists that if troops are sent, provision must be made for their support, as the country cannot and will not support them.

founders—yet not exactly as it had been applied before. For, as Castañares maintained most ingeniously and eloquently, under the old mission system the Indians had neither become christianized nor civilized, but had rather been enslaved, retaining their idolatry, but losing their native freedom and wild dignity; and therefore the fund of course had not been used according to the wishes of its generous founders. Those wishes must not be interpreted too literally; for the catechism was not the only means of conversion and civilization, a still more effective one being "the intimate contact of the barbarian with the man of culture, of the idolater with the Christian." There was no better way to elevate the Indians than to encourage the development of prosperity and culture among the gente de razon. Therefore, and this was the objective point of all Don Manuel's reasoning, the administration of the pious fund should not be intrusted exclusively to the bishop, but should be controlled to some extent by the departmental government. It is needless to add that Castañares' eloquence in this direction did not practically enrich the Californian treasury.[26]

In June we have three communications from the congressman in print, from which it appears that he complained of not having been heard in a cabinet meeting as promised; that he sought and obtained an interview with President Santa Anna; announced the arrival of the *California* schooner, with Captain Flores as a commissioner in quest of succor, complaining that the vessel had been sent back with mere despatches instead of the material aid so urgently needed; laid before the government some private letters from his constituents, including an account of the outrage by the cholos on Pierre Atillan; and finally declared that the Californians would surely revolt if not relieved.[27] In August an announcement that the *Cali-*

[26] Castañares' speech of March 30th in congress. *Id.*, *Col. Doc.*, 11–15.

[27] 'By what I have said, your Excellency will see that the condition of the

fornia schooner had returned to Acapulco; a new warning of impending invasion by the United States; and a new appeal for the money that had been promised, and the men and arms and munitions that were required for defence. The reply of August 16th was that the government would attend to California as soon as it could free itself from the more urgent Texan question.

September 1st, Castañares presented an exhaustive general report on the condition and needs of his department, in part first of which document, by describing the country's natural advantages, he labored to prove that its retention as a part of the republic was a matter of the gravest importance from a national point of view, far more essential than the possession of Texas. In part second the author presented his views of what should be done to keep and utilize this invaluable possession. His suggestions, supported in most instances by plausible arguments for which I have no space, were briefly as follows: Increased powers to be conceded to the departmental government in both branches, it being vain to apply the general laws to the exceptional circumstances of the far north. Several lawyers and clerks of education and experience to be sent to organize the administration of justice in higher courts. The pious fund to be restored to California, and to be used by the bishop with the intervention of the government, not only for purposes purely ecclesiastic, but for the establishment of new frontier missions and presidios, and for the general promotion of education. Mexican families to be sent as colonists

Californias is no longer tolerable. In compliance with my duties, I have taken all the steps and exhausted all resources within my reach to cause a cessation of the despair to which they are reduced. The sup. govt cannot fail to apply the remedy, but if unfortunately it should be so, expect nothing but a bloody revolution, a desperate resort, it is true, but the only one remaining to them who have received from Mexico nothing but an insupportable tutelage, vexations of every class, and no protection whatever.' June 25th, Castañares to min. of rel. *Id., Col. Doc.*, 18. July 26th, Castañares and Flores made a report to the min. of war on the needs of Cal. arising from Indian troubles, and particularly the danger of American invasion. In *Monitor Constitucional*, March 6, 1845, and an editorial in the paper of Mar. 8th.

and aided by the government, the mission estates, among other resources, being devoted to that end. Foreign colonization to be encouraged, away from the immediate coast, under special laws, especially colonization by Spaniards, Swiss, or Germans. Soldiers with their families to be sent in as large numbers as possible to form a kind of military colonies for protection against the Americans; the soldiers being released from military service after a brief term. Supplies to be sent regularly for the support of troops in California, not only to render its defence effective, but also to reëstablish the waning respect of Californians for Mexico. Education to be promoted by all possible means. The ports to be fortified; and a navy-yard to be established, with the *comandancia de marina* of the South Sea, at San Francisco or Monterey. The occupation of the coast islands to be promoted. The coast to be protected by a fleet of gun-boats or other armed vessels; and prompt transportation of the mails to be insured. Mexican merchants to receive every possible encouragement and concession, with a view ultimately to enforce the laws against coasting trade by foreign vessels. The granting of lands to be regulated, and grants already made to be fully legalized, notwithstanding possible defects of minor importance. Presidios to be maintained in the interior and on the frontiers, one of them, in the nature of a military colony, to be at Fort Ross. Parish priests to be provided and paid. A port of deposit for foreign goods to be established at Monterey.

"Uncared for and abandoned as hitherto," concludes the author, California "will be irremediably lost, and I tremble at the sad consequences of such a loss. A powerful foreign nation will pitch its camps there; the adjoining departments will not be slow to feel the effects; and California in the hands of her new master will be for its neighbors what Belize is for Yucatan. Then will sprout the seed to-day lying ignored in the soil; then her mines will be worked, her ports crowded,

her fields cultivated; then will a numerous and toiling people acquire property to be defended with their blood; and then all this for our country will produce the opposite effects. The steps that shall put California under a foreign power will be doubled for us in a contrary sense; and when there is no longer a remedy, when there shall begin to be gathered the bitter fruits of a lamentable negligence and an unpardonable error, then we shall deplore in vain evils which might have been avoided, and confess with sorrow our impotence to extinguish the destructive germ which at first might have been easily uprooted."[28] This reads like prophecy; but Castañares' suggestions were utopian when addressed to a government and a people like those of Mexico. The day had passed when the 'destructive germ' could be uprooted by Mexican power exerted in Mexican methods.

On September 6th thanks, most enthusiastic but somewhat premature it would seem, were rendered to the government for the unexpectedly ample resources ordered by the president to be sent to California in the shape of money, weapons, munitions, and equipments, 'all to defend the national integrity and sovereignty.' No doubt, as Castañares thought, the response from his department would be a *grito de guerra* against the insolent foreigners who sought to steal so precious a possession.[29] The only other essential fact

[28] *Castañares, California y sus males. Exposicion dirijida al Gobierno en 1° de Septiembre de 1844.* In *Id., Col. Doc.*, 21–52. In *Mexico, Mem. Guerra*, 1844, p. 49–50, Minister Tornel recommends Mexican colonization for Cal., and admits the urgent danger of losing that department. June 21st, the com. gen. of Cal. to be supplied with all he needs (!). *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 80–1. July 18th, $2,000 ordered paid by Mazatlan customs. *Id.*, i. 82. Aug. 31st, $3,000 due from Becher's estate put at gov.'s disposal. *Id.*, i. 85–6. Sept. 3d, the $8,000 per month to be paid *de toda preferencia*, as ordered in May 1842. *Id.*, i. 89–90.

[29] Sept. 6th, Castañares to min. of rel. Sept. 7th, reply of Rejon. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 52–3. The aid ordered according to a letter of Gen. Ryees on Nov. 27th, *Id.*, p. 6, included 500 infantry and 300 cavalry uniforms! the corresponding armament; 300 complete cavalry equipments; a large quantity of lead and powder at Acapulco; 4 pieces of artillery; $8,000 per month paid at Mazatlan *de preferencia*; and finally, the refitting of the schooner *California*. But the effectiveness of this aid was somewhat impaired by the remark in the same letter, 'the orders have been issued, and I believe that, *en el primer momento de desahogo qui haya*, they will be executed.'

respecting these reënforcements and supplies is that they were never sent at all. In November a circular was issued forbidding all payments of funds without special orders; but Castañares succeeded in obtaining an order that the California payments at Mazatlan be not suspended! This closed the correspondence of 1844; but I shall have occasion to notice the continuation of the deputy's efforts in the annals of 1845.

Clearly, Micheltorena's administration had not been productive of any very brilliant results so far as the welfare of California was concerned. The condition of the country was not much better or worse in 1844 than it had been in 1841. That such was the case, however, is not to be considered to any great extent the ruler's fault; nor does it furnish an argument against the soundness of Vallejo's policy in having urged the sending of a Mexican officer to assume both commands. That the result was disappointing was due almost entirely to circumstances, which arose largely from blunders in Mexico. It is doubtful if there was an officer in Mexico who could have done better in Micheltorena's place. There is no disagreement among those who knew him respecting the general's character. He lacked force, and was even inclined to indolence. He was not a man to act either promptly or wisely in an emergency. He exhibited himself in a ridiculously unfavorable light by his bluster in the Jones affair. On other occasions in his California experience he manifested weakness of character, and he was regarded by his Mexican opponents as a pedantic dreamer of many theories. Still he was a gentleman of considerable culture, possessed of many negative virtues and no glaring vices, imposing in person, with manners affable and fascinating, kind of heart and honest of purpose, gifted not only with the power of winning personal friends, but with a fair degree of executive ability and tact.[30]

[30] I might quote long lists of Californian authorities on Micheltorena's char-

Micheltorena made many warm personal friends, and he excited the ill feeling and opposition of no class. He favored neither arribeños nor abajeños, but tried to reconcile sectional differences. There was never any complaint of his favoring unduly either Mexicans or Californians. He restored what was left of the mission estates to the padres without exciting the opposition of any other class. He aided the bishop in his educational schemes, and listened to that dignity's counsel so far as to marry his mistress. He was liberal to and well liked by the foreigners generally. He reduced expenses without very seriously offending the men who lost their salaries; and in fact, without having introduced any brilliant or sweeping reforms, he performed the duties of his office under difficult circumstances with creditable tact and ability. There is much to be said in praise of his policy in all branches of government, and very little to condemn. As I have before remarked, it is doubtful if any available officer, Mexican or Californian, could have done better; and though many even among his

acter, but there is so little variety of opinion that it would serve no good purpose. Alvarado, Castro, Osio, and others of that class, while not denying that he possessed good nature and some other good personal qualities, dwell naturally on his weakness, lack of energy, and even lack of good faith; while others, including foreigners like Sutter, Bidwell, Davis, and Larkin, are disposed to exaggerate his kindness, wisdom, and ability; but on the whole, there is no man prominently named in California history about whose personal character there is such a general agreement. On Oct. 22, 1842, John C. Jones wrote from Sta Bárbara to Larkin as follows: 'From all accounts, the general is a mild, affable, and well-disposed man; but devoid of all energy, stability, force, or resolution; the very last man who should have been sent to guide the destinies of California. He appears to be fickle and very undecided, and if report speaks true, not overstocked with courage.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 344. Bustamante, *Mem. Hist. Mex.*, MS. ii. 100, 170, iii. 46, condemns Micheltorena as pedantic and inefficient. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 428–32, pronounces him a man of theories, better fitted for a teacher than a governor. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 131, notes that he rarely rose from his bed until noon. Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 101, praises his personal character highly. Spence, *Hist. Notes*, MS., 20, says that although a gentleman in manners, he was lazy, always putting things off till to-morrow. Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 61–2, 176–7, 340–4, 365, 374–5, 380–1, has much to say of the general, noting among other things his fondness for gambling. 'General de erudicion mediana, célebre por los disparates que escribió al ministerio Mejicano.' *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 94–6, 39–41. Nov. 18, 1844, Vallejo assures Micheltorena that he is very highly esteemed by the Californians, and would be more so if he would send away his soldiers. *Bear Flag Pap.*, MS., 3.

friends deplore his lack of energy as fatal, I find but few occasions in his rule where the obstacles in his way might have been overcome by energetic action; yet it is true he should have refused to come to California with the company that was given him.

Had Micheltorena come with a force of soldiers properly equipped and provided for, to be used on the frontiers for protection against Indian horse-thieves; or had he come alone—and been allowed to assume the command, as he perhaps would have been through Vallejo's influence—there is much reason to believe that his rule would have been a wise and successful one. But he brought a battalion of convicts, who, to say nothing of the insult and grievous wrong to California, or of the petty depredations of these criminals, not only consumed the country's revenues without rendering the slightest service in return, and revived the old animosities between the inhabitants and *los de la otra banda*, but exhausted the general's energies and abilities in the task of preserving among them a semblance of discipline and of providing for their subsistence. I have given him much credit for the restraint he exercised over these men; but to control and support a crowd of criminal vagabonds was a pitiful object for the energies of a province and its ruler.[31]

[31] See chap. xx. for the revolution against Micheltorena in November. Larkin, *Doc.*, MS., ii. 271, speaks of the benefits conferred on California by Micheltorena's administration; while Vallejo, *Doc.*, MS., xii. 157, p. 2-3, in a letter to ex-President Bustamante, declares that he left Cal. in a much worse condition than he found it in—but chiefly because the cholos demanded his whole attention.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MISSIONS AND BISHOPRIC—TRADE AND FINANCE.

1844.

DURAN'S REPORT ON SOUTHERN MISSIONS—LOCAL ITEMS—LOST SHEEP—PADRES AND VALLEJO—SECULARIZATION OF SAN LUIS OBISPO—GRANT OF LANDS TO THE CHURCH—AUTHORIZED SALE OF MISSION ESTATES TO MEET WAR EXPENSES—BISHOPRIC—ECCLESIASTICAL SEMINARY AT SANTA INÉS—PASTORAL VISIT TO THE NORTH—COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS—RETAIL TRADE—PROTECTION OF THE BOSTON MERCHANTS—WHALERS ALLOWED TO TRADE—YERBA BUENA AND SAUZALITO—REVENUE OFFICERS—SAN FRANCISCO AND SANTA BÁRBARA—FINANCIAL AFFAIRS—LIST OF VESSELS ON THE COAST IN 1844.

A GENERAL report on the condition of the southern missions, in charge of the Fernandinos, was made out in February, in response to a circular from Mexico. Its purport, in marked contrast to similar documents of earlier times, was as follows: San Miguel has neither lands nor cattle, and its neophytes are demoralized and scattered for want of a minister. San Luis Obispo is in the same condition. La Purísima, though without property or sowing-lands, has yet a vineyard of moderate extent, and retains about 200 neophytes. The minister, Padre Juan Moreno, is ill, and is aided by the clergyman Miguel Gomez. Santa Inés with 264 neophytes, and with sufficient resources for their support, is in charge of Padre José Joaquin Jimeno. Santa Bárbara, administered by Padre Antonio Jimeno and the writer of this report, has the greatest difficulty to support its 287 souls. San Buenaventura remains in tolerably good condition, with plenty of resources. It is administered temporally by Padre

Jimeno of Santa Bárbara, and spiritually by the presbyter, José María Rosales. San Fernando, with few cattle, has two vineyards, and is administered by Padre Blas Ordaz. San Gabriel, once 'queen of all the missions,' has nothing left but its vineyards in deteriorated condition, which, with 300 neophytes, are cared for by Padre Tomás Esténega and Presbyter Antonio M. Jimeno. San Juan Capistrano has no minister, and its neophytes are scattered. San Luis Rey, with a population of 400, has hardly anything left, and its minister, Padre José M. Zalvidea, is in a state of dotage. San Diego, always a poor mission, has nothing now. Padre Vicente Oliva cares for its 100 souls. "From all of which it appears that three missions are abandoned, in totum, for want of ministers and resources; that there remain only eight religiosos fernandinos, with three clergymen to aid them; that only Santa Inés and San Buenaventura have the means of moderate subsistence; and that the other nine, destroyed by secularization, and their neophytes demoralized, are in a moral impossibility of ever raising their heads."[1]

As to the success of the friars in administering the fragments of mission property restored to them by Micheltorena, it is difficult to form any definite idea from the few local items that constitute the only record extant. At four or five of the richest establishments there was doubtless a partial return of prosperity, though even in connection with these we have no information about the eighth of total products that was to be paid into the treasury. The padres of San José and Santa Clara entered with spirit into the discharge of their new duties, and took steps, with

[1] *Duran, Informe del Actual Estado de las Misiones de la Alta California al cargo del Colegio de S. Fernando de Mexico, Feb. 1844*, MS. Hartnell in his letter to Wyllie also reports that 'the missions are almost entirely gone to ruin, and can never be brought back to their former state,' but he thinks this state of things is well for the country's temporal prosperity. *Hartnell's English Coloniz.*, MS., 88. Castañares, on the contrary, regarded the downfall of the missions as the greatest misfortune of California. *Castañares, Col Doc.*, 31, 49-50.

what success does not appear, to collect the mission live-stock that had been lent out to different individuals.[2] San Luis Obispo, not one of the restored missions, and one that, according to Duran's report, had no property left, was formally secularized by Micheltorena's decree of July 16th. That is, it was formed into a pueblo, with the unoccupied lands in the vicinity as *egidos*, the few remaining neophytes being made entirely free, except that they could not sell their lands, and were to furnish six persons each week to aid the curate. The missionary house was to be the parsonage, and other buildings were to be dedicated to public uses. The ditches were to remain free for the common use of all; no lot was to be granted without reference to the governor; and the local government, for the present, was to be in the hands of an assistant justice, subject to the municipality of Monterey. I find no evidence that any immediate action was taken under this decree, or that any other establishment was thus finally secularized this year.[3]

[2] May 20, 1844, PP. Mercado and Muro give Francisco Arce powers of attorney to recover this property, of which the largest item is 6,000 sheep, owned by M. J. Vallejo. *Arce, Doc.*, MS., 1, 3, 5. Aug. 30th, V. to Arce. Denies having any sheep belonging to the missions. The whole number was only 4,000, and they were legally taken by him as aid to the govt. *Id.*, 30. Vicente Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 412-27, recites a long story about a quarrel that took place this year at Monterey, on this subject. Benito Diaz accused Vallejo of having enriched himself by plundering the missions. V. demanded an investigation, and some letters of friars substantiating the charge were produced. The writer, not very good authority and unfriendly to V., represents the matter as having looked dark for the latter, when it was mysteriously hushed up. Jan. 18th, P. Mercado to alcalde. Refers to an order that 'vagabonds' be gathered and employed in community work. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 6. April 12th, Id. to Id. A sharp reproof for meddling with the management of Ind., which belongs exclusively to the padre. *Arch., Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt ii. 37-8. July 15th, gov. to alcalde. The free Ind. of S. Buenaventura must be induced to leave the community lands and settle at Sta Bárbara. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 86.

[3] July 16, 1844, M.'s decree secularizing S. Luis Obispo. *Arce, Doc.*, MS., 12; *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 73-6; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 399-401. A provisional regulation for the management of the Sta Cruz property by the justice of the peace, probably of this year, in *Id.*, ii. 409-10. April 8th, the inhabitants of S. F. mission petition the gov. to recognize their establishment as a pueblo; but April 30th M. declined to grant the petition until investigation could be made, the matter not being urgent. From archives, in *Duhaelle's Colon. Hist.*, add., 102-3. Nov. 12th, Osio is directed by the gov. to take the 56 cattle which he had lent to the govt from the S. Rafael stock. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 100.

In June the bishop asked that the gardens, orchards, and vineyards of the ex-missions be given up to the ministers, that by their usufruct they might support themselves and the *culto*. He desired "that the said possessions may in all time be respected as a sacred thing, as true ecclesiastical property, both in respect of the object for which they are destined, and of the true ownership which in them my churches ought to have, as soon as you order extended to each in particular a title of proprietorship in legal form."[4] In the natural order of things, by the tenor of Spanish and Mexican law, this property or a portion of it would eventually revert with the buildings to the church; and, whether a specific grant was necessary or not, there was no urgency in the matter, so far as the twelve missions now under control of the friars were concerned. Possibly the bishop's purpose was, however, to guard against future demands for the eighth of products promised, the vineyards being the only property that could be expected to yield much profit. I have not found Micheltorena's reply to the general proposition; but in the case of two missions not included in the twelve, and which were ruined and abandoned according to Duran's report, he made formal grants to the church of lands for the support of divine worship, which were accepted by Bishop García Diego. To San Luis Obispo, on the same date that it was made a pueblo, were given a league of land at La Laguna and two gardens, or *huertas*, near the curate's house, while to San Miguel on the same date was given the vineyard known as La Mayor.[5]

In August, when Micheltorena called upon the junta, or assembly, to provide resources with which to resist an anticipated invasion by the United States,

[4] June 8, 1844, bishop to gov., asking for mission gardens. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 39.

[5] July 16, 1844, grant of lands to S. Luis and S. Miguel for support of worship, with acceptance by the bishop in name of the church. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 19–25; *Sacramento, Span. Arch.*, MS., p. 11–16; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 147–8.

a committee consisting of David Spence, Pio Pico, and Narciso Botello indicated the mission estates as the only public property in the department on which funds might be raised for the country's defence. This report, approved by the assembly on the 24th, authorized the government to sell, hypothecate, or rent the mission estates and lands, and after paying all debts and collecting all dues, to use the surplus proceeds to pay war expenses. Santa Bárbara as the site of the episcopal palace, and Santa Inés as that of a college, were excepted; and still others might be reserved for national tillage to afford subsistence to the troops. This disposition was to be made of the estates at such a time and in such a manner as might seem best, under a reglamento which should provide for a proper distribution of the movable property and lands to which the neophytes were entitled, and also for the support of the curates. In other words, the governor was authorized to complete the secularization of the missions and to use national property remaining for purposes of national defence. The measure was a legitimate one; but the alarm of war proved false; and Micheltorena never had occasion to publish the decree, or use the power conferred on him.[6]

Bishop García Diego had resolved on the establishment of an ecclesiastical seminary at Santa Inés, and by his authority padres Sanchez and Jimeno had applied to the government for a grant of land in support of such an institution. The grant for six leagues was issued on March 16th, and more was given subsequently.[7] Early in May the bishop with his attend-

[6] Aug. 20–4, 1844, action of the assembly authorizing the sale of the mission estates. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 20, 25–7; *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 10–11; *Hayes, Legal Hist. S. Diego*, MS., i. no. 45, p. 105–7; *Hartman's Brief in Miss. Cases*, 15–16; *Jones' Report*, no. 22; *Hoffman's Opinions*, 33. Whether the assembly could confer such a power, or whether Micheltorena did not have the power without consulting the assembly, are questions that need not be discussed here. No sales were made under this act.

[7] March 16, 1844, grant of the 4 cañadas of Sotonocomú, Alisgüey, Calabaza, and Aguichunú of Sta Inés lands, with acceptance by bishop on May 4th. *Sacramento, Span. Arch.*, MS., vii. 1–2. Sept. 26th, two more sitios

ants started northward, and at Santa Inés he found the grant, together with a communication from Micheltorena to the effect that he had assigned $500 in money per year for the seminary, on condition that into it should be admitted every Californian in search of a higher education.[8] It was on May 4th, at 7 A. M., the founders assembled in the mission church; and after a pontifical mass in honor of our lady of Refuge, and a discourse from Bishop Francisco, the constitution which was to govern the institution was read, and the seminary declared to be *in esse* according to the provisions of the council of Trent, being entitled to all the honors and privileges corresponding to a diocesan seminary. The episcopal benediction was pronounced on the assembled people; and the founders, together with the five *colegiales* who were to pursue their studies here, signed their names to a record of the proceedings left in the mission books.[9]

From Santa Inés the bishop continued his journey northward, visiting this part of his diocese for the first time in an official capacity, affording nearly all the people their first view of episcopal robes and their first kiss of the episcopal ring, and administering the rite of confirmation to all the faithful. His journey

granted, and accepted by P. Gonzalez, June 4, 1846. *Id.*, vii. 2–4. April 1845, juridical possession given of the lands, on which occasion it was promised that during the existence of the college one mass each year should be said for the soul of Nicolas Den, the alcalde who gave possession. *Id.*, vii. 6–10.

[8] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 72–4. Thanks of the bishop and padres, and proposition to establish an 'escuela formal de primeras letras' in connection with the seminary. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 36–7.

[9] *Sta Inés, Lib. Mision*, MS., 28–9. Also an original record in *Savage, Doc.*, MS., ii. 37–8. The names were those of Bishop García Diego y Moreno; his secretary, Fr. José M. de J. Gonzalez; sub-deacons Doroteo Ambris and Gervasio Valdés, scholars and *familiares* of the bishop; P. José Joaquin and Jimeno, rector; P. Francisco de J. Sanchez, vice-rector; PP. Juan Moreno and Antonio Jimeno; Presbitero José M. Gomez; and the 5 colegiales, José de los Santos Ávila, Alejo Salmon, Agapito Cabrera, Ramon Gonzalez, and Diego Villa.

Colegio Seminario de María Santísima de Guadalupe de Santa Inés de Californias—Constituciones que para el arreglo y gobierno del...hizo su fundador, el Ilmo Sr Don Fr. Francisco García Diego y Moreno, dignísimo Obispo de esta diócesis, año de 1844, MS. In this document are laid down minutely the duties of officers, employés, and students, with requirements for admission, course of study, text-books, religious exercises, discipline, dress, food, recreations, etc.

was a commonplace and tedious one, compared with the triumphal march it would have been fifteen years earlier, when the missions were in their glory. We have no details of his entertainment at different places along the route. At Monterey his reception by the governor and citizens is said to have been hardly less enthusiastic than at Santa Bárbara, and his presence imparted unusual splendor to the festivities and processions of corpus christi; but the general spirit of the arribeños was not so cordial as to swerve the venerable old man from his purpose to reside in the sunny south. After having attended to the routine duties of his pastoral tour, visiting his old mission of Santa Clara, and extending his journey to San Francisco, he returned to Santa Bárbara probably at the end of July.[10]

It is needless to say that the bishop did not succeed this year any better than before in getting from the Mexican government any part of his salary, or of the pious fund revenues, which ought to have been spent in California if not paid over to García Diego.[11] Yet influences were being brought to bear in Mexico by Castañares and others which were destined to result the next year in a favorable decree, if not in an actual sending of funds.[12]

[10] May 19, 1844, bishop at S. Antonio. *Lib. Mision*, MS., 26. May 14th, Monterey ayunt., on invitation of P. Real, votes to pay expenses of illumination of the town for 3 days when the bishop should arrive. *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., v. 30. Festivities at Monterey described in *Gomez, Lo que Sabe*, MS., 365-73. On April 20th, P. Quijas, the vice-prefect, being about to leave the country, had sent instructions that when the bishop should come to make his pastoral visit, the books were not to be submitted for his inspection unless he would appoint regular *curas doctrineros* for the churches to take possession by inventory in due form. García Diego, finding this order copied in the book of patentes at S. Antonio, declared it must be held as 'baseless and of no value; having no foundation, being contrary to laws and rules, and injurious to episcopal authority;' and forbade the copying of any more such 'scandalous circulars.' *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 65-6. July 2d, the bishop issues instructions for the collection of tithes in the northern districts. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 39-45. July 11th, bishop visits S. José. *Lib. Mision*, MS., 14. July 16th, at S. F. *Lib. Mision*, MS., 52.

[11] May 31, 1844, bishop sends a power of attorney to Ramirez, diputado of Zacatecas, to collect the $6,000 from the Guaymas custom-house. *Unbound Doc.*, MS., 249-50.

[12] *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 11-15.

By a decree of September 23, 1843, the Mexican government had prohibited retail trade by foreigners throughout the republic. In January 1844, the government of the United States, through Minister Thompson, protested against this action as "an open infraction of the treaty between the two countries." Bocanegra would not accept this view of the case; but it is not necessary to go into the merits of the argument, because no attempt was made to enforce the decree in California. Yet American traders in this country were advised through Consul Larkin to prepare certified inventories of the goods which they might be prevented from selling at retail, with a view to later claims for satisfaction.[13]

The governor not only did not interfere with foreigners engaged in retail trade, but he went further in his disregard of Mexican revenue laws, prohibiting by an order of July 30th the introduction of foreign goods from Mexican ports—except of course, as is rather awkwardly expressed in the decree, on condition of paying the full duties exacted on such goods when brought from foreign ports. For a few years past Mexican and other vessels had been bringing these goods from San Blas and Mazatlan, as 'nationalized' goods, and underselling the Boston ships. The theory was that they could not have done this if the legal duties had been paid upon introduction of the effects into Mexico. The reduction of prices in California was not the evil sought to be avoided, but there was danger that the Boston merchants, if exposed to such a rivalry, practically one with smugglers, would abandon the field, greatly to the detriment of the departmental revenues. Thus Micheltorena's measure was one of self-defence, justified by the circumstances, and perhaps not beyond the scope of his 'extraordinary powers.' I find no record of any attempt to

[13] Corresp. between Thompson and Bocanegra. *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 28th cong. 1st sess., Sen. Doc. 390, p. 16–20, vol. vi. March 1st, U. S. min. to Larkin, in *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 66. Decree of Sept. 23, 1843, in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 48.

evade compliance with the order before the end of the year. There was, however, a period of six months accorded to new-comers ignorant of the decree before its penalties of confiscation were to be enforced.[14]

Another measure that had been devised for the protection of the Boston traders as revenue payers was the prohibition of trade by whalers. Such trade in itself, if legitimately carried on, had been regarded as beneficial to the farmers of the country, enabling them to exchange produce not otherwise salable for goods in small quantities; and the prohibition—due largely to abuses of their privilege by the whalers, who had become to a certain extent the confederates of smugglers—had drawn out many protests from the rancheros. Accordingly the prohibition was again removed by a decree of October, providing that whalers, by paying $30 for a permit, anchoring where required, and receiving revenue guards on board like trading craft, might sell goods to an amount on which the duties should not exceed $400 for each vessel.[15] The whaling vessels came in greater numbers than before, and at San Francisco especially they caused the revenue officials much trouble. They as well as some

[14] July 30, 1844, M.'s order forbidding the introduction of foreign goods from Mexican ports. In *Earliest Printing: Guerra, Doc.*, MS., ii. 24-7; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 90; *Id., Monterey*, iii. 101; *Id., Ben.*, iii. 46. Mentioned by the gov. to the junta Aug. 20th, *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 8-9; and to alcaldes, etc., Sept. 6th. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 70; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 93. Reported by Larkin to U. S. sec. state, with comments on the independence of Californian officials, and on the benefits likely to result to American traders if this order could be enforced. L. seems not to attach much importance to the alleged smuggling which gave rise to the order, but implies that the governor's purpose was simply to have the duties paid in Cal. rather than in other parts of the republic. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 10-12. It will be remembered that Micheltorena had in 1843 announced his intention to issue such a regulation. Chap. xv. of this vol.

[15] Oct. 19 (2?), 1844, M.'s order permitting whalers to sell goods under certain restrictions; with instructions requiring renewed vigilance on the part of revenue officers. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 91-2; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., vi. [150-1]; *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 242, 278; *Id. Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 13, 21; ii. 15. Nov. 18th, Vallejo to Micheltorena, indorsing a petition of citizens on this subject. *Bear Flag Papers*, MS., 4.

Another measure repealed this year was the regulation of Dec. 1843, on the sale of hides under the supervision of a police agent. By decree of June 27th, the regulation of this matter was restored to the ayuntamientos. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 307. Feb. 14th, petition of Angeles ayunt. for the repeal. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 31-2.

other craft showed a decided inclination to anchor at Sauzalito rather than at Yerba Buena. The reasons alleged were the greater conveniences at Whalers Harbor for obtaining wood and water; but the chief motive was a desire to be free from all legal restraints. William A. Richardson, captain of the port, resided at Sauzalito; but he does not seem to have been overburdened with a sense of responsibility as a Mexican official, and in the minor controversies of frequent occurrence was found, so far as he troubled himself about the matter at all, on the side of the whalers.[16]

Each vessel bringing a cargo for sale seems to have been required to pay $600 in addition to her duties, a sum devoted theoretically to the building of a pier; but respecting the collection and use of this fund the records are too meagre to be of any use; neither is there anything requiring special notice in the regulations issued from time to time on detailed methods of enforcing the revenue laws.[17] Consul Larkin in his letters of this year to the secretary of state, John C. Calhoun, gave a very complete general account of Californian commerce, though embodying no points with which the reader is not already familiar; and the same may be said of Hartnell's report to Wyllie from an English point of view.[18]

[16] Corresp. of the receptor, Benito Diaz, 1844, in *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 272-84; ii. 97-103. The small boats, or lighters, employed on the coast, but chiefly in S. F. Bay, were this year required to obtain patents, or licences, from the govt. It does not clearly appear whether vessels were forced to employ these registered lighters rather than their own boats. *Id.*, i. 271-2; *Dept. St. Dept.*, MS., xx. 37-51; *Id., Ben.*, iii. 53.

[17] Jan. 1, 1844, reference to the exaction of the $600. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 133. Feb. 22d, gov. called upon to remedy difficulties caused by failure to follow Mexican regulations, and to fix some method of determining the value of cargoes. *Id., Ben.*, iii. 54-7. Feb. 23d, reglamento in 9 articles for the receptores, in *Id., Ben., Cust.-H.*, viii. 13; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 46-8. March 7th, rules for S. Francisco. *Id.*, ii. 58-9; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 53-4; *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, viii. 3-5. June 28th, Hartnell's regulations for celadores. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 464. July 20th, a 'reglamento de celadores,' probably the same, issued. *Los Angeles, Ayunt.*, MS., 5. Oct. 2d, rules to govern vessels and merchants, 10 articles. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 88-90.

[18] April 16, Sept. 16, Dec. 9, 1844. Jan. 1, 1845, L. to Calhoun. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 3-4, 10, 13-14, 16-18; *Hartnell's Engl. Colonr.*, MS., 87. Also a general account in *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, xvi. 36-8.

Manuel Castañares being absent in congress, Pablo de la Guerra, the contador, acted as administrator of customs in 1844, with William E. Hartnell as first officer and interpreter, and Rafael Gonzalez as commandant of the guard.[19] Benito Diaz was sent in February to succeed Francisco Guerrero as receptor at San Francisco, with two celadores and two boatmen. Diaz was a more energetic man than his predecessor, and a kind of commercial awakening was observable at the future metropolis in the enforcement, real or pretended, of the revenue laws. A beginning was made on a small building to serve as a kind of branch custom-house, the laborers being Indians from San José and Sonoma, and the material being taken from ruins at the mission and presidio. There was even a proposition to dig a well near the beach, that vessels might have less excuse for going to Sauzalito. Progress on these improvements was not rapid, because the receipts from all sources were not enough to pay salaries, and complaints were several times made that the laborers would quit work if the government, instead of sending funds, insisted on certain tonnage receipts being sent to Monterey.[20]

In May Micheltorena declared the roadstead of Santa Bárbara opened to the coasting trade, though the exact difference between its subsequent and former status is not apparent. José de la Guerra accepted

[19] The celadores, two of them serving at S. F., were Francisco Rico, Rafael Estrada, Eugenio Machado, Joaquin de la Torre, Jacinto Rodriguez, and Rafael Pinto. Tomás Soberanes succeeded José Álvarez as clerk in August. There were 4 or 5 boatmen. The captain of the port, Lieut Narvaez, at Monterey, was not a customs officer.

[20] Jan. 22d, receptoria ordered. Feb. 12th, Diaz succeeds Guerrero. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 48; *Id., Cust.-H.*, viii. 2. The well proposed, to cost $60 or $80, a spot having been selected in Feb. *Id.*, viii. 8. Oct. 2d, action on the matter soon to be taken! *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 92. The new building. Troubles to get material and to pay workmen. Likely to fall to pieces in Nov. *Id.*, i. 273-4, 288; ii. 49-50; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 64-5, 82; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., viii. [148, 184]. The employés at the custom-house must stop their notorious gambling. *Id.*, viii. 5-6; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 66-7. March 1st, two men engaged for the boat at $6 per month. *Id.*, i. 274. Expenses of custom-house for Dec., $301, including the price of a flag, $50. *Id.*, ii. 113. Receipts, Feb. to Aug., $97. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., viii. [182-3].

the position of receptor, naming citizens to act as celadores as their services were needed. Los Angeles, hearing of this honor to Santa Bárbara, wanted a like one for San Pedro; but of San Diego's old aspirations in this direction we hear nothing in these years.[21]

José Ábrego remained throughout the year in charge of the departmental finances, being termed treasurer instead of comisario, in accordance with the governor's *bando económico* of January. The total receipts at the custom-house for 1844 were $75,625, of which sum $10,429 paid the expenses of collection; $24,707 were turned over to the treasurer for the civil list; while $40,489 were paid to the general for the support of his army. The revenues, although fifty per cent larger than those of the preceding year, were still but little more than half the sum required for current expenses after their reduction to an economical basis by Micheltorena and the junta. I append a few financial statistics.[22]

The maritime list of 1844, as given in a note, contains fifty-three vessels.[23] The record is not nearly

[21] May 11th, M. declares Sta Bárbara open to 'comercio de escala y cabotage.' *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., iv. 196; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 84-5; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 51. Guerra appointed, and accepts on June 1st. *Id.*, iii. 50; *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, viii. 1-2. Expenses of the office; receptor, $792; clerk, $180; seal, $50; stationery, $12. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1160. Collections for first half of year, $519. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., v. 6. June 6th, Angeles wants S. Pedro opened. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 37.

[22] Total revenues, $75,625, with distribution as in my text. Custom-house records in *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 111. Total, according to *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 37, 110, $78,739, of which American vessels paid $60,326; Mexican, $5,194; and others, $13,739. Receipts to April 20th, $58,000. *Piro, Doc.*, MS., i. 85. Annual expenses reduced from $171,711 to $132,318; of which sum about $113,000 was assigned to military expenses, and was to be reduced to about $100,000 by a system of half-pay. *Micheltorena, Bando Econ.* Amounts paid out by M.: batallon, $19,430; presidial companies, $9,618; artillery, $3,914; old debts, $6,392. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 7. Due M. personally Dec. 31st, $7,521, on salary account. *Id.*, xii. 6. Pay-roll for unattached officers, pensioners, etc., $12,910. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxxxvi. 2-3. Some useless statistics in *Mex., Mem. Hacienda*, 1846.

[23] See also list at end of chap. xxiii., this vol. Vessels of 1844: *Admittance, Alexandrovich, Angelina, Barnstable, Benj. Morgan, Bolivar, Brothers, California, Catalina, Chas W. Morgan, Clarita, Constantine, Delphos, Don Quixote, Eagle, Esmeralda, Fama, Geo. Henry, Georgia, Guadalupe, Hibernia, Hope, Josefita, Jóven Guipuzcoana, Juan José, Juanita, Julia Ann, June, Lagrange, Londresa, Levant, Lion, Menkar, Modeste, Monmouth, Morea* (?), *Nantucket, Newton, Oajaca, Primavera, Rosalia, Russell, Sacramento, San*

so complete as that of the preceding and of most other years in respect of details concerning particular vessels; but it may be regarded as containing approximately all the names. Of the whole number, fifteen, more than usual, were whalers; eight were small craft or lighters, which had to be registered this year, though most of them had been used on the coast for some years; five were men-of-war or national vessels; four were traders which had wintered on the coast; while fifteen, composing the trading fleet proper of the year, may be supposed to have brought new cargoes, and to have contributed to the country's revenue—though in this last-mentioned matter there are no records for the separate vessels. The two Boston ships *Sterling* and *Vandalia* doubtless paid a very large part of the $75,000 which made up the year's revenue.

Francisquito, Sarah, Savannah, Sterling, Tasso (?), *Trinidad, Vandalia, Warren, Wm C. Nye, Yuba.*

In the *S. F. Call*, Jan. 24, 1882, from the *Newport* (*R. I.*) *Mercury*, is a mention of a master of a whaler, not named, which entered S. Diego by the aid of Dana's book on Sept. 10th. On account of rumors of war, the men amused themselves by spiking the guns at the fort. Larkin, on Jan. 1, 1845, writing to the U. S. sec. state, says that 29 sail had entered Monterey in 1844, of which 14 were American. The whole number of arrivals—the same vessel entering several times—were 57. A Genoa man-of-war not in my list is mentioned. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 18, 110. Hartnell, in his report to Wyllie, states that from 1839 to April 1844 there had entered 67 vessels in all, 31 being American and 19 Mexican. *Engl. Coloniz.*, MS., 85.

CHAPTER XIX.

IMMIGRATION AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

1844.

JOHN C. FRÉMONT—HIS EARLY LIFE—FIRST EXPEDITION, 1842-3—REPORT—SECOND TRIP, 1843-4—THE OVERLAND IMMIGRANT ROUTE TO OREGON—FROM OREGON TO CALIFORNIA—ACROSS THE SIERRA BY A NEW ROUTE—RETURN EAST—FRÉMONT'S BOOK—MAP—VALUE OF FRÉMONT'S SURVEY—PREJUDICE OF PIONEERS—KELSEY COMPANY OF IMMIGRANTS—NAMES—THE BALE AFFAIR—STEVENS' COMPANY—LIST—THE FIRST WAGONS—BY THE TRUCKEE ROUTE—FOREIGN RELATIONS—SUTTER'S AFFAIRS—ANNEXATION SCHEMES—U. S. CONSULATE—ENGLISH COLONIZATION—WYLLIE AND HARTNELL—HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—WOOD'S WANDERING SKETCHES—ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PIONEERS.

THE immigrant parties of 1844, like those of the preceding year, were two in number; and, as in 1843 also, one came from Oregon, while the other crossed the sierra by a more direct route to California. Before either of these parties, however, there arrived an exploring expedition, leaving also a few settlers, to which the attention of the reader is first called. In a certain sense this may be regarded as the third exploration of California by the United States government; since Walker in 1833 had acted under or disobeyed official orders from Captain Bonneville—that is, being ordered to explore the Salt Lake, he had established his winter quarters at Monterey; and Wilkes, coming by sea and land, had made an official survey of the Sacramento in 1841.

John Charles Frémont, a man whose name will be prominent in later Californian annals, was a native of Savannah, Georgia, where he was born in 1813, his

father being a Frenchman of some talent who had married a Virginian lady of good family and some property. He spent the first twenty years of his life at Charleston, South Carolina, where he was expelled from college in consequence of a love affair, and subsequently became a teacher. From 1833 he made a cruise of over two years as teacher of mathematics on the U. S. sloop-of war *Natchez;* served as assistant in several railroad and military surveys in Georgia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas; and in 1838–9 accompanied M. Nicollet in two exploring expeditions to the upper Mississippi region, being appointed in 1838 second lieutenant in the corps of topographical engineers. In 1841 he had married a daughter of Thomas H. Benton, which has been regarded with much reason as the most brilliant achievement of his life.

The importance of extending an accurate survey over the regions of the great west, geographically known only by the vague reports of trappers and emigrants, was of course understood in Washington; and Frémont, full of energy and ambition, seeing in this work a splendid field for congenial, adventurous, and honorable employment, had easily obtained, through the influence of his father-in-law, a commission from the chief of his corps to undertake the work. For this service he was in every respect well qualified by natural temperament, education, and experience.

Frémont's first expedition was made in 1842; and as in it he neither reached California nor explored any part of any new route leading to California, it may be disposed of very briefly here. The company, consisting of twenty-two French Canadian *voyageurs*, familiar with the country through service under the fur companies, with Kit Carson as guide, Maxwell as hunter, and Charles Preuss as assistant topographer, started from near the mouth of the Kansas River in June. The route was that which for years had been followed by the Oregon trappers and emigrants, up the Platte, past Fort Laramie, to the South Pass, which

they reached in August. During the next twelve days Frémont explored the western base of the Wind River Mountains, and climbed to the summit of the highest peak, which has since borne his name. The return was by the same route, though a part of the trip was made by boat on the waters of the Platte, reaching the Missouri on the last day of September. There had been no remarkable adventures or discoveries; but the party had made a series of accurate observations on a portion of the overland route, which could now be correctly mapped and described. Frémont's report was dated March 1, 1843; and it was published before the end of the year by order of the senate.[1]

In less than three months after the rendering of his first report, Frémont was on the banks of the Missouri with a company similar to that of the preceding year, ready to start on a second trip. The object was to continue his exploration of the Oregon emigrant route, from the South Pass westward, until he could connect the former survey with that made by Wilkes on the Columbia, and thus complete the transcontinental line. The details of the trip are therefore as unimportant for my present purpose as were those of 1842. The company started June 29th, and a few days later came in contact with the Chiles party, with whose journey the reader is already familiar. The route was somewhat farther south than that of 1842, being up the Republican fork, and south fork of the Platte, off the emigrant road, and generally through regions not before explored except by trappers. A part of the men under Frémont went from St Vrain's fort down to the Arkansas and back, thence proceeding across the mountains to the Sweetwater. They were at South Pass August 13th, and reached

[1] *Fremont's Report of an exploration of the country lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains on the line of the Kansas and the Great Platte Rivers.* Washington, 1843. 8vo, 207 p., map and plate. This report, in connection with that of the second expedition, was reprinted in several editions, as will be noted later.

Fort Hall September 19th; but on the way Frémont had turned aside with a few men to make a five days' survey of Great Salt Lake, on the waters of which he made a boat-voyage. From Fort Hall they took the usual route down the Snake River, reaching Fort Boisé October 8th, and the Dalles the 4th of November. This completed the line of overland survey by connecting it with that of Wilkes; but Frémont made a boat-trip down to Fort Vancouver and back, before preparing for his homeward journey—which brings us to that part of his expedition which has a proper place in the annals of California.

On the 25th of November, 1843, the company of twenty-five men started from the Dalles.[2] Frémont's intention was to explore the Tlamath or Klamath Lake, thence to go south-east "to a reported lake called Mary's, at some days' journey in the great basin; and thence still on south-east to the reputed Buenaventura River,... flowing from the Rocky Mountains to the bay of San Francisco;" then to the head waters of the Arkansas, to Bent's fort, and home—there being no intention of crossing the sierra into the Californian valleys at all. Following up the Fall River, they reached Klamath marsh, mistaken for the lake of that name, on December 10th; discovered and named in succession Summer, Abert, and Christmas lakes; and, always in search of Mary Lake, or the sink of the Humboldt, they reached and named Pyramid Lake on January 10, 1844, its salmon-trout supplying a welcome feast. For one day,

[2] The author says there were 25; but I do not know which are the 5 names to be erased from the 30 of the following list: Alexis Ayot, François Badeau, Olivier Beaulieu, Baptiste Bernier, John G. Campbell, Kit Carson, Manuel Chapman, Ransom Clark, Philibert Courteau, Michel Crélis, Baptiste Derosier, Jacob Dodson, Thos Fitzpatrick, John C. Frémont, Alexis Godey, Louis Ménard, Louis Montreuil, Sam. Neal, François Pera, James Power, Raphael Praule, Charles Preuss, Baptiste Tabeau, Theodore Talbot, Charles Taplin, Charles Towns, Joseph Verrot, Tiery Wright, Louis Zindel, and a Chinook boy. The doubtful names must be sought among the following: Ayot, Clark, Courteau, Crélis, Ménard, Montreuil, Pera, Power, Wright, and Zindel, who are not named in the Californian portion of the narrative, and are not known in Cal. records.

January 16th, they followed up the Salmon Trout, now Truckee, to its bend, and then kept on southward in quest of the mythical San Buenaventura. It was on the 18th, on what is now the Carson River, that Frémont resolved to cross the sierra into the Sacramento Valley, the condition of his animals' feet not warranting an attempt to cross the country eastward.

Seeking a pass, but ever loath to enter the forbidding snows, the explorers kept on southward far up the eastern branch of what is now Walker River, nearly to the region of the modern Bodie; and then, turning to the north-west, and being forced to abandon on the way a brass howitzer which they had brought thus far,[3] they returned to the Carson River, which they supposed to be the Truckee. From the 2d to the end of February the travellers struggled desperately over the mountains and through the deep snows, Frémont and Preuss getting a view of the Mountain Lake, since called Tahoe, on the 14th. The pass, corresponding somewhat with the Carson Cañon and Johnson Pass of later maps, was farther north than those by which Walker in 1833 and Bartleson in 1841 had crossed; and the season was more unfavorable; so that this was really the most perilous crossing of the sierra that had yet been effected. Fortunately no lives were lost, though the suffering was great. Two men became insane for a time, and 33 out of 67 horses and mules were lost or killed for food. Six days' march down the south branch of the American River brought Frémont and part of his men to Sutter's Fort, where all arrived the 8th of March.

"An impetus was given to the active little population by our arrival, as we were in want of everything,"

[3] According to Lancey, *Cruise of the 'Dale,'* 49, and a writer in the *Independence Inyo Independent*, Oct. 3, 1870, the gun was found in later years somewhere between Aurora and Genoa. Lancey attempts to tell where, but fails to make his meaning clear. There had been some trouble at Washington about the taking of this howitzer from the arsenal at St Louis; and an order was sent to countermand the expedition—an order which fell into the hands of Mrs Frémont, who shrewdly failed to forward it. *Benton's Thirty Years*, ii. chap. 134; *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 22d cong. 1st sess., Sen. Doc. ii., no. 14.

writes Frémont. "Mules, horses, and cattle were to be collected; the horse-mill was at work day and night to make sufficient flour; the blacksmith-shop was put in requisition for horseshoes and bridle-bits; and pack-saddles, ropes, and bridles, and all the other little equipments of the camp were again to be provided. The delay thus occasioned was one of repose and enjoyment which our situation required, and anxious as we were to resume our homeward journey, was regretted by no one." Less than two weeks were spent at New Helvetia; and on the 22d of March the explorers encamped on Sinclair's rancho, as a preparatory movement of departure. Six of the company were left in California.[4]

The plan for return was to go up the San Joaquin Valley; through the pass discovered by Walker, for which Frémont suggested the name of Walker Pass; to the Santa Fé or Wolfskill trail; to follow that trail until it turned to the right to cross the Colorado; and thence north-eastward to Utah Lake. The journey up the valley was from March 24th to April 12th, River of the Lake, as applied to Kings River, being the only new name given. They were guided by Christian Indians through Tehachepi Pass, so far as I can determine from the map and narrative, and not through Walker Pass at all. On April 18th they

[4] Samuel Neal, the blacksmith, was discharged at his own request. Baptiste Derôsier wandered from the camp and was not heard of again, and four others were discharged with their own consent, three of them being perhaps Olivier Beaulieu, Joseph Verrot, and Charles Towns. Sutter, *Pers. Remin.*, MS., 129-32, 141-2, complains, as is his wont, that he lost heavily by helping Frémont, taking his pay in drafts on the topographical bureau, on which he had to discount 20 per cent. He says that two men were tried before him for stealing sugar, and acquitted; but Frémont was angry, and discharged them from his service, one being Neal. Furthermore he claims to have hastened Frémont's departure on account of the approach of a party sent by Micheltorena to investigate. In his *Diary*, p. 4, Sutter notes Frémont's arrival on March 6, 1842 (4); and on the 27th, after the visitors had departed, that of Col Tellez and 25 men to learn Frémont's business. March 13th, Benito Diaz at S. F. to admin. of customs at Monterey. Has heard of the arrival in the Sacramento of a party of commissioners to survey a boundary line between the U. S. and Mexico. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., viii. [229]. This was doubtless the report that caused Tellez to be sent. March 28th, Sutter's letter to Larkin, announcing Frémont's visit, enclosed by L. April 12th to U. S. sec. state. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 2-3.

struck the trail of the Santa Fé caravans, which they followed for a month, losing one man, Tabeau, who was killed by the Indians, and being joined at Las Vegas by Joe Walker. On May 24th, Badeau having been accidentally killed on the way, Frémont's company reached Utah Lake; and thus completed the circuit, on which they had travelled 3,500 miles since September 1843. The route from that point eastward was in general terms by the Uintah River, the Three Parks, Arkansas River, and Smoky Fork, to the mouth of the Kansas, where the company arrived at the end of July.

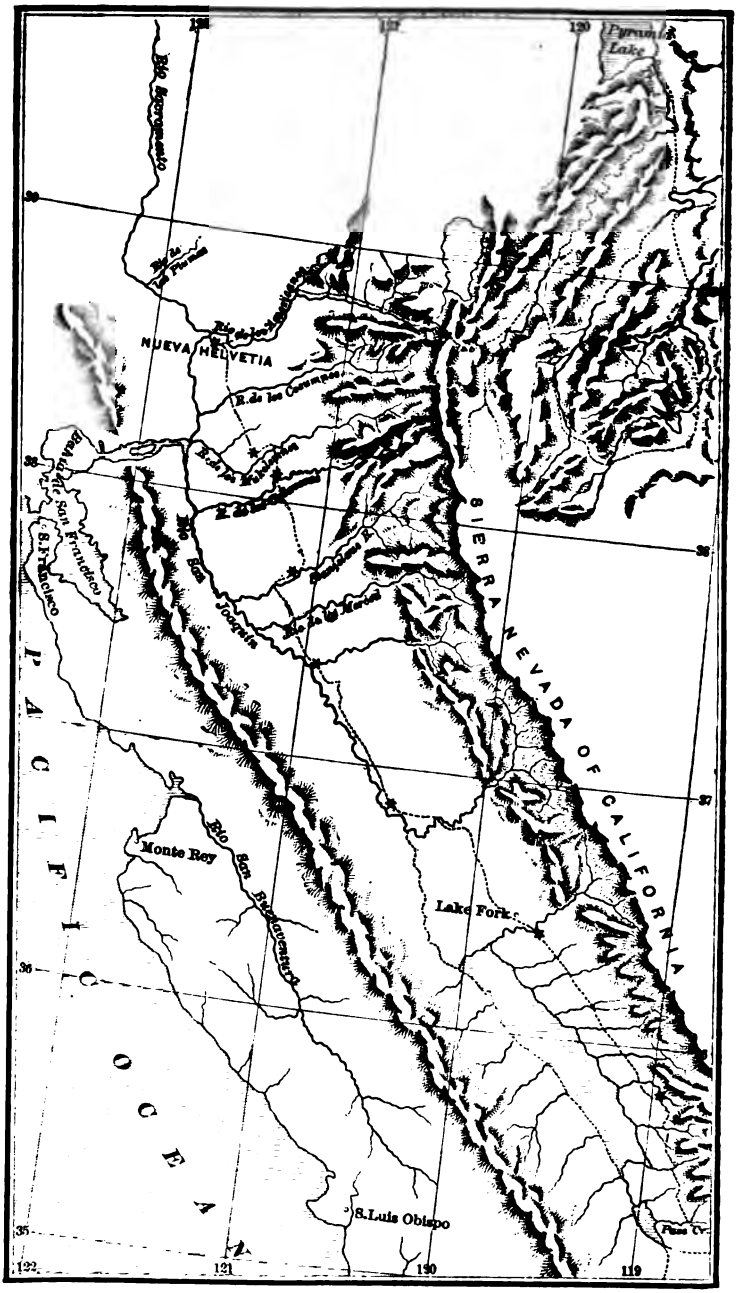
Frémont's report of this his second expedition was dated March 1, 1845, the author being at the time about to undertake another trip, of which I shall speak in a later chapter, and it was published by order of congress in the same year, together with a reprint of the first expedition.[5] The author confined himself closely to actual observations of himself and associates, which he described in a style at once fascinating, terse, and strong, but withal modest and unassuming, which not only gave his writings much popularity, but received

[5] *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the years 1843-4. By Brevet Captain J. C. Frémont, etc. Printed by order of the Senate of the United States.* Washington, 1845, 8vo, 693 p., map and plates. (*U. S. Govt Doc.*, 28th cong. 2d sess., Sen. Doc. no. 174, also printed by order of the house of representatives in an edition of 583 p., according to Sabin.) The 1st expedition occupies p. 7–101; the narrative of the 2d expedition, p. 103–290; scientific observations, tables, plates, etc., p. 291–693. Besides the general map, there is one showing the route from the Tahoe region to Sutter's Fort on a larger scale; and some of the plates contain plants, fossils, etc., belonging to California proper.

The edition just described is the one to which I refer habitually as *Frémont's Report*. There are others, several of them in my collection, from which and from Sabin I note the following: *Frémont's Report, etc.*, Wash. (1845), 8vo, 278 p.; *Id., Narrative of the Exploring Expedition, etc.*, Wash., 1845, 8vo, 324 p.; *Id.*, Syracuse, 1846, 12mo, 305 p.; *Id.*, N. Y., 1846, 8vo, 186 p.; *Id.*, N. Y., 1849, 8vo, 186 p. (often bound with *Frémont and Emory's California Guide-book*, N. Y., 1849); *Id.*, London, 1846, 8vo. These reports, or parts of them, are also included in many of the biographical works on Frémont which I shall have occasion to refer to elsewhere. It does not seem desirable to give here long lists of references to mentions of Frémont's explorations, containing nothing that does not come from the original official report. I have already given the few slight references to his presence in Cal. Preuss' map of 1848, 31st cong. 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 17, p. 944, vol. v., also shows Frémont's route of 1844.

a high degree of praise from scientific critics. Both in the execution of the task committed to him, and in the narration of his adventures, Frémont showed that he possessed a high degree of talent. I have been able to give but a brief outline of his long tours, and I find no space for the long quotations that might appropriately enough be introduced from his experience in the Sierra Nevada, or from his general remarks on the geography of the great west. His visit to California, or the region now known as California, was but an incident of his exploration, and his narrative has no importance as a record of the general condition of affairs in the department. Its geographical importance is best shown by the reduction of his map, which I present.

This is not the place to consider the complicated controversies of later years respecting Frémont's character and abilities; but one particular phase of the matter should be noticed here rather than elsewhere. Frémont has not been a popular man among the pioneers and mountaineers of California and Oregon, many of whom extend their condemnation of his military, political, and financial fiascos back to his career as an explorer, denouncing and ridiculing him as a vain, incompetent, and pretentious charlatan, enjoying a high reputation for achievements that belonged to others. Men who neither knew nor cared anything about Frémont's merits were glad to foster this feeling of the pioneers, and to utilize it as testimony of great weight against their political foe. Thus injustice has been done, the origin of which it is not difficult to trace. There are slight indications of an unfriendly feeling against Frémont among the immigrants of 1842-4, with whom he often came in contact on the road, arising from the fact that as an officer of the government he maintained a degree of military discipline among his men, and was thought to hold himself somewhat above and aloof from those of the ox-teams; again, the publication of Frémont's narrative may have aroused



FRÉMONT'S MAP, 1844.

some jealousy on the part of men whose journeys and hardships were destined to remain unrecorded; and finally, Frémont in 1846–50 made many enemies among those who are now known as pioneers. Yet all these things are not sufficient to account for the popular prejudice to which I have alluded, the true origin of which must be sought in the political campaign of 1856. At this time Frémont's merits as a 'pathfinder' were absurdly exaggerated in campaign eulogies, intended to strike a popular chord in the eastern states, and printed in books and newspapers which were read by everybody. The general purport of these statements was that the presidential candidate had been not only the conqueror of California, but the original discoverer and explorer of the whole western region, overcoming obstacles and enduring hardships unknown to others. At least, so it was interpreted by Pacific coast mountaineers and overland immigrants, who resented as a personal wrong the praise and honors awarded to one who as an explorer had only followed in their tracks. Thus a bitter feeling was engendered, and many ridiculous charges were made against a man who was not responsible for the absurd praise lavished upon him. As we have seen, Frémont claimed no honors that belonged to such men as Walker and Carson and Fitzpatrick, men whose services were nowhere more heartily acknowledged than in his book. He mentioned over and over again the fact that the trappers or immigrants had everywhere preceded him. His task was altogether different from theirs; it was to explore scientifically a country with which they had long been familiar, but respecting which their knowledge was not available for geographical purposes. He performed his task in a manner creditable to his intelligence and energy; shirked no hardships involved in the performance; and described his achievements with all due modesty. His work was the first and a very important step in the great transcontinental surveys

that are still being prosecuted; and for his service as topographical engineer Frémont deserves praise.

We have seen that Hastings, coming down from Oregon in 1843, had met certain Californians bound northward in disgust, who carried back with them several families of the Hastings company. Among the former seem to have been Benjamin and Andrew Kelsey, who had come with Bartleson in 1841; and among the latter were other Kelseys. Most of them, however, came back to California in 1844 in a company which, the leader's name being unknown, may be called by that of Kelsey. Nothing is known of the organization or adventures of this party, beyond the facts that it consisted of thirty-six persons and arrived in the Sacramento Valley probably in June. I give in a note the names of twelve men who are known to have been members of this company, including the two Kelseys who had been in the country before, as had Buzzell probably.[6] The only document of the year that throws light on the names of these newcomers is a defence which Benjamin Kelsey found it necessary to make of his character and conduct in September. Dr Bale, for firing a pistol at Salvador Vallejo, by whom he had been flogged, had been seized by Solano and his Indians at Sonoma, where Colonel

[6] The Kelsey company from Oregon, 1844: Wm Bennett, David T. Bird, Jos. Willard Buzzell, Henry Fowler, Wm Fowler, Wm Fowler, Jr, Wm Hargrave, Andrew Kelsey, Benj. Kelsey, David Kelsey, Samuel Kelsey, Granville P. Swift. In the *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 32, the name of Wm H. Winters is added—perhaps correctly, as there appears to be some doubt of his having come with the Chiles party of 1843; Willard Buzzell is called Joseph Buzzle; and it is said, 'they left the Sacramento about ten miles above Knight's Landing, and went across the country to Wm Gordon's place, on Cache Creek, arriving in June, where all those whose names have been given stayed for about one month.' Dennis and Jackson Bennett first appear on a S. F. padron of July, and it is not quite certain whether they came in this party or with Hastings the year before. Aug. 6th, Sutter to Micheltorena, announcing the arrival of a party from the Columbia who wish to settle and become good Mexicans. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 85. Aug. 7th, Sutter to Larkin, saying the party contained 36 persons; and another large company was preparing to come. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 157. Brief notice of immigrants leaving Oregon for the more fertile Cal. *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 38; *Greenhow's Hist. Or. and* '87-8.

Vallejo, having rescued him from the Indians before they could hang him, had locked him up to await trial.[7] It appears that there was some talk among the foreigners of releasing Bale by force; at any rate, Captain Hinckley testified that he had heard of such threats through residents of Sacramento, and that the Kelseys and Merritt were the ones implicated. Thereupon three of the Kelseys, the Fowlers, Hargrave, Buzzell, Swift, and Bird signed a document on September 7th, to the effect that all had come from Oregon together, and that the charges made were altogether unfounded.[8]

The second immigrant party of 1844 came under the leadership of Elisha Stevens, though it has been also called the Murphy company, from the name of a large family, afterward prominent citizens of Santa Clara County, which came with it. There were over fifty men in the party, besides women and children, when they left the Missouri River in May. The route was that usually followed to Fort Hall, where the company separated, about half the members going to Oregon, while the rest directed their course down the Mary River, as Walker and Bartleson had done before them, until they reached the sink. I give their names in a note.[9] They had about a dozen

[7] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 391-8. The writer states that Bale was tried and found guilty; but that Micheltorena released him, fearing trouble with the English consul. Another Sonoma quarrel of this year was that between Capt. Prudon and Alcalde Leese, in which the two came to blows, and in consequence of which the latter was dismissed from office. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 114; *Id., Ben.*, iv. 49.

[8] Aug. 29, 1844, Hinckley's deposition. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 88. Sept. 7th, Sam. Kelsey to his brother Benjamin—who, it appears, was chiefly suspected, having had some difficulty with Salvador Vallejo 2 years before. *Id.*, xii. 92. Sept. 7th, document signed as stated in the text. *Id.*, xii. 93.

[9] Stevens company of 1844: Edmund Bray, Vincent Calvin, Francis Deland, John Flomboy, Joseph E. Foster, Caleb Greenwood and his two sons Britain and John, Matthew Harbin, Hitchcock, Hitchcock, Jr (?), Olivier Magnent, Dennis Martin, Patrick Martin, Patrick Martin, Jr, James Miller and family, Wm J. Miller (boy), Allen Montgomery and wife, Bernard Murphy, Bernard D. Murphy (boy), Daniel Murphy, James Murphy and family, James Murphy (boy), John M. Murphy, Martin Murphy, with children and grandchildren, Martin Murphy, Jr, and family, Martin Murphy (boy), Patrick W. Murphy (boy), Patterson (boy), Mrs Patterson and children, Mor-

wagons, the first that ever completed the trip into the valley of California.

The Stevens company was probably the first to cross the sierra by the Truckee and Bear rivers, substantially the route of the railroad; but the particulars of the crossing are vaguely and confusedly recorded. A journal is said to have been kept by Townsend and Schallenberger, but to have been lost.[10] The arrival at the sink of the Humboldt was late in October or early in November; and some time was spent here in rest and preparation for the trip over the mountains.[11] Before they resumed their journey the snow had begun to fall, and their progress to the summit, which occupied nearly a month, was of course slow and attended with great suffering. According to numerous newspaper items of 1875–80, the Truckee River was named at this time for an Indian guide to whom the name Truckee had been given on account

Schallenberger, Elisha Stevens, John Sullivan, Michael Sullivan, Robert Sullivan, and John Townsend. The most complete list is that in the *S. F. Call*, Sept. 13, 1864, by a woman who seems to have been one of the party, perhaps Mrs Montgomery; but it does not specify those who came to Cal. as distinguished from those who went to Oregon. My list has been revised by Schallenberger, who is my only authority for Flomboy and Patterson, the latter a boy with the Hitchcock family, and whose name should perhaps take the place of Hitchcock, Jr. The *Oregon Pion. Assoc.*, *1876*, p. 42, gives also the name of Jackson. Some authorities name James M. Harbin as distinct from Matthew Harbin. Some include Wm J. Martin in this party instead of the Chiles company of 1843. Bray, in his *Memoir of a Trip to Cal.*, MS., names 25 of those who came to Cal. He gives the date of departure as May 18th; says they camped July 4th at Independence Rock, when a child was born in the Miller family; dates the separation at Ft Hall in Sept., and the arrival at the sink about Oct. 24th. Clyman, *Diary*, MS., describes the march to Ft Hall, and says the Hitchcock party, with 13 wagons, left the Oregon company on or about Sept. 13th. Thos Gray, a resident of S. F. in 1884, intended to cross the plains in 1844, but changed his mind. Through the influence of Senator Benton he got a pass dated March 29th, the original of which he showed me with a letter from Benton. Doubtless there were many similar cases.

[10] The writer in the *Call* absurdly says that the loss of these journals gave Frémont his title as 'path-finder,' since the latter followed in Stevens' tracks and renamed the streams, etc., which he pretended to discover. The writer supposes Stevens' to have been the first party of immigrants that came overland!

[11] Quigley, *Irish Race in California*, 177–83, 195–205, in a sketch reproduced in the *Marin Co. Hist.*, 114–17, 472–3, says they arrived at the sink on Nov. 10th, remaining about 10 days; while Bray, *Memoir*, MS., says the arrival was about Oct. 24th, and that they camped here only two nights. Cutts also a mention of this party in *Maguire's Irish in America*, 266–7.

of his resemblance to a Frenchman so called.[12] Early in December they encamped in the region of what was named later, from the terrible experience of another immigrant party, Donner Lake. Here there seems to have been a division, one party proceeding in advance to Sutter's Fort and subsequently returning to aid the others; but the details of movements from this point are conflicting.[13] Evidently the company reached the valley in two or more detachments, and perhaps by different routes; but it does not clearly appear that the families left behind in their mountain camp suffered more than the ordinary hardships of such an experience. On December 13th Sutter announced the arrival; and either he or Micheltorena, from motives that will be apparent to the reader of the next chapter, saw fit to state that the new-comers num-

[12] *Upham's Notes*, 568-9; *Gold Hill News*, May 5, 1875; *Vallejo Chronicle*, Sept. 26, 1878; *Reno Gazette*, Aug. 23, 1880; *Sacramento Bee*, Sept. 4, 1880; *S. F. Alta*, May 10, 1875, etc.

[13] Bray's version is that the larger part of the company pressed on to the American River, leaving the rest at Donner Lake. The latter kept on, however, until they encamped on what the writer supposes to have been the Yuba. Here they stayed a week, and a child was born in the Murphy family. Then 8 men, including the writer, pressed on before, leaving James Miller in charge of the women and children with the oxen for food and the wagons for shelter, and reaching Johnson's rancho on Bear Creek Dec. 23d. A month after their arrival at Sutter's a party went back and brought in those left behind. (See important additional matter in note on p. 454.)

According to Quigley, log houses were built, perhaps at the place located by Bray on the Yuba, and roofed with hides taken from the oxen that were killed for food; here the families were left in charge of Miller, while most of the men pressed forward to Sutter's, joining in the campaign in behalf of Micheltorena, at least as far as S. José, before they went back after the families. This is confirmed by B. D. Murphy in conversation. Meanwhile, when all in camp were on the point of starvation, Miller and his little boy started out to seek relief; and were lucky enough after about a week of wandering to meet the relief party. I suspect that this writer's account of Miller's adventures and the sufferings in camp are very much exaggerated.

The *Call* account reads: 'The Stevens company passed up the Truckee River, called Stevens River by Dr Townsend, to the forks, where the Donner and Reed families perished, and camped at the lake on the south fork of the Truckee. Dr Townsend's wife and Ellen Murphy crossed the mountains by following the north fork of the Truckee, and struck the Sacramento 40 miles above Sutter's Fort.' Bidwell, *Cal. '41-8*, MS., 113, 222-3, says the party came by the Truckee and Bear rivers; but their wagons were left on the summit until spring. In *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 18, it is said that Schallenberger was left in charge of the wagons. According to Schallenberger's statement in McGlashan's *Hist. Donner Party*, he with Foster and Montgomery remained behind at the lake, building a cabin later used by the Donners; and finally when they were forced to attempt escape, S. was left ill and lived alone at the cabin until a rescue party came in March 1845.

bered one hundred and fifty, and that another larger company was close at hand![14]

On the general topic of foreign relations in 1844 there is little more than a series of detached items to be presented. Micheltorena's policy toward strangers was in no respect less friendly than before; and if any considerable number of Californians disapproved that policy they left no record of their disapproval. Even the alarm of war with the United States in the summer, already noticed, does not seem in the least to have disturbed friendly relations in California; though there was a question raised about the propriety of enrolling foreign residents among the defensores de la patria, and though in Mexico the Californian representative continued to urge that the country should be closed to Americans.[15] Foreigners took an important part in the revolution against the governor which began this year. But all connected with that affair will be recorded in the following chapters; also what there is to be said of a general nature respecting Sutter and the state of affairs at

[14] Dec. 15, 1844, S. to Vallejo. The immigrants came through on Frémont's route, and are now getting their wagons down. The number is not stated. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 122. Dec. 18th, gov. to Castro, announcing Sutter's despatch on the arrival of 140 or 150 men. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 43; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 102-3; *Id., Ang.*, x. 59. On April 29th, Larkin had asked Sutter to keep him fully posted about the numbers, names, etc., of all immigrants that might come. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 7.

[15] The *padron* of S. F. residents, fit for military service, prepared by Hinckley July 21st, contains the names of many foreigners. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 42. July 19th, Alcalde Leese reports that while Chiles, Vines, etc., are willing to support the govt, Dawson, Hardy, etc., object. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 81-2. July 25th, Larkin to Spear, stating that foreigners not naturalized cannot be required to serve in the militia according to the treaty with the U. S. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 9. Belden, *Hist. Statement*, MS., 49, speaks of the ease with which he and others obtained naturalization papers. Feb. 9th, at the request of Consul Forbes, blank *cartas de seguridad* to be sent to chief towns for convenience of applicants unable to go to Monterey. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 75-6. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 143-4, says that Vallejo was well known to be 'coquetting' with the Americans with a view to obtain settlers for the northern frontier, and thus advance his own interests, a policy which displeased Castro and others. Wood, *Wandering Sketches*, 231, says a large number of foreigners from all parts of the country assembled at Monterey on the occasion of a marriage, and the authorities, becoming alarmed at the crowd, sent to investigate, but the foreigners had all disappeared, no one could say where.

New Helvetia, where there was little variation from the statu quo of the preceding year.[16] Of course military duties devolving upon the captain in connection with the revolution obliged him to defer the payment of his debts until a more convenient season.

In the matter of annexation schemes at Washington, the year brought no new developments. The project was in a sense taking care of itself with the rapid increase of American immigration; but a sharp watch was kept on the coast by the Pacific squadron, three vessels of which were in California in 1844, and all was believed to be in readiness for any one of the three emergencies likely to occur—a rising for independence on the part of Californians foreign or native, an attempt of England or France to take possession of the country, or war between Mexico and the United States.[17] Meanwhile Castañares in Mexico uttered

[16] In his *Diary*, 4, Sutter says he was made captain in the Mexican army and comandante of the northern frontier by Micheltorena, implying that it was long before the revolution, and that under this commission he formed a regular garrison which he brought into a good state of discipline before the gov. called for his services; but I find no record of either commission or appointment. Sutter did not use the title, nor was it used by others in correspondence of the time; and I have no reason to suppose that he ever held any military rank except such as was obtained from Alvarado, or was conferred on him during the campaign of 1844–5 (partial error, see p. 407). Dec. 15th, S. complains that though acting as postmaster he has to use his own horses every time he has occasion to send despatches to the govt. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 122. April 17th, S. to gov. Leese is becoming more and more insolent; he should be told not to meddle in Sacramento matters, the Vaca rancho being the boundary of the Sonoma jurisdiction. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 83–4. June 4th, justice of peace at S. Juan complains of Americans with passes from Sutter, who go about catching wild horses and buying stolen ones. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 32. In the *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 22–6, there are 9 letters of 1844. Most are like those of former years, in which Sutter asks for something and promises to pay something, with constant excuses for not paying at the time. Some Indian laborers were sent down. His harvest began the 17th of June. His largest vessel made a trip to the Columbia River, and his launch some time in the summer was aground at Ross. In August he would soon have some hats and bridles ready; in September his leather would soon be finished. On Oct. 30th, he wrote from Monterey, and Nov. 9th from Yerba Buena. He expected soon to meet 'a certain person' who was coming overland, and if he did not see him, then the best he could promise was to pay his debt in beaver skins this winter! Frémont, *Report*, 246, says, 'Mr Sutter was about making arrangements to irrigate his lands by means of the Rio de los Americanos. He had this year sown, and altogether by Indian labor, 300 fanegas of wheat.' The season was dry, and there is no record of crops.

[17] *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 10, 16, 19, 31, 37, etc. The author speaks of Cal. as 'threatened with the perfidy of our neighbors of the north.' 'The ambi-

frequent and ineffectual warnings against the Americans who were crossing the mountains every year in larger numbers, most of them "without other patrimony than their rifles," and who were taking advantage of Mexican neglect to inspire the Californians with disloyalty; while Consul Larkin assured his government that the general feeling of the people toward Americans had been most friendly since the visit of Commodore Jones. At the beginning of the year Albert M. Gilliam was appointed U. S. consul to reside at San Francisco; but he never came to take the place, and at the suggestion of the consul at Monterey, his resignation was accepted, and Larkin's jurisdiction was extended to cover all places that were nearer to his than to any other consulate.[18]

tion of the U. S. is not limited to the possession of Texas, but extends to that of Californias, which by a thousand titles is more desirable.' Cal., 'over 1,000 leagues from the capital, adjoining hostile territory, has besides these two fatal elements another germ still more prejudicial; that is, the sympathy which the inhabitants have with our northern neighbors, many of whom have intimate relations in the country, not only through the commerce, that is exclusively in their hands, but by the stronger bonds of marriage and property.' 'It is to be feared that the American emigrants in Oregon are beginning to distribute arms among the Indians in exchange for stolen horses and cattle.' 'El supremo gobierno está convencido de que Californias es hoy la ambicion de todas las naciones, y la conducta observada por nuestros vecinos del norte, respecto de Tejas, no deja duda ya de que esta nacion es nuestra enemiga natural.' In one place he speaks of 1,000 armed Americans in the Sierra de Sta Cruz! April 16th, June 20th, Aug. 4th, Larkin's letters. If an American fleet should now attack Monterey, there would not be the same feeling as before. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 11, ii. 4, 7. Webster's views in 1844. *Sacramento Union*, Nov. 9, 1869. Gwin, *Memoirs*, MS., 3-4, refers to interviews in 1844 with John C. Calhoun, sec. of state, in which he spoke with great enthusiasm of Cal. and the desirability of obtaining it, especially S. F. Bay; and said he had proposed, through a secret agent in Mexico, to settle the Texas question by fixing the boundary as a line running from a point midway between S. F. and Monterey due east to the Rio Grande, and down that river to the gulf, $10,000,000 being offered to Mexico as an inducement. Sutter, *Pers. Remin.*, MS., 141-2, says he asked Frémont whether if he should declare his independence the U. S. would annex him. F. replied he thought it might be done, though the govt would have to be consulted. Castañares, *Col. Doc.*, 36-7, urged that colonization by other foreigners should be encouraged, but that Americans should on no account be admitted into the country. Bustamante, *Mem. Hist. Mex.*, MS., i. 15, mentions in April the report from Micheltorena that Cal. had been invaded by over 1,000 Anglo-Americanos.

[18] Jan. 9, 1844, Gilliam's appointment. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., i. 35. Commission forwarded Feb. 3d. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 61. June 24th, Larkin argues that only one consul is needed in Cal *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 7. Oct. 25th, sec. state announces Gilliam's resignation, and the extension of Larkin's jurisdiction. *Id., Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 233. Dec. 31st, disburse-

Respecting the English scheme of colonization I have to note an interesting continuation of the correspondence between Hartnell and Wyllie.[19] In April Hartnell wrote at some length, replying to Wyllie's series of questions upon the condition of Californian affairs, chiefly from a commercial point of view, and with reference to the advantages for colonization. Having answered the questions, he goes on to say: "I have spoken to the governor. No instructions whatever have been received in California touching the exchange of deferred bonds for land. But his Excellency has assured me that he will do all he possibly can for you with respect to granting a tract of land for colonization. His faculties do not allow him to give more than eleven leagues to one person, but I can ask for one tract for you and another for myself; and I am almost certain that I shall succeed in obtaining the privilege to hold on to them a reasonably sufficient time to enable settlers to come out from England, say two years from the time of the grant, without being obliged to stock or cultivate them, as others have had to do. The governor told me plainly that he wished very much that settlers would come out from Europe, so that all the vacant lands should not be given to Americans; and he even hinted that he should like to take a share in the speculation himself. He has always professed himself particularly friendly to the English."[20] And in his reply from Honolulu in November Wyllie says: "American views on the territory are apparent, and if the question of Texas had led to a war, the result cannot be doubted. In such an event, the only power that could save California is Great Britain; and nothing could justify her interference so much as previous grants of land under the Mexican government to British subjects. Be

ments of the office for last 6 months, $131.34; expenses of hospital department, $724.22. *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 21.

[19] See chap. xvi. of this volume on this topic in 1843.

[20] *Hartnell's English Colonization in Cal. Letter to Robt C. Wyllie, April 1844*, MS.

ready, then, to grasp all you can for me and yourself if such a crisis should threaten; and if the governor wishes to favor us he could secretly have one third of the allotment to me and you so that his grant also would come under British protection."[21] Notwithstanding this alleged friendliness of Micheltorena to English interests, the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company in California, one of them the British vice-consul, seem to have aided the revolutionists against the governor by furnishing arms and ammunition.[22] Larkin warned his government that the importance of this company had been greatly underrated, and that there had been an application in its behalf for a large grant of land; but whatever may have been its plans in this respect, hunting operations in California seem to have been abandoned by the company after this year.[23]

The only book of 1844 requiring notice, in addition to *Frémont's Report*, to which the reader's attention has been already directed, is one written from observations made this year by William M. Wood, who visited California as surgeon of the U. S. man-of-war *Savannah*, and devoted four chapters of his book to that country.[24] Dr Wood arrived October 3d and sailed December 15th, being present at several balls

[21] Nov. 13, 1844, W. to H. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 72. Aug. 18th, Larkin to sec. state. Suggests that if England gets Cal. an effort should be made to exchange 8 degrees north of the Columbia for 8 degrees south of 42°! *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 8.

[22] This appears from a letter of Larkin to the sec. state. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 337, and from other documents of 1845 relating to a bill for the aid furnished.

[23] June 20, 1844, Larkin to sec. state. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 6-7. Hittell, *Hist. S. F.*, 90, talks of a visit to Sir Jas Douglas in 1844, and his disapproval of Rae's management. In *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 29, and *S. Joaquin Co. Hist.*, 11, there is some rather vague information about the company's operations in these last years, from the recollections of J. A. Forbes. There is a remarkable absence of all contemporary records or correspondence on the subject.

[24] *Wandering Sketches of people and things in South America, Polynesia, California, and other places visited, during a cruise on board of the U. S. ships Levant, Portsmouth, and Savannah. By Wm Maxwell Wood, M. D., surgeon U. S. Navy, late fleet surgeon of the Pacific squadron.* Philadelphia, 1849, 12mo, 386 p. That part relating to California is found on p. 212-87.

and dinners with which the Californians and naval officers mutually entertained each other. He gives brief pen-pictures of the person and character of Micheltorena and other prominent men whom he met, including such foreigners as Sutter, Graham, and Chiles. Most of his remarks are devoted to the manners and customs of the people with whom he came in contact, and with whose hospitality and most other characteristics he was greatly pleased. He says but little of politics, but conveys a tolerably accurate idea of the country's general condition and prospects. In November, with a party of officers and Californians, he made a tour to the rancho of Joaquin Gomez. He saw Alvarado at Alisal, surrounded by conspirators, and was being entertained by Padre Ansar at San Juan when the revolution broke out and arms were seized at the mission. The narrative is written in pleasing style; I have occasion to cite it elsewhere on special matters.

Out of more than two hundred foreigners shown by the records to have visited California in 1844, all of whom are mentioned elsewhere in this work, one hundred may be regarded as pioneer residents, and are named in the appended list.[25] About half of them

[25] Pioneers of 1844: Henry Adams (?), Geo. Anderson, Olivier Beaulieu, James P. Beckwourth, Wm Bennett, Dav. T. Bird, Henry Booker, C. P. Briggs, Edmond Bray, Vincent Calvin, John G. Campbell, Herman C. Cardwell, John Carter, James Cash, Clement Colombet, John Conners (?), Geo. Cook, Geo. A. Corcoran, Martin Corcoran (?), Baptiste Derosier, Carl Dittmann, John C. Everett, Thomas Fallon (?), Daingerfield Fauntleroy, Joseph E. Foster, Henry Fowler, Wm Fowler, Wm Fowler, Jr, J. C. Frémont, François Gendreau, Cárlos F. Glein, Alexis Godey, Henry A. Green (?), Caleb Greenwood, John Gregory (?), John Hames, Matthew Harbin, Wm Hargrave, James Henry, Sam. A. Hinckley, Andrew Hoeppner, Thomas Hudson, Laurent Huerstel (?), Albert G. Jones, Dav. Kelsey, Sam. Kelsey, Charles A. Lauff, Perry McCoon (?), Jas McKeever, Olivier Magnent, Dennis Martin, Patrick Martin, Pat. Martin, Jr, Joseph Mascarel, James Miller, Wm J. Miller, Allen Montgomery, Bernard Murphy, B. D. Murphy, Dan. Murphy, James Murphy (2), John N. Murphy, Martin Murphy (2), M. Murphy, Jr, Pat. W. Murphy, Sam. Neal, W. B. Osborn, Wm Peirce, R. K. Petrowski (?), Henry F. Pitts, John Potter (?), Raphael Praule, Ed Read, Pierre Richards, Henry Richardson, Louis Robidoux, Ernest Rufus (?), John Sawyer, Moses Schallenberger, Elisha Stevens, John Sullivan, Michael Sullivan, Robert Sullivan, Granville P. Swift, Theodore Talbot, Charles Towns, John Townsend, Albert Tresconi, Joseph Verrot, Eph. Walcott, Benj. Washburn (?), James W. Waters, James Wilson, Joseph W. Wolfskill, Geo. T. Wood, and Geo. F. Wyman (?).

came in the Frémont, Kelsey, and Stevens companies by the overland route. Respecting sixteen, there is a degree of uncertainty, particularly as to the exact year of arrival. With the exception of John C. Frémont, none in the list became specially prominent in the country's history; but there were many well-known and influential citizens. There were about twenty survivors in 1884.

(Note 13 continued. See p. 447.)

Moses Schallenberger's *Overland in 1844* is a MS. received since my account on p. 445-8 was stereotyped, and is in many respects more satisfactory than any other extant. S. was a boy of 17, and his party from Buchanan Co, Mo., consisted of himself, Dr Townsend and wife (S.'s sister), and Allen Montgomery and wife. An interesting account is giving of hunting and other adventures along the way. The Cal. company is given as 11 wagons, 26 men, 8 women, and about a dozen children. From the sink of the Humboldt they had to find their own way, having no guide; but they found an old Indian named Truckee whose statements proved serviceable, preventing their taking a southern route as many were inclined to do. At the forks of the Truckee River, John and Daniel Murphy, Magnent, Deland, Mrs Townsend, and Ellen Murphy, each with a horse, left the main party, following the river to Lake Tahoe, and thence crossing to the head waters of the American, and down that stream to St Clair's rancho without disaster, though with great toil. The rest kept on a few miles to Donner Lake. Here part of the wagons were left with three men. The company then climbed to the summit and pressed on to the head of the Yuba, where the rest of the wagons were left, and where Miller and family, old man Martin, Mrs Martin Murphy and 4 sons, Mrs Jas Murphy and daughter, and Mrs Patterson and family remained through the winter, suffering considerably from hunger. The others reached Sutter's Fort and the men enlisted for the Micheltorena campaign. The three remaining at Donner Lake were Foster, Montgomery, and Schallenberger. They had a valuable invoice of goods to protect, built a cabin, and had no doubt of being able to live by hunting; but the snow soon became so deep as to make successful hunting impossible; and early in Dec., to escape starvation, they started across the mountains on improvised snow-shoes. But the boy Schallenberger was attacked by cramps on the summit, and crawled back to the cabin, deeming his slight chance for life better there than if abandoned, as he would probably have to be, further on in the mountains. Alone, with but one poor quarter of beef for food, this boy's prospects were not bright, and his experience was a remarkable one, for he remained here until the end of February. His salvation was the finding of some steel traps left by Capt. Stevens, with which he caught coyotes and foxes—the latter so plentifully that only once did he have to eat the former—never suffering from hunger, though continually from fear of it. At last, Dennis Martin returned from the Cal. valley to relieve the party on the Yuba, and extended his trip to the lake to succor young Moses if by chance he had survived. All reached the settlements in March, though delayed by a freshet on Bear River. I regret that the author's delay in furnishing this interesting MS. has obliged me to dispose of it so summarily.

CHAPTER XX.

REVOLUTION AGAINST MICHELTORENA

1844.

PRELIMINARY RÉSUMÉ—MOTIVES OF THE REBELS—FEELING AGAINST THE BATALLON—PLOTS AND WARNINGS—PRONUNCIAMIENTO OF THE CAÑADA DE SAN MIGUEL—THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION—CAMPAIGN OF LAGUNA SECA, OR SANTA TERESA—NARRATIVES—THE TREATY—CASTRO AT MISSION SAN JOSÉ—MICHELTORENA'S PROCLAMATION AND REPORTS—HIS TREACHERY—RESOLVES TO BREAK THE TREATY—AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTH—RISING AT SANTA BÁRBARA—POLICY AND MOTIVES OF THE FOREIGNERS—SUTTER'S CONTRACT—PREPARATIONS AT NEW HELVETIA—VALLEJO'S PROTESTS—OCCURRENCES AT SAN FRANCISCO—WEBER'S ARREST.

IN former chapters I have brought the annals of Micheltorena's rule down to November 1844. I have described the governor as a gentlemanly, affable, kind-hearted, and personally popular man, possessing much executive tact, though lacking energy and inclined to indolence. I have shown that the policy of his administration was in most respects conciliatory and wise, though not productive of great benefits for the country, by reason of circumstances largely beyond his control. I have described the little army that came with him from Mexico as a band of criminals, most of whom were taken from the jails, and whose conduct in California was much better than might have been expected, not notably worse than that of ordinary soldiers, Mexican or Californian, in similar circumstances, but whose presence was a bitter insult to the Californian people, and whose discipline and support exhausted the energies and revenues of the

department, sadly needed for more important and beneficial uses. I now have to describe the revolution by which Micheltorena and his convict army were driven from the country.

The motives of this revolt were three—popular discontent and indignation at the presence and petty depredations of the cholos, the personal ambition of certain prominent Californians to govern their country and handle its revenues, and the old feeling against Mexicans *de la otra banda*, embittered by quarrels with officers and men of the batallon. And these three motives had nearly equal influence in producing the result. All witnesses admit the agency of the third, as do most that of the others; but certain classes of men have been disposed to exaggerate or ignore the influence of the first and second respectively.

That there did exist a strong popular feeling against the batallon is a fact that cannot be ignored, and there was abundant justification for a much more bitter feeling than was actually entertained. Alvarado and other active leaders in the movement, however, have grossly exaggerated the evil deeds of the cholos. They have represented them as an uncontrolled band of thieves and assassins, accusing them of numerous outrages that were never committed, and unjustly blaming the general for not being able to control his men. They have pictured a reign of terror, which drove the people—their lives and property and the honor of their families being in constant peril—to rise as a last desperate expedient and overpower their oppressors; and they have naturally assumed the rôle of patriot leaders of a popular rising in defence of their country's liberties. In fact, being Californians, they desired now, as in 1836, that the department should rule itself under national allegiance. They desired personally a return to power, and they were ready to utilize in part, for their own interests, the only just cause of complaint against the administration.

On the other hand, those who in the struggle sided with Micheltorena have pushed their exaggerations quite as far: notably so John A. Sutter and other more or less prominent foreigners. They have doubted the reports that the batallon was composed of convicts, ridiculed the idea of founding a revolution on the stealing of a few chickens, regarded the feeling against the cholos as a mere pretext of the revolutionary leaders to bolster up their ambitious schemes, overpraised the governor and the wisdom and benefits of his rule, and have even had the assurance to claim in some instances that the Californians revolted against Micheltorena chiefly because of the latter's disposition to favor American immigrants. I shall have much to say later about the part taken by foreigners in this affair; but it is well to state here that the governor's foreign policy had little or nothing to do with the rising, at the beginning at least. It should also be stated at the outset that the Californians from beginning to end had no thought of throwing off their national allegiance to Mexico; though that view of the matter was somewhat current in the United States at the time. I need hardly add that no class of the Californians had at first any personal grounds of objection to Micheltorena as governor; though this does not imply that there were not several individuals altogether willing to take his place.

Before November there had doubtless been talk of using force to get rid of the batallon, but the plan had probably not assumed any definite form, even in the minds of the plotters; while on the other side there were but vague suspicions of danger. Warnings were sent to Mexico, but such warnings were not infrequent, coupled with appeals for aid.[1] Juan B. Alva-

[1]As early as March Castañares expressed fears of internal troubles in Cal., on account of the conduct of the convicts, and for other reasons; and Micheltorena, in announcing the outbreak of the revolt, spoke of having predicted the trouble in his letters of April and August. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 10, 58. Mofras, *Explor.*, i, 313, whose book was printed in 1844, says: 'L'autorité du

rado had in some way, not clearly explained, rendered himself an object of suspicion at the beginning of the year;[2] but while there is no reason to doubt that Alvarado, Osio, and perhaps Castro had taken a prominent part in preliminary speculations respecting the best way to get rid of the obnoxious Mexicans, and in fomenting the popular feeling against them, there is reason to believe that they had not agreed upon a plan, and that the final outbreak was without their immediate leadership or even knowledge. Micheltorena's personal popularity, the obligations under which he had put José Castro by defending him in Mexico, his relations with Vallejo and the uncertainty respecting the latter's probable course, a fear that the foreigners might aid Micheltorena or that the Americans might take advantage of a revolt to seize the country, and finally a lack of assurance that the south could be induced to coöperate—were circumstances which troubled the leading Californians, obscured their prospects of success, and delayed the perfection of their plots, if, as is believed, they entertained such plots.

At any rate, on the 14th and 15th of November, a party of perhaps fifty Californians, under the leadership of Manuel Castro, Jesus Pico, Antonio Chavez, and Francisco Rico, having driven off all the government horses from Monterey to the Salinas Valley, 'pronounced' at the Cañada de San Miguel, seized at San Juan Bautista such part of the arms and munitions stored there as they could use, and set about the task of rousing the people to support their patriotic enterprise. One version is to the effect that at a fandango some of the Californians had a quarrel

général Micheltorena ne parait guère affermie; il est probable que tôt ou tard il sera traité comme ses prédécesseurs mexicains. Les Californiens influents répètent souvent que, ne recevant rien du Mexique, ils prétendent n'employer les revenus du pays qu'à solder des Californiens; ils ajoutent que s'ils consentent à entretenir une petite troupe de soldats, ils ne veulent pas avoir à craindre les attaques des galériens...et tout port à croire que le général Micheltorena ne tardera pas à subir le sort des gouverneurs Victoria, Herrera (?), Chico, Gutierrez, et Carrillo.'

[2] See chap. xvii. of this vol.

and came to blows with officers of the batallon; and that in their anger Castro, Pico, and Chavez, with a dozen or fifteen others, left Monterey that same night, driving away the horses which were under guard in the Carmelo Valley.[3] A more probable and better supported statement is that of Manuel Castro himself, who says that the plan was formed and signed at Monterey by himself and the others in October. Early in November they left the capital, gathered a company in the Salinas Valley, and sent Chavez back with a small force to capture the horses and cut off supplies.[4] The plan of San Miguel is not extant, if indeed it was ever reduced to writing; but the purport of it was doubtless that the batallon, and perhaps its leader, must leave the country.[5]

Alvarado, in a letter of the time which there is every reason to credit, claimed that all this was done prematurely and without his knowledge. He had been on a visit to Sonoma, probably to sound Vallejo on the subject of revolt, with results that are not known, and on his return to Gomez's rancho, and to Alisal, had been warned by friends from Monterey, and by Commodore Armstrong of the *Savannah*, who had come out with a large company to hunt in the valley, that he was the object of much suspicion at Monterey, and that it was unsafe for him to remain at Alisal. He accordingly departed, but was soon overtaken by Jesus Pico, with news of the rising, which he was asked to support, and consented, though sur-

[3] *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 91-2; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 117-18. On Sept. 18th, Micheltorena wished to buy of Vallejo 100 horses for the govt; and Oct. 28th, V. writes that they will be sent via the Sacramento, at $50 each (!). *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 95. These were doubtless among the animals taken by the rebels.

[4] *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 97-9. Larkin in a letter of March 22, 1845, says 10 or 15 men 'came into' Monterey and drove off the horses; and during the month gathered about 100 men. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 35.

[5] In the *Micheltorena Expediente* of 1845, Pico claimed that the people of Monterey rose en masse to demand a meeting of the assembly, etc., which is absurd. Castro, ubi supra, and Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 409, talk about the bases of Tacubaya, and the restoration of Alvarado to the governorship, of which he had been despoiled.

prised and looking upon the step as too hasty.[6] The report was sent to Mexico at the time, and it has often been stated since that Colonel Vallejo, as well as Alvarado and Castro, was a leader in this pronunciamiento; but as we shall see later, he took no part in it whatever.[7]

[6] Nov. 20th, Alvarado, *Carta Relacion*, MS., 108. A. wrote from San Pablo. Wood, surgeon of the *Savannah*, was a member of the party of hunters to which Alvarado alludes. The visit to the ex-gov. was on Nov. 13th. He was found 'surrounded by several of his countrymen, with drinking materials on the table at which they were sitting, and from subsequent events it is certain that they had assembled in furtherance of a political conspiracy, which soon developed itself. Alvarado has the appearance of physical strength and mental energy.' Osio was met at Gomez's rancho, a large, dark, grave-looking man, neither in manner nor costume resembling a Mexican.' On Nov. 14th the American officers visited S. Juan mission; and at a ball given by Padre Ansar a letter was received by one of the Mexican officers who had accompanied the hunters, probably Capt. Abella, stating 'that 20 soldiers had deserted from Monterey, taking with them every horse.' This was about 2 or 3 A. M. on Nov. 15th. Later in the day the whole country was said to be in revolution, under Alvarado and Osio, though there was much uncertainty about Castro being implicated. The people at the mission were friendly to the rebels, and no objection was made when an ox-cart came to carry off ammunition. Wood remained at S. Juan two nights more, and on the 17th started for Monterey, where he arrived on the 19th. The Mexican officers had been allowed after some objections to return with the Americans. They had learned during the past few days that the rebels were seizing all supplies and arms to be found at the ranchos; and they found the capital in a sad state of alarm. *Wood's Wandering Sketches*, 254, 259, 273–85.

Francisco Rico, *Mem. Hist.*, MS., 1–3, tells us that after the plan was formed at Monterey, he was sent with it to Alisal to obtain Alvarado's approval, which after many objections was given. This statement of course contradicts that of Alvarado. Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 97–9, says that he first submitted the plan to Alvarado after the pronunciamiento, and that he declined at first to sign it, retiring to S. Pablo. Alvarado's statement in his *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 22–3, agrees with that made in his letter of the time—that he disapproved of the haste shown by the hot-headed young Californians, but joined the movement and went to S. Pablo to work for the cause. Rafael Gonzalez in a record made at the time, *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 112, says that he and others had repeatedly warned Micheltorena that a revolt was brewing. Francisco Arce, *Memorias*, MS., 35–7, was invited to take part in the plots begun at Manuel Castro's house, but declined on account of personal favors from the gov., promising however to keep silent. A letter announcing the revolt seems to have been dated Nov. 4. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 34. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 417–18, speaks of the movement as having begun at Alisal on Nov. 14th. Micheltorena wrote to Mexico that the government horses were seized Nov. 15th, together with all cattle and horses in the region, so that Monterey was cut off from all supplies. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 57.

[7] Everett of the *Tasso*, who left Cal. on the *Guipuzcoana* on Dec. 2d, carried the first news to Mexico, reporting that Alvarado, Castro, and Vallejo had pronounced at Alisal Nov. 14th, with 300 armed *paisanos*. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 56. Tuthill, *Hist. Cal.*, 149–50; Hall, *Hist. S. José*, 133–5; the author of *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 11; Tinkham, *Hist. Stockton*, 87; and Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 212–13—the last being the original followed by the others—tell us that Vallejo, Alvarado, and Castro harmonized their old differences,

Micheltorena's first step to put down the revolt was to issue a proclamation on the 18th of November, the tenor of which was, that, whereas a band of horse-thieves had pronounced at the Rio, therefore all taking part in the movement would be tried under the laws, and lose their property. Foreigners so forgetful of the hospitality shown them as to join in the disorders would be put to death without quarter; those who aided the rebels would be executed or condemned to the presidios according to their degree of guilt; but any who might present themselves within eight days would receive pardon for past offences.[8] At the same time—or probably a day or two before issuing the proclamation, for we have no exact dates—Colonel Tellez and Captain Mejía were sent out to reconnoitre with a force of eighty men. They reached the Salinas River, but returned without having overtaken the rebels or recovered the lost horses, though they did obtain from the ranchos a few cattle that had escaped the clutches of the other party.[9] Finally, with most of his batallon, perhaps 150 men, Micheltorena marched out of the capital on the 22d to crush the rebellion, "both because the necessity of eating made itself felt, and because the rebel forces were on the increase, destroying and carrying away everything, al-

turned against Micheltorena, and captured S. Juan, where the govt ammunition was stored. The outbreak of the revolt is also mentioned without any additional information requiring notice in *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 442-4; *Coronel, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 55; *Galindo, Apuntes*, MS., 48-9; *Garnica, Recuerdos*, MS., 4; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 134; *Ezquer, Mem.*, MS., 17; *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 153; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 111-12; *Gomez, Lo que Sabe*, MS., 361; *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS., 36.

[8] Nov. 18, 1844, M.'s proclamation. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 47-8.

[9] Nearly all the authorities mention this expedition, some implying that there were two, one under Tellez and a later one under Mejía. Wood, *Wandering Sketches*, 282-5, on approaching Monterey from the interior, spent the night of the 18th at a rancho, where the people were in great trouble because the night before Capt. Mejía's foragers had seized a herd of cattle which a young man of the family had collected in anticipation of his approaching marriage. In his report to Mexico, *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 57, Micheltorena claimed to have paid for all the cattle taken, in order to show the contrast between the conduct of his men and that of the rebels; but this was probably a figure of speech.

though not yet manifesting any political plan or object."[10]

Meanwhile the Californians under Manuel Castro labored to increase their strength, the leaders meeting but little opposition among the people, but having considerable difficulty in obtaining weapons and ammunition. Messengers were sent in all directions to rouse the people. José María Villavicencio and José Antonio Carrillo were notified of what had been done, and were expected to coöperate with forces from Santa Bárbara and Los Angeles. A courier was sent in great haste to summon José Castro, who with about twenty-five men was absent on Indian service in the Tulares. Influences were brought to bear on Weber and Gulnac at San José to secure the support of foreigners. Manuel Castro made a visit in person to the Santa Cruz region. Francisco Rico was sent to San Francisco, which place was also visited by Antonio María Osio, and Alvarado proceeded to San Pablo to rouse the inhabitants of the Contra Costa, and especially to labor with his uncle, Vallejo. Naturally we have few details respecting the rebel movements in these days, and the few extant are contradictory and unreliable. It appears clearly enough, however, that reënforcements were obtained from all the places mentioned above except perhaps the south; that some military stores were obtained at San Francisco by Rico and Torre with the connivance of other officials; that Joaquin de la Torre joined the rebels, and was associated with Manuel Castro in the military command before the arrival of Don José; that the forces retreated from the Cañada de San Miguel and Salinas Valley as Micheltorena advanced, by way of San Juan to Santa Clara; and that there about 220 men were assembled before November 28th, including a company of foreigners under Charles M. Weber, the

[10] Dec. 12th, M. to Mex. govt. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 59.

whole under José Castro, with Alvarado nominally second in command.[11]

Colonel Castro arrived from the Tulares, joined the rebels at La Brea near San Juan, and assumed the chief military command. All agree that he did this with much reluctance, real or pretended. He was friendly to Micheltorena, being also under great personal obligations to him for past favors. There is no need to record all the variations of opinion that have been expressed about his action and motives in this affair. The Californians have been much mystified on the subject. Some think he had been an original leader in the plot with Alvarado, and that his reluctance was a pretence; others, that it was real, his scruples having been overcome by the arguments, entreaties, ridicule, and even threats of his associate Californians, and of the men under his command; still others, that he took the command with a view to help his friend, the general; and finally, there are some—both Vallejo and Alvarado accepting this theory—who insist that he had an understanding with Micheltorena from the first, the latter requesting him to take command of the movement, and to conduct a sham campaign which should drive him honorably from a position and a country of which he was heartily tired, without the risk of shedding either Mexican or Californian blood! This theory has its charms, accounting for some things otherwise more or less inexplicable, and is not altogether improbable; yet in the absence of positive proof, it is perhaps as well to con-

[11] Dec. 10th, *Alvarado, Carta Relacion*, MS., 116; *Rico, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 3-8; *Torre, Reminis.*, MS., 117-20; *Castro, Rel.*, MS., 97-105; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 23-4; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 92-3; *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 154-5. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 408, speaks of a pronunciamiento at S. F on Nov. 20th, made without any knowledge of what had happened on the Salinas. Pinto, *Apuntaciones*, MS., 93, 97-8, speaks of Osio's coming to S. F. and working to enlist the custom-house employés in the revolt; but says that himself and Jacinto Rodriguez refused to join the movement. Rico tells us that the receptor, Benito Diaz, and Comandante Joaquin Peña, aided him in his work. German, *Sucesos*, MS., 9-12, narrates at some length a quarrel between his brother Luis German and Gabriel Castro while the rebel forces were at Sta Clara.

clude that Castro deemed his own interests as well as inclinations to be on the side of the Californians; and that he satisfied his scruples of conscience, so far as such a man had any scruples, by reflecting that the movement was against the batallon, and not the general.[12]

Colonel Vallejo felt perhaps more deeply than any other man in California the disgrace of having his country used as a penal colony, though he had not, like the Montereyans, come directly in contact with the cholos. He knew that the country could not prosper under such a burden; and he was the more troubled because in a sense he had been instrumental in introducing the convict army. He had doubtless expressed his views freely, but there is no contemporary evidence to contradict his statement, and that of others in later times, that he took no part in promoting the revolt of November. On hearing of the rising, Vallejo, November 18th, wrote the governor, assuring him of his belief that the only ill feeling of the Californians was against the batallon, and suggesting indirectly that as the troops were useless and burdensome both to the general and to the country, and as there could be no peace while they remained, the best way out of present difficulties was to send them away.[13] Soon came Alvarado's letter of the 20th from San Pablo, in which the writer described

[12] Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 100–7, relates that he was subsequently shown by Castro a letter in which Micheltorena wrote: 'My godson, a revolt has broken out at the Cañada de San Miguel, among some hot-headed young men. This suits me, but I do not wish for any personal persecution or vengeance. Put yourself at the head of this movement, and we shall come to an understanding.' Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 412–19, adds that the letter was sent in duplicate to Castro, and one of the copies was captured on the way; but this writer's version of ensuing complications between the two Castros is utterly absurd and unintelligible. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 23, also speaks of the captured letter. Arce, *Memorias*, MS., 39–40, was told by Castro that he joined the movement to help Micheltorena personally. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 113–14, and Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 68–9, give credit to the theory that there was an understanding between C. and M.

[13] Nov. 18, 1844, V. to M., in *Bear Flag Papers*, MS., 3. In his *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 417–18, V. declares that he not only had nothing to do with the revolt, but was ready to defend M. as gov. if his authority should be threatened after the departure of the batallon.

what had occurred, declared the movement to be a just and popular one, and called upon Vallejo to support it, either in person or at least by sending his brother Salvador with horses and supplies.[14] The colonel's reply was to send Don Salvador to confer with Alvarado at San Pablo, and to bring back more minute details of what the rebels had done, what they intended to do, and what were their prospects of success, for Vallejo retained all his old spirit of caution and fondness for being found on, or at least not very strongly against, the winning side.[15] His position was a somewhat difficult one. As a Mexican officer his duty was of course to obey and support his superior; but in doing so he would be obliged not only to take sides against his friends and countrymen, and to defend a band of convicts whose presence he deemed a curse to California, but also to pay from his own pocket the whole expenses of the campaign; while on the other hand, he had little doubt that, without his support, Micheltorena would soon be compelled to yield, send away his troops, and thus prevent revolutionary troubles and possible bloodshed. His decision was to remain neutral; and to avoid the obligation of obeying the general's orders to send reënforcenents, though it nowhere clearly appears that such orders were ever issued, he disbanded the Sonoma forces November 28th, on the plea that he could no longer support them at his own expense as he had been doing. The men were left free to gain a living as best they could, and doubtless some of them joined the rebels.[16]

[14] *Alvarado, Carta Relacion*, MS., p. 108, Nov. 20, 1844. In this letter A. states that J. J. Vallejo would join the rebels; and he speaks of a correspondence between himself and Micheltorena, in which M. had deplored the injurious results of a revolt, admitted the justice of complaints, and promised to arrange all satisfactorily as soon as the *California* should arrive with orders and aid; while A. had replied that he could not control the movement, which resulted wholly from the conduct of the cholos.

[15] No date, V. to A., with blotter of 14 points on which information is required. Must have the minutest particulars to guide his course, which will of course be 'in accordance with honor, duty, and patriotism.' *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xiv. 21-2.

[16] Nov. 28th, V. to gov., notifying him of having disbanded the troops.

Micheltorena, marching from Monterey on the 22d with 150 men and two or three pieces of artillery, encamped four or five days later at the Laguna Seca, on the rancho of Juan Alvires, ten or twelve miles south-east of San José. The rebel forces, 220 strong, marched down from Santa Clara to meet him, encamping in the hills of the Santa Teresa rancho, a mile or two from the lake and the general's camp. After two or three days of manœuvres and negotiations, a treaty was concluded, by which Micheltorena agreed to retire to the capital and send away his batallon, while the Californians promised to retire to San José mission and wait for the general to fulfill his agreement. Such is an outline of the campaign. Most who have described it from memory add but little of importance in the way of detail;[17] but there are some contemporary narratives that demand attention.

Micheltorena himself, in a report to the government, described the campaign as follows: "I made such rapid marches by night as they could not even believe pos-

having no means for their support. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 111. In later communications, bearing no date, he goes more fully into the matter, explaining that a failure of crops had diminished his resources, and complaining that Micheltorena had neglected the northern frontier. *Id.*, xiv. 30, 33. In his *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 410–11, he explains his motives, adding to those I have mentioned his belief that M. and Castro had a secret understanding, and his unwillingness to take part in any such farce as the campaign was likely to be. C. E. Pickett, in *Shuck's Repres. Men*, 228–9, relates that V. took a leading part in planning this revolt, but that later most of his men were induced to join Sutter's force in aid of Micheltorena!

[17] Most of the Californians greatly exaggerate the forces on both sides, 400 men being a favorite number for Micheltorena's army. All agree that the weather was very cold, disagreeable, and rainy. Several speak of a small detachment sent out by the rebels in advance of the main force to try to surprise the foe. *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 444–7; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 23–4; *Garcia, Apuntes*, MS., 5–6; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 17–19; *German, Sucesos*, MS., 3–5; *Ezquer, Mem.*, MS., 17–18; *Arce, Mem.*, MS., 41–2; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 93–5; *Castro, Rel.*, MS., 104–7; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 120. None of these give any details requiring special attention. Rico, *Mem. Hist.*, MS., 7–11, gives more particulars, agreeing in substance with Alvarado's narrative, to be noted presently. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 420–1, seems to imply that Castro simply agreed to wait until Micheltorena could get reënforcements from Mexico, thus betraying the Californians. Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 67–8, Pico, *Acont.*, MS., 58, Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 154–6, and Botello, *Anales*, MS., 110–12, state more or less clearly that M. was understood to have promised merely to ask from Mexico authority to send his men away. Boronda, *Notas*, MS., 22, claims to have guided the general back to Monterey by a shorter way than he had come.

sible for infantry; but without a conflict, because such is the masonry of every Californian, that while I had not a single notice or a single spy, knowing only the ground I trod, the slightest strategic movement of my expedition was instantly communicated by these people, who travel on their horses forty or fifty leagues a day without fatigue and as a pastime. Finally I succeeded in getting them into a narrow defile, where, as I advanced to fight them, they begged that I, like a father, would hear their complaints, as shown in the enclosed documents. It would have been a work of five minutes to destroy these men who have never heard a shot nor the whizz of a ball, who came as to a *fiesta*, embarrassed by their very weapons, bringing with them to the war their children of tender age, in fact every male; but the revolution would never be calmed, and by force and terror it would be necessary to put to the knife or to shoot half the department, while my small number of valiant men would inevitably be killed by rifle-balls in the unpeopled camps of the desert, without seeing a single foe, or having anything to eat, because they carried off everything before them, withdrawing every kind of supplies, in imitation of what I ordered done at the time of Commodore Jones' invasion. I have put them off by offering to send away the bad men for good reasons within three months, in order to gain this time, during which I await the schooner *California*."[18] In this report the reader will not fail to note a slight admixture of truth with a large amount of the senseless gasconade which characterized the writer's despatches in the Jones affair of 1842. It was Micheltorena's fate to make an ass of himself whenever he had occasion to write for the eyes of the Mexican government.

The best narrative extant of this campaign is that written by Alvarado to Vallejo at the time. On November 27th or 28th, the rebels received a message from Micheltorena, in reply to a request to sus-

[18] Dec. 12, 1844, M. to chief of staff. *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 59-60.

pend his march with a view of allaying the popular excitement, that they must lay down their arms and submit to his clemency, or he would destroy all before him without quarter. On the night of the 28th, they resolved to attack the general at Alvires' rancho, marching out of Santa Clara, two companies of riflemen and musketeers of forty and sixty men respectively in advance, with 120 under Castro and Alvarado in the rear. They hoped to capture the foe by surprise, and favored by the darkness and rain, approached within 200 yards; but a gun was accidentally discharged, and they had to retire to a wood for protection from artillery. On the 29th, Micheltorena asked for a conference, and Francisco Sanchez and Manuel Castro were sent as commissioners to a point midway between the two camps, authorized to treat on the basis of recognizing Micheltorena, if he would disorganize the batallon, sending away the worst men and scattering the rest. Nothing was effected; but the general desired a postponement of hostilities until the next day, which was granted. On the 30th, Micheltorena solicited a personal interview with Alvarado, at which he sought a delay of three months in which to send away his soldiers, and also permission to establish his camp at Santa Clara for further negotiations; but being refused, he threatened an attack for the next morning. Instead of an assault, however, on December 1st there was another conference with Alvarado, and the general finally gave his word of honor to accede to the wishes of the Californians. During the night articles were drawn up, and when the general showed some further hesitation, he was threatened with an attack within an hour; and accordingly, after a personal interview with Castro, he signed the treaty, and soon started for Monterey in the rain, much to the disgust of some of his officers and men.[19]

[19] *Alvarado, Carta Relacion; Campaña de Laguna Seca, 1844*, MS. The writer represents the treaty as having been signed on Dec. 2d, but the document as preserved in copies bears date of Dec. 1st, as we shall see. One other version of the campaign, presumably that of Chas M. Weber, as given in S.

That Micheltorena signed a treaty at the Laguna binding himself within a certain time to dismiss from the service or send away to Mexico the soldiers of the batallon fijo, with some of the more vicious officers, there can be no doubt; indeed, he admitted as much in his report to Mexico, and never denied it subsequently so far as I know. The original of the treaty is not extant; but I have copies, the genuineness of which there is no reason to call in question. At first the period within which the men were to be sent away was fixed at two months; but the general insisted on changing it to three, and also on the condition that

Joaquin Co. Hist., 18–19, and *Tinkham's Hist. Stockton*, 87–8, deserves notice here. I quote from Tinkham: 'Gen. Micheltorena took the field to quell the insurgents, and marched to within 12 miles of S. José, where he was met by an armed force under Capt. Weber, Castro's army having fled from S. José, leaving the inhabitants to the tender mercies of an army recruited from the Mexican prisons—a band of desperate convicts, who would plunder and ransack the town if they were once allowed to enter. Weber knew this, and having a large stock of goods on hand, he was naturally anxious to protect his property, and prompt action alone was demanded. Depending on his friendship with Micheltorena, and resorting again to peace measures, he sent a note to that general, informing him that Castro had fled, and requesting him to march around the town. War knows no friends, and Micheltorena informed Weber that he must march through the town in pursuit of Castro. This meant destruction of property if not of life, and Capt. Weber determined to resist. Hastily summoning the men of S. José, he told them of the condition of affairs, and that by organizing, the progress of the pursuing army could be checked. A company was formed, Weber was placed in command, and they set out to meet the enemy. Sending a messenger to Micheltorena, he informed him what he had done, telling him he was acting only in defence of his property. When Weber met Micheltorena he relied upon strategy to accomplish his purpose. To do this he commanded his men to appear on the surrounding hills, and by riding quickly from one point to another give the appearance of a large army. When the scouts of the enemy appeared Weber's force drove them back. These manœuvres lasted for several days, until Castro, hearing of the brave stand of this handful of men, became ashamed of his cowardice and reënforced Weber's men. Micheltorena, finding that he then had a large force to encounter, made peace and agreed to leave the valley.'

There is no doubt that Weber took a prominent part among the foreigners of S. José, who were induced by the solicitations of A. M. Pico and other Californians to support their cause, that he commanded one of the companies that marched to Sta Teresa, and that the presence of his men had a wholesome effect in deterring Micheltorena from a conflict—if indeed he ever thought of fighting. As for the rest, however, it is wise to conclude, in the absence of corroborating evidence, that Weber, in claiming for himself such exclusive credit for having checked the general and saved S. José, drew very largely on his imagination for facts, and counted overmuch on the credulity or ignorance of his hearers.

citizens must by contributions aid him to carry out the terms of the treaty.[20]

Whatever may have been the secret purpose and ambition of the Californian leaders, it must be admitted that their actions had been entirely consistent with their avowed object, that of driving away the cholo soldiers; and had afforded no indication of any ulterior design against Micheltorena. I know of no good reason to suspect that they had any intention of deposing the governor if he should keep his agreement, or of violating their own obligations under the treaty of Santa Teresa. Had Micheltorena kept his promise, Alvarado's chances of regaining control of the government would have been slight indeed; and his ambitious hopes, if he had such hopes, rested on a very different foundation. In his letter of December 10th, already cited, he expressed his belief and that of his companions that Micheltorena had signed the treaty only as an expedient to gain time and es-

[20] Dec. 1, 1844, treaty of the Campo de Sta Teresa, or Rancho de Alvires, or Laguna Seca. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 39-41; and (without date) *Dept. St., Pap.*, MS., v. 101-2; also, as sent to Mexico and printed in *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 2. Art. 1. Batallon to be sent away in two months. 2. The 'division del norte' to retire to S. José mission, and the general's force to Monterey. 3. Entire amnesty for all who had taken part in the movement. 4. The resources of Mission S. José to be used for the support of the force quartered there. 5. The said force to be at the disposition of the govt as soon as art. 1 shall be fulfilled. 6. Horses of that force to be returned to private owners immediately after arrival at S. José. 7. Expenses incurred by that force or parties belonging to it to be paid from the public treasury after approval of each claim by the subscribers. 8. To the fulfilment of these articles his Excellency pledges his word of honor, signing with two of his chiefs. Signed, Juan B. Alvarado, José Castro. Subscribed to on condition (9) that the term named in art. 1 be 3 instead of 2 months; and (10) that citizens in easy circumstances shall contribute in cattle or produce a sufficient amount to enable the govt to comply with this agreement, Manuel Micheltorena, Félix Valdés, Luis G. Maciel.

The campaign and treaty of Sta Teresa are mentioned in Larkin's letter of March 22, 1845. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 35; and also in various newspaper communications—perhaps from Larkin also—republished in *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 211, 235–6; lxix. 203. It should be noted that Juan Alvires was ruined by Micheltorena's encampment at his place. In 1845 the rancho by a decision of the supreme court was ordered sold to pay his debt. A petition signed by Alvarado and Castro stated the cause of the trouble to be M.'s failure to pay as he had promised, with a view to some relief, but with results not recorded. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 125–6.

cape from the superior forces that opposed him, not intending to keep his faith, but to continue the struggle. The pronunciados had for the most part returned to their homes, leaving Castro with fifty men at San José, poorly armed, destitute, and constantly in fear of an attack from the general's forces. Confident that the war had only just begun, Alvarado was naturally more anxious than ever to secure the support of Vallejo. That his apprehensions, or hopes if the term be preferred, were well founded will presently appear.[21]

In a proclamation of December 16th, Micheltorena announced to the people that the cloud of civil war threatening such dire results had passed away, because he, "preferring the voice of humanity to the horrible roar of cannon," had flown to the front, not as a tyrant, but as a friend to those who led the movement. He had listened to their complaints, recognized the justice of some, and had not hesitated to promise relief; so that the citizens had retired to the bosom of their families, and peace was restored. "This frankness will always be the guiding-star of my proceedings," wrote the general.[22] Yet he had sent orders to Andrés Pico in the south to arm the militia in defence of the government;[23] and he had sent Colonel Tellez and Captain Mejía to Mexico for aid. In his report of December 12th, sent with these officers by the *Savannah*, a document which I have had occasion to quote several times before, he says plainly and with-

[21] In the letter cited Alvarado writes: 'If the plan had been to destroy the general with all his expedition, it could have been done in five minutes; but as it was merely to get rid of his batallon and preserve his govt, nothing could be done,' but assent to the treaty. Alvarado had been dangerously ill at S. José for several days after the treaty.

[22] Dec. 16, 1844, M.'s proclamation. *Earliest Print.: Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 27-9; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 128; *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 3. Dec. 18th, M. sends some copies of the proclamation to José Castro, stating also that he has sent Tellez to Mazatlan to get permission to send away the batallon. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 42-3. On Dec. 7th, he had written to Covarrubias in the south, that he had quelled the revolt by gentle means, and was confident of saving the ship from the storm. 'Andrés Pico must not forget my orders.' *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 114.

[23] *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 104-5; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., v. 243-4.

out any manifestation of shame: "I have put them off by promising to send away the *malos* within three months in order to gain that time, during which I expect the schooner, . . . remaining, I and my companions, with arms in our hands constantly and every night with kindled match; for the foe is cowardly, numerous, *muy de á caballo*, moving incredible distances from hour to hour, and therefore incapable of good faith, unworthy of confidence, and only capable of a surprise or *golpe de mano*"! He goes on to urge, it is true, that an order be issued for him to retire with his officers and men, "each one worthy of a statue," not because he had pledged his word, but because he had little hope for the sending of an army 1,500 or 2,000 strong to save the country.[24]

The general made no preparations whatever to comply with the treaty, but did all that he could to prepare for another resort to force. If he ever had any intention of keeping his promise, it soon yielded to the railleries of Tellez, who had not taken part in the campaign,[25] and to the reviving hope of success through the aid of foreigners. I have no doubt that his treachery was largely due to the promises and solicitations of Sutter and Graham; but on foreign interference I shall have more to say presently. As I have before remarked, there was no reason to suspect that the Californians were not acting in good faith. Their force had been for the most part dispersed; and they returned the horses to their owners as promised.[26] The article calling for contributions

[24] *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 59–60. The writer hoped to get a reply from Mexico early in March.

[25] Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 448, Arce, *Mem.*, MS., 41, and others state that Tellez was selected for the mission to Mexico chiefly because M. could no longer endure his reproaches for the cowardice displayed in the Sta Teresa campaign. Nearly all the Californian witnesses whom I have cited in this chapter speak in general terms of M.'s failure to do as he had agreed; and I need not repeat the list of references.

[26] Dec. 12th, Castro, writing to Micheltorena on this subject, seems to complain that the general's officers were attempting to utilize the returned horses for themselves! *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 118. Others say that an attempt was made to drill the batallon in cavalry tactics. M. never accused the Californians of breaking the compact except by failing to return some of the property, evidently but a pretext, even if partly true.

from citizens afforded an excellent basis for a disagreement; but it does not appear that he ever called for any such contributions, or complained that they were not paid. Without troubling himself to justify his actions, he went calmly ahead with his preparations, and awaited the organization of the foreign reënforcements, just as if the breaking of a solemn pledge was an ordinary method of gaining an advantage over his opponents. Larkin wrote of both parties producing different treaties, each denying the genuineness of that shown by the other;[27] but there is nothing to confirm that statement, to say nothing of its inherent improbability. Meanwhile the Californians throughout December did nothing but await developments, their leaders protesting against the general's policy, and Vallejo using all his influence to induce Micheltorena to keep his promise and to prevent the foreigners from interfering. Both Micheltorena's treachery and the policy of the foreigners strengthened in one sense the spirit of revolt, and created a personal opposition to the governor, that had not before existed; but the rebels were at the same time terrified, and became timid about engaging personally in such an unequal struggle. At no time in December did their military strength equal that which they had organized in November; and besides, they had lost for the most part the support of Weber's rifle company at San José.[28]

[27] *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 35.

[28] Dec. 11, 1844, Padre Mercado ordered to quit the north for seditious conduct by Castro. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 117. Dec. 12th, Castro to gov., assuring him of the good faith and friendship of himself and party. Entreats him not to resort again to force. *Id.*, xii. 118. Dec. 13th, C. to Alvarado. Reports that Tellez will come to attack them. Danger imminent. A. must come at once. Money must be obtained from Rae. He, C., has already pledged all his property. Horses must be had from S. Rafael. Victor Castro seems well disposed. Montenegro has not come. If A. goes to S. Francisco he must try to get arms and ammunition secretly. *Id.*, xii. 120. Dec. 13th, Vallejo to Sutter, explaining that by the late treaty all had been satisfactorily settled, since the 'prætorian guard' of criminals was to be sent away, and there was no opposition to Micheltorena. There was no ground whatever to fear any further plots against the govt. *Id.*, xii. 119. Dec. 14th, Osio to V. Appearances indicate that M. will violate his pledge, though he has always been regarded as a man of honor. *Id.*, xii. 121. Dec. 19th, same

There are two communications of Micheltorena written in December, which I give in a note as the best possible source of information respecting his policy as declared by himself at the time. The first was addressed to Sutter on the 23d. It showed a perfect understanding with that officer, and contained instructions for military movements in the near future. It also contained a brief defence of the governor's proposed treachery, in the form of a claim, doubtless false, that he had seen a plan against the government, Mexicans, and foreigners, of later date than the treaty of Santa Teresa. The second letter was addressed to Castro on the 29th, in reply to that officer's protest of the 27th against his apparent intention to renew hostilities. It was for the most part a vague and evasive plea, the only definite statement being the false one that no orders had been given to Sutter. Not a word to Castro of new plans or of bad faith on the part of the rebels.[29]

to same. The general sent commissioners to Mexico, but does not seem disposed to attack Castro at S. José. *Id.*, xii. 125. Dec. 20th, gov. to Ábrego, $5,887 to be placed to the credit of Vallejo for supplies furnished. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 134. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 435, says he went to S. Pablo to consult with Alvarado and Castro, and in consequence of the general's treachery at one time offered to join them if they would give him exclusive command and limit the war to the expulsion of the batallon—which Castro refused.

[29] Dec. 23d, Micheltorena to Sutter. 'I have received the letters of yourself, of Pablo, and of Juan. I entirely approve what is said in that of the last. What you may do, I approve; what you promise, I will fulfil; what you spend, I will pay. They showed me a plan of two articles' (treaty of Sta Teresa), 'promising to sustain me, and asking the punishment of the bad men. This was just, and I granted it. Afterward I have seen a real (verdadero) plan against the government, against every Mexican and foreigner. To a brave man like you orders are not given. To act is to conquer. The cursed schooner' (the *California*, expected from Mexican ports), 'which I cannot lose with swords and money and saddles, and the arms and powder here detain me; but if the former arrives, I will go with more forces to meet and aid you. No attention is to be paid to papers or statements of anybody. The country claims our services; our personal security demands them; and the government will know how to compensate all for them. I approve entirely your second letter brought by Juan Moreno. God and Liberty. Monterey, Dec. 23, 1844. Manuel Micheltorena. If you have not started for any reason, without need of new orders on learning that I move from Monterey to San Juan, you will march immediately, and I will calculate the time to act upon them (rubric). D. Juan A. Suter, Señor Capitan.' In *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 4.

Dec. 29th, M. to Castro. 'Convulsions which disturb the public order can produce nothing but disorder. The springs of society being broken, each one

In the south little occurred in connection with the revolution before the end of 1844, and of that little still less is known. The northern leaders doubtless had an understanding, and kept up a correspondence with certain individuals at Santa Bárbara and Los Angeles; but none of the communications have been brought to light by my researches. At Angeles, when news of the rising came in a letter addressed to J. M. Villavicencio, an ayuntamiento meeting was held November 29th, and after a most patriotic speech from Juan Bandini, it was resolved to invite the junta departamental to meet and take the necessary steps for the preservation of order. But the members of the junta declined to accept the invitation, on the ground that only the governor had power to convoke that body.[30] Early in December there came orders from Micheltorena to Andrés Pico, that he, acting with Pio Pico and José A. Carrillo, should organize and call into service the militia, in accordance with the regulations of July. The people assembled the 14th at the alcalde's summons and declared their fidelity to Mexico; but protested, through six representatives, chosen to consult with the military authorities, against being called into service when so far as was known there was no danger of foreign invasion.[31] Evidently they had no relish for a campaign against Californians in the north without prospective pay.

seems to think and act as he deems best. I have said, and I repeat, that if judgment is used, I consider myself capable of saving the department in its crisis by gentle and politic means; but if no judgment is shown, and other methods are followed, I shall also know how to conduct myself energetically. The southern forces would be here already if I had not directed them to await my orders; and Sutter has received no orders to move or not to do so. If he marches, it is in consequence of your revolution. Just as you instigate some citizens to revolt against the legitimate authority, so others have moved in its defence; and the fault will always be on the side of the rebels. I have persecuted nobody; those who are at home live in tranquillity. Neither as governor nor as individual have I failed either in friendship or duty; and if there is anything to accuse me of, it is only an excess of leniency, consideration, and love for the people. God and Liberty!' *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 57–8; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 103.

[30] *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., v. 237–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 34–6.

[31] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 41–3; *Id.*, v. 102–3; *Id., Ang.*, xi. 134; xii. 104–5; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., v. 243–4.

Only half a dozen could be induced to sign the rolls; and Andrés Pico is said to have had some difficulty in defending these from a mob.[32] Farther north, at Santa Bárbara, on November 28th, José Ramon Carrillo and José Lugo with six companions pronounced in favor of the northern movement, and arrested the alcaldes. Next day they repented, asked pardon, and were themselves locked up. All were pardoned by Micheltorena, who also thanked the alcaldes for their patriotic conduct.[33]

There was no good reason why the foreign residents should take part on either side in the revolution of 1844–5. In theory, as good citizens, they should have given their moral support to the legitimate ruler had his authority been threatened, while their sympathy was also due to the Californians in their justifiable efforts to get rid of the convict army; but, excepting some old residents married to natives, they were not influenced by either motive. The movement was not in any sense one against the foreigners, nor were the interests of the latter in any way threatened by its success, even if it was, as some suspected, a plot to depose the governor in favor of Alvarado and Castro. Micheltorena's policy had been very favorable to foreign settlers, and so had that of Alvarado before him. Both, while entertaining, professedly at least, a patriotic horror of foreign political encroachment, favored the coming of all who were willing to become Mexican citizens and obey the laws. The only difference was that Micheltorena had had more applications for land grants and passports than Alvarado, and had been less careful to insist on full compliance with legal formalities. There was no ground

[32] Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 55, says the people resisted in arms under the leadership of Hilario Varela; and Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 104–5, tells us that his brother had to train a cannon on the crowd.

[33] Dec. 13, 1844, Castro to Alvarado, enclosing copies of gov.'s letters of Dec. 7th to Covarrubias, Cárlos Carrillo, and the alcaldes. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 114.

for fear—nor indeed was there any fear on the part of leading foreigners, though Sutter, Bidwell, and others have implied that such was the case—that the success of the Californians would result in oppression of immigrants.[34] Yet most foreigners in the north supported Micheltorena; and it is necessary to explain their motives, which, though many and varying with different individuals, are by no means involved in mystery.

John A. Sutter acted in this matter, of course, as in all others, solely for his own interests. Both Micheltorena and Alvarado had been his friends, his obligations to the latter being much greater than to the former; but he thought little of these things, and did not even act on the theory that Micheltorena was a ruler more easily managed than the other. He went directly to the governor, warned him that trouble was brewing, and made a contract to aid him with all the force at his command, in consideration of having all his expenses paid, and of receiving a large grant of land in addition to that already obtained from Alvarado. It has been suspected by the Californians that a much greater recompense was promised before the revolution was ended, perhaps including means to pay the Russian debt; but there are no proofs that such was the case. Sutter pretended at the time, in his correspondence with Vallejo and others, to be acting from a patriotic desire to support the legitimate government against the ambitious plots of Alvarado and Castro. A little later, when defeat had endangered his personal prospects, he set up the plea that he had as a military officer merely obeyed the orders of his

[34] The idea has also been more or less current that the movement against Micheltorena was favorable to the success of English over American schemes; but though Forbes and Rae seem to have given it some encouragement, yet it will be remembered that Hartnell represented M. as not only favorable to but desirous of having a personal interest in the English project. No theory but had its advocates. Rivera, *Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 697, tells us that M. was ousted by a party favoring annexation to the U. S.! and Pio Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 103–4, found some reason to suspect that the gov. had a project of uniting with Sutter to declare independence!

superior. In later years he was anxious to be regarded as having been in this affair the champion of American interests, but he has also admitted the real motives of his action,[35] which without his confession were indeed apparent enough.

Isaac Graham's motive was to avenge what he chose to regard as his wrongs at the hands of Alvarado and Castro in 1840—wrongs for which, largely through the influence of Californians, he had not been able to get the damages he had claimed. Some of Graham's old-time companions in exile acted from the same motives, and they controlled others by their personal influence. Sutter also controlled some in the same way; but he had a much more powerful lever. Not only did he insist on a land grant for himself, but he obtained a document which authorized him practically to grant lands to settlers in the Sacramento Valley, which of course put the settlers largely in his power. There were many new-comers who had never come in contact with Californians or Mexicans, knew nothing of the true state of affairs, and were ready to believe any kind of a story Sutter chose to tell. Yet another class, which furnished many men for active service, was that of Americans who shared the views of Hastings and Graham, believed in annexation by Texan methods, were anxious to have a part in any civil dissensions that might occur, and did not care in the least on which side they fought so long as it was against Mexicans or Californians.

At Monterey Larkin, and some others of the merchants probably, had a business interest in Micheltorena's success. Other foreign residents were personally well disposed toward the governor, whose liberal commercial policy pleased them; but at the same time they recognized the justice of the popular clamor against the convicts. There was therefore a difference of opinion, resulting in a kind of tacit agreement to

[35] *Sutter's Pers. Remin.*, MS., 78–88. He admits that the contract was made in Monterey before the revolt broke out.

remain neutral, with, as I suppose, a promise on the part of Larkin and others that during Micheltorena's absence the capital should not be allowed to fall into the hands of the rebels. Undoubtedly, in addition to the classes of foreigners I have mentioned, there were many whose sympathy was on the side of the Californians; but to them it seemed important above all else that the foreigners should not quarrel among themselves, and they therefore wisely remained inactive, or limited their efforts to opposing Sutter's plans and persuading their friends not to meddle in quarrels that did not concern them. A few seem to have joined Sutter's force with the deliberate intention of disorganizing it, and in this way did some excellent service for their adopted country. Having thus explained the motives by which the foreigners were influenced, I proceed to present a brief narrative of preparations before the end of the year, on which available information consists mainly of correspondence bearing on Sutter's movements and designs.

The militia organization ordered in the summer to repel American invasion included a company at New Helvetia under Sutter as captain, who soon notified the governor that the force was ready to defend *la patria*.[36] In October Sutter and Bidwell went down to Monterey. At San José on the way they learned from Forbes and others that a revolt was being planned, and they warned the governor of the danger on arrival at the capital. Then the contract was made, Sutter promising to render assistance whenever called upon. He returned home by water by San Francisco,[37] and at once began his preparations for a campaign. Bid-

[36] July 23, 1844, S. to gov. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 84–5. He says Sinclair and Rufus are his officers. The artillery only requires practice. Many men besides those enrolled will serve; and he has 40 Indians who shoot as well as anybody. If muskets are sent, he will organize a company of Indian grenadiers.

[37] *Sutter's Pers. Remin.*, MS., 78–88. He went up to S. F. on the *Don Quixote*. He says, without any foundation I suppose, that hardly had he left Yerba Buena on his launch when an order arrived from Castro for his arrest. Wood of the *Savannah*, *Wandering Sketches*, 227–8, met S. at Monterey.

well remained for a month or more until after the revolt, and on his way home met Micheltorena returning from the campaign. The governor said he had been unable to succeed for want of horses; but sent assurances to Sutter and to all Americans of his friendship and of his ability to suppress the revolt! From San José Alvarado and Castro also sent friendly greetings to Sutter.[38]

On Bidwell's return to New Helvetia, Sutter called upon all foreigners in the north for aid. He even had the assurance to inform Vallejo of what he was doing, calling upon him for horses, and assuming that the natural and proper thing to be done as a matter of course was that the two should work together to save the country from the attacks of rebels! Vallejo's reply was to send a copy of the treaty of Santa Teresa, by which, as he assured Sutter, all difficulties had been peaceably settled. There was no danger or opposition whatever to the governor, but if such should arise, he

[38] *Bidwell's Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 119–22. In his *Diary*, p. 5, Sutter says: 'In the fall 1844 I went to Monterey with Major Bidwell and a few armed men how it was customary to travell at these times, to pay a visit to Gen'l Micheltorrena. I has been received with the greatest civil and military honors. One day he gave a great diner, after diner all the Troupes were parading, and in the evening a balloon was sent to the higher regions, etc. At the time it looked very gloomy, the people of the Country was arming and preparing to make a Revolution, and I got some certain and sure information of the British Consul and other Gentlemen of my acquaintance, which I visited on my way to Monterey. They did not know that the General and myself were friends, and told and discovered me the whole plan, that in a short time the people of the country will be ready to blockade the General and his troupes in Monterey, and then take him prisoner and send him and his soldiers back to Mexico and make a Gov'r of their own people, etc. I was well aware what we could expect should they succeed to do this, they would drive us foreigners all very soon out of the country how they have done it once, in the winter of 1839. Capt. Vioget has already been engaged by Castro and Alvarado to be ready with his vessel to take the Gen'l and his soldiers to Mexico. I had a confidential conversation with Gen'l Micheltorena, who received me with great honors and Distinction in Monterey, after having him informed of all what is going on in the Country, he took his measure in a Counsel of war in which I has been present, I received my Orders to raise such a large auxiliary force as I possibly could, and to be ready at his Order, at the same time I received some Cartridges and some small Arms, which I had shiped on board the *Alert*, and took a passage myself for San francisco. if I had travelled by land Castro would have taken me prisoner in San Juan, where he was laying in Ambush for me... After my arrival at the fort, I began to organize a force for the General, regular drill of the Indian Infanterie took place, the Mounted Rifle Company about 100 men of all Nations was raised, of which Capt. Gantt was Commander.'

would be the first to defend him, and would gladly accept Sutter's aid. To this Sutter replied, December 17th, that, as he was informed on good authority, though this was doubtless unknown to the colonel, Castro was gathering a force at San José, of course with the intention of violating the treaty, so that there could be no doubt of his own duty to defend the governor.[39]

Vallejo now addressed to Sutter an earnest and forcible remonstrance against his proposed interference. It was rumored, he said, that Micheltorena contemplated breaking his solemn agreement. Should he do so, encouraged by offers of foreign aid, the country would be plunged into the horrors of civil war. The people had risen to rid themselves of a band of convicts, and could not justly be termed rebels. Happily, they had accomplished their purpose without bloodshed. Why should foreigners, who have been most kindly treated by all parties, interfere to renew the quarrel? Sutter was entreated to hesitate and reflect before taking a step that would not only encourage the governor—whose authority was not in any way threatened—to violate his pledge, but must seriously disturb the friendly relations that had existed between the Californians and foreigners.[40] This appeal did not reach the foreigners as a class, to many of whom its force would have been apparent; and it had no effect whatever on Sutter, who simply went on with his preparations. His agents seem to have travelled over the whole northern frontier in quest of supplies, taking some of Vallejo's horses at Soscol and

[39] Dec. 17, 1844, S. to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 123. From this it is evident that V. had written on Dec. 15th. In *Id.*, xii. 119, 122, I have a letter of V. on Dec. 13th, and of S. on Dec. 15th. They are copies from a suspicious source, and therefore, as there is some discrepancy in dates, I have paid no attention to their contents, though the general purport seems all right.

[40] Dec. 18, 1844, V. to S. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 44-50; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 302-4; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 120. It is of course clear to the reader that Sutter's claim that Castro was collecting a force at S. José had no weight; for by the treaty he was allowed to maintain the organization until the batallon should be sent away; he had in reality disbanded a large part of his force; and Micheltorena's actions were ample justification of all possible precautions.

Petaluma, threatening even to attack Sonoma, and talking very freely about their intention to capture Alvarado and Castro dead or alive.[41] Before the end of the month, Castro wrote to Sutter, demanding explanations with regard to his military preparations in a time of peace. A copy of this communication was sent by Castro to Micheltorena, with a letter in which he announced his belief that Sutter, under pretext of defending the government, was preparing for a movement in the interest of American adventurers and invaders. He declared his own purpose to resist by force the attack which Sutter was said to contemplate on the pueblos, and expressed his grief and surprise at—or rather his unwillingness to believe—the current reports that the governor had authorized Sutter's actions with an intention of violating the treaty of December 1st, and thus plunging the country in civil dissensions.[42]

Most of the Californians insist that Sutter offered Micheltorena to bring him the heads of Castro and Alvarado; but this charge perhaps does not rest on any very strong foundation, though Alvarado goes so far as to quote literally the broken Spanish in which the promise was made. On the 22d of December Micheltorena signed and forwarded the document confirming all land grants approved by Sutter, a most potent agent for enlistment purposes, which figured prominently in later litigation as the 'Sutter general title.'[43] Also on or about the 22d Sutter's

[41] Dec. 19th, Osio to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 125. Reply. *Id.*, xxxiv. 85. No date, V. to gov., narrating Sutter's outrages at Soscol and Napa. *Id.*, xiv. 30. Dec. 23d, V. to Alvarado. *Id.*, xii. 126. No date, same to same. *Id.*, xiv. 31, with allusions to other corresp. not extant. It would seem that many of the Californian rancheros aided Sutter, perhaps more or less against their will.

[42] Dec. 24th, C. to S. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 59-60. Dec. 27th, C. to M. *Id.*, i. 51-6; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 119-21. General mention of Sutter's preparations in Dec. 1844, in *Streeter's Recoll.*, MS., 53-5; *Belden's Hist. Stat.*, MS., 36; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 149-50; *S. José Pioneer*, March 6, 1880; *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 18; *Brooks' Four Months*, 34; *Buelna, Notas*, MS., 1-5; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 173; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 235-45; v. 67.

[43] *Land Commission*, passim; *U. S. Sup. Court Repts*, 21 Howard, 255, 262, 408, 412, etc. I shall have more to say on this subject in another part of my work.

launch made its appearance at Yerba Buena with a small cannon and other arms on board. Some of the inhabitants, apparently under the leadership of Francisco Guerrero and Dr Ancelin, managed to capture this armament, and to smuggle it across the bay for the use of Castro's army; but it was deemed politic, though Sutter's plans were well known, to wait for him to commit the first act of hostility; and all was therefore sent back and restored to the launch.[44] Another event that occurred about the same time, and merits attention here, was the arrest of Charles M. Weber. This gentleman, it will be remembered, had aided the Californians in the campaign of Santa Teresa; and now, while it does not appear that he or his companions desired to extend their service beyond the protection of San José, he was strongly opposed to Sutter's plan of interference. Confident that the foreigners were being induced by false representations into a most unwise action, he went up to New Helvetia to put matters in their true light. This was exactly what Sutter and his companions did not desire, as it would interfere with their plans; so they simply arrested Weber as a plotter against the government, and kept him under arrest till the campaign was over, and his tongue could do no harm.[45]

[44] Castro, in his letter to Sutter of Dec. 24th, says an order has been issued to restore all to its original condition. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 60. Pinto, in a letter to the administrator of customs at Monterey, speaks of the affair, names Ancelin as a leader, and says the custom-house boat was used to transport the cannon, and was damaged. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 290. Robert Birnie, *Pioneer Soc. Arch.*, MS., 89-91, relates their having borrowed the custom-house boat for a collecting trip round the bay. He agreed to carry Francisco Guerrero across to S. Leandro to join Castro. Guerrero put the swivel-gun and other arms from Sutter's launch into the boat without Birnie's knowledge, though he had some trouble to make Sutter believe in his innocence.

[45] In *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 18; *Marysville Appeal*, March 16, 1879; *Yuba Co. Hist.*, 30, is given a fac-simile of the following document: 'We the subscribers chosen as council of war have unanimously resolved the following: 1st, that Mr Weber be put in irons and detained in the fort (New Helvetia) until such time as we may receive orders from his Excellency the governor as regards his disposal. 2d, that Mr Pearson B. Reading be requested to keep Mr Weber in a convenient room, and afford him such necessaries as circumstances may admit of and his safe detention may require—J. A. Sutter, John Townsend, William Dickey, Isaac Graham, Edward McIntosh, Jasper O'Farrell, S. J. Hensley, John Bidwell, secretary.'

CHAPTER XXI.

EXPULSION OF GOVERNOR MICHELTORENA.

1845.

THE GOVERNOR BREAKS THE TREATY OF SANTA TERESA—FOREIGN INTERFERENCE—FEARS OF CALIFORNIANS—SUTTER JOINS MICHELTORENA AT SALINAS—CAPTURE OF MANUEL CASTRO—ALVARADO AND CASTRO MARCH SOUTH, FOLLOWED BY MICHELTORENA AND SUTTER—CAPTURE OF THE GARRISON AT ANGELES—CONVERSION OF THE ABAJEÑOS—NEGOTIATIONS AT SANTA BÁRBARA—THE CAMPAIGN OF SAN BUENAVENTURA—CAMPAIGN OF CAHUENGA—WITHDRAWAL OF THE FOREIGNERS—CAPTURE OF SUTTER—A BLOODLESS BATTLE—DEFEAT OF MICHELTORENA—TREATY—PICO GOVERNOR, AND CASTRO COMANDANTE GENERAL—MICHELTORENA AND THE BATALLON SENT AWAY—HIS LATER CAREER—AFFAIRS IN THE NORTH—SUTTER AT HOME.

MICHELTORENA had resolved to break the treaty signed by him at the Laguna de Alvires on December 1st. It was a treacherous and at the same time a most foolish resolve, since it changed the revolution from one directed exclusively against the convicts, in whose expulsion he should have had as deep an interest as others, to one against himself, with a popular feeling that had not before existed. The determination was wise enough, however, though none the less treacherous, if, as some believe, he desired to be forced out of the country. Sutter had promised to support Micheltorena in his war against the Californians, and had raised a force of foreigners and Indians for that purpose. This as a stroke of business on the part of the Swiss, or of revenge on that of Isaac Graham, calls perhaps for no very severe criticism; but for the mass of foreign residents it was a most unjustifiable,

uncalled-for, and injudicious interference in matters that nowise concerned them. Many would not have engaged in the enterprise had they been aware of its true nature. Others desired a quarrel with the Californians, with the hope that it might result in—something or other, they hardly cared what. The people of the country were of course greatly alarmed; and many rumors more or less absurd were in circulation. It was feared—and there was no absurdity in this—that Sutter's taking up arms for Micheltorena was but a pretext to seize northern California. Many believed that the governor had promised to the strangers the lands and cattle of all who opposed him, that foreigners and Mexicans were to possess the country. The arming of the Indians was another terrible thing in the eyes of Californians, it being currently rumored that Sutter had armed 2,000 savages to be turned loose on the country. The leaders of the rebels, except from a purely military point of view, were strengthened by the popular feeling that was springing up against an administration that would expose the country to the inroads of foreigners and Indians in addition to those of the convicts; and the new aspect of affairs was all the more favorable to them if they entertained the ambitious schemes attributed to them, for now they were amply justified, and would be sustained by all, in deposing Micheltorena if they could.

On the 1st of January, 1845, Sutter marched with his force from New Helvetia to attack Castro and Alvarado at San José. His force consisted of about 220 men—that is, a company of foreign riflemen, foreigners of different nationalities, about 100 strong, under Captain Gantt; a company of about 100 Indians commanded by Ernest Rufus; eight or ten artillerymen in charge of a brass field-piece; Dr Townsend and John Sinclair as aides-de-camp, Jasper O'Farrell as quartermaster, S. J. Hensley as commissary, John

Bidwell as secretary, and a few subordinate officers.[1] P. B. Reading was left in command of the garrison at the fort. The line of march was by way of Marsh's rancho, where Marsh joined, though he was no friend of the cause; Suñol's rancho, where, as Sutter states, they captured one of Castro's spies; San José Mission, where many of the men got drunk; San José, where the liquor-shops were kept closed, and whence nearly all the Californians under A. M. Pico had fled; and thence by San Juan to the Salinas, in a week or more from New Helvetia, where they were joined in a few days by Micheltorena. From San José a committee of citizens, consisting of Forbes, Suñol, and Gulnac, came out to meet the army and dissuade its leaders from continuing in their unwise course; but without success, as Sutter declared that he had gone too far to turn back.[2]

Somewhere on the way to Salinas Sutter's men were lucky enough to capture no less a personage than Manuel Castro, the original leader of the revolt, and possibly the person termed a spy in Sutter's narrative. Perhaps, however, the capture was effected before Sutter's arrival by a party of men organized to join him from the region of San José and Santa Cruz. Several participants tell the story, but none succeeds

[1] This is Sutter's own statement in a letter of Jan. 12th to Flügge, which he signs as 'Comandante Militar del Norte.' *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 65-7; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 123. In his *Pers. Remin.*, MS., Sutter says he had 400 men, including 40 Californian soldiers who had deserted from Vallejo at Sonoma—and later deserted from Sutter also! Bidwell, *Cal. 1841-8*, MS., 122, says there were about 80 riflemen and 60 Indians. John Chamberlain, *Memoirs*, MS., 14-20, who was one of Gantt's company, gives some particulars of the organization. He says many joined the company against their wishes. Wiggins, *Remin.*, MS., 8-11, was another member. Sutter also mentions in his *Diary*, p. 5, the deserters from Vallejo, and the departure 'with music and flying colors on the 1st of January, 1845, to join the general and comply with his orders.' No list of Capt. Gantt's company, so far as I know, is extant; but I name the following who seem to have belonged to the expedition, though some of these did not go south: Sutter, Gantt, Coates (lieut), Bidwell, Hensley, Sinclair, O'Farrell, Graham, Coombs, Swift, Bird, Dickey, Sherreback, Wyman, Murphy (3 or 4), Chamberlain, Sheldon, Wiggins, McVicker, McCoon, Knight, McIntosh, Lindsay, Bray, Merritt, Keyser, Kelsey (2 or 3), Nye, Greenwood (2 or 3), Martin (2), Green, Bennett, Clark.

[2] Jan. 3, 1845, letter of Jesus Vallejo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 3; *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 18; *S. José Pioneer*, March 6, 1880.

in making the particulars quite clear. Castro was taken in the vicinity of Gilroy's rancho while on his way with one companion from San José to rejoin the rebel force, his captors being Bennett, Carmichael, Coppinger, and McVicker. They were pursued by the Californians toward the San Joaquin, and were overtaken in the Pacheco Pass, the result being that Castro was given up in exchange for Charles Brown, the only foreigner in the pursuing party.[3]

On January 4th Micheltorena issued a proclamation as follows: "Don Joaquin de la Torre, Don Francisco Rico, Don Manuel Castro, Jesus and Francisco Pico, and others having failed in their obligation to the government by not returning horses and cattle to their owners as they had solemnly promised, binding and carrying off N. Alvarado, a soldier of Monterey, forgetting my consideration and leniency, and revolting anew after several had come to ask for *papeles de seguridad*, and while they were going and coming without the slightest insult and with absolute liberty, as everybody has seen—this comandancia general finds itself in the unavoidable necessity of using its powers against the ingrates who may remain with arms in their hands. Therefore, and having to march at the head of my troops, I declare the city of Monterey under martial law, the comandante de batallon Don Juan J. Abella being intrusted with its defence, aided by the brave officers and troops whom I leave under his orders, and with the coöperation of the vecinos whom I called to arms, and of the two judges, it being the duty of all citizens to protect their hearths and to maintain public order, while I in the mean time have the pleasure of reëstablishing it and of bringing you

[3] *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 107-15; *Brown's Statement*, MS., 19-23; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 19-20. Winston Bennett, *Pioneer of '43*, was one of the party of 15 from Sta Cruz on their way to join Sutter. He says Castro and another were captured, and were exchanged for Brown and John Carpenter. Bennett did not go to the south. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 56-7, tells us of a party of 40 men under Hensley, attacked and defeated by the alcalde of S. F. and Romualdo Pacheco. There is no other evidence of such an occurrence.

the olive of peace which certain perverse men have stolen from you."[4] Two days later Micheltorena marched out from the capital to effect a junction with Sutter and crush the rebel force. He had, as in the former campaign, about 150 men of the batallon, reënforced probably by twenty-five or thirty Mexican residents of Monterey who went as volunteers. At Salinas, on or about the 9th, the general joined Captain Sutter. He had now a total force, Mexicans, foreigners, and Indians, of about 400 men; but the foe had not waited to be crushed.[5]

Meanwhile Alvarado and Castro, whose force had dwindled to less than 100 armed Californians, were not much discouraged by the overwhelming force by which they were threatened, though of course there was no thought of risking a fight with Gantt's riflemen. With new obstacles something of Alvarado's old-time ability and energy came back to him. It was resolved to transfer the struggle to the south, where the feeling against the convicts was already strong; where the people would be much excited by Micheltorena's treachery; and still more by his sending against them an armed force of foreigners and Indians; and where, should other motives fail, a powerful appeal might be made to local pride by an offer of the governorship or capital. As to the foreigners, Alvarado understood perfectly the circumstances under which they had enlisted; and he had every reason to hope that the company could not very long be kept together, under the explanations and influence

[4] Jan. 4, 1845, M.'s proclamation. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iii. 111-12. Jan. 7th, Abella's order in consequence of preceding, about precautions to be taken with persons entering the town. *Id.*, iii. 112-13. Jan. 25th, Larkin writes that 'there are perhaps 100 foreigners standing guard in Monterey and other places to support Gen. Micheltorena.' *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 17-18.

[5] Larkin, in his letters of the time, *Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 19-20, 35; *Id., Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 12, gives the date of leaving Monterey as Jan. 6th, as does Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 212-13. Larkin gives M.'s force in one place as 150 soldiers and some citizens, and in another as from 150 to 200 Mexicans. Sutter, in his *Pers. Remin.*, MS., says M. marched out with 800 men, leaving 200 in Monterey! In his *Diary*, however, he puts the united force on the Salinas at 600 men.

of Marsh and others, who doubtless joined the force with the deliberate intention of disorganizing it, and of preventing a conflict between the foreigners as a class and the Californians.

The rebel army, ninety strong, left San José January 2d for the south.[6] There seems to have been a plan of attacking the batallon at Monterey, but if so it was abandoned. At Alisal rancho on the 6th, the same day that the general left Monterey, Alvarado and Castro addressed to Micheltorena the following communication: "Señor, when the division of the north, trusting in your word of honor, signed the treaty of December 1st, which, made on the field of Santa Teresa, restored peace to the department, you did not fail to make every effort to assure us both verbally and in writing of your good wishes and firm resolve to comply religiously with that solemn agreement celebrated in the most formal manner. Our conduct has given no cause for you to doubt our good faith; but notwithstanding this, you, as appears from convincing proofs in writing, were forming a combination with the foreigner Sutter to surprise us at San José with 200 adventurers from the United States. It was hardly credible that you in the midst of peace should attempt the ruin of ourselves and our families, still less of a country intrusted by the supreme government to your care; but in view of this invasion, instigated by you, your black intent became evident. Sir, you have aroused the country; within three days you will be united with this enemy of our country, a most infamous proceeding for a Mexican general. The sons of California will do us justice, and we will

[6] Jan. 3d, Jesus Vallejo to his brother in Sonoma. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 3. Sutter's version in his *Diary*, 5, is as follows: 'Castro had his headquarters then in the mission of San José, he did not expect us so soon, as he was just commencing to fortify himself, he ran away with his Garrison, was collecting a stronger force, and want to trouble us on our March, but as he saw that I was on a good Qui Vive for him, he left for Monterey to unite with the forces that was blockading the General and his troops, and advanced or runed for the lower country, to call or force the people there to take Arms against the government.'

shed our blood rather than permit our country to endure this infamous oppression. You are going to join that band of adventurers at San Juan, but do not flatter yourself that our lives will be destroyed by those bandits to whom you have promised our ranchos and property."[7] They seem to have started immediately on their march to Los Angeles, where, as we shall see, they arrived the 21st. They could not have had much more than 100 men at the start, though some recruits were gained on the way. No details of the march are known.[8]

On the 13th, a week after Castro's departure, Micheltorena and Sutter started from Salinas in what they termed a pursuit, though they never came within a hundred miles of the rebels till the latter came back from Los Angeles to meet them. Before starting they had a suspicion of what Alvarado's policy was likely to be in the south; for they wrote to Flügge, an old retainer of Sutter's, as the only man except Andrés Pico in whom confidence was felt, asking him to take steps to prevent the schooner *California* from falling into the hands of the rebels if she should arrive at San Pedro. Sutter also wrote to another German friend, to defend his men against charges that had been made that they were serving for pay, and not for patriotism. He seemed to fear that foreigners in the south might be induced to take part against the general.[9]

Micheltorena's progress was extremely slow. Having an infirmity which prevented his riding, he was drawn in a kind of carriage. Sometimes he halted for a day or two, and then would advance but three

[7] Jan. 6, 1845, A. and C. to M. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 61-3; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 124. There is more in the document, but utterly unintelligible. These men acted well, but on this occasion they wrote some very nonsensical sentences.

[8] Janssens, *Vida*, MS., 181-5, speaks of having talked with Castro as he passed his rancho. He also says that orders were issued for the arrest of Covarrubias and Juan Camarillo, the former escaping and the latter being paroled. Garcia, *Hechos*, MS., 81, joined the force at S. Luis Obispo.

[9] Jan. 12th, S. and M. to Flügge. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 65-7; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 122-3. No date, S. to Gessen, fragment. *Id*, vi. 140-1.

or four miles in a day. Cattle were taken for subsistence wherever there were any left to take. "By the time he arrives in Santa Bárbara," writes Larkin to Parrott, "Castro may be in Monterey. The foreigners now are very anxious to meet the Californians; but in a few weeks they will become tired and perhaps leave the general and go home to their farms. In this case Castro may win the day."[10] And indeed, the foreign auxiliaries were disgusted with the snail's pace at which they advanced. Some deserted; and many more, from this cause and from Marsh's explanations, were in a state of mind tending to desertion. Nothing of importance occurred on the way until by the Gaviota Pass they arrived early in February at Santa Bárbara. Here they found no adherents, and were urged in vain by leading citizens to suspend hostilities; and here, and at the Rincon, a little farther on, they encamped for more than a week in the rain, and had some negotiations with representatives of the foe, which I shall notice a little later.[11]

At Los Angeles the troubles connected with an attempt of the Picos and Carrillo to organize a militia

[10] Jan. 21, 1845, L. to P. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 12. Also other letters of Jan. 25th and March 22d. *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 35; ii. 17-20.

[11] Sutter, in his *Personal Reminiscences*, MS., takes special pride in noting that Micheltorena treated him as an equal on the march, making him a colonel, intrusting him with the active leadership, and giving him a special bodyguard of 25 men. Mrs Ávila, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 3–5, relates that Miguel Ávila was reported to the gov. by Bonilla to be engaged in a plan to seize the *California* on her arrival at S. Luis Obispo, for Castro. Accordingly a party was sent to Ávila's rancho to arrest him; and he was saved from being shot only by Mrs Á.'s efforts in forwarding to the general two mule-loads of delicacies for his table! Janssens, *Vida*, MS., 181-5, was interviewed by Micheltorena, as by Castro, and furnished some supplies, for which he got no pay. M. seemed to dread overtaking the foe for fear blood might be shed. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 447-50, gives some unimportant details of the route. He says the Barbareños offered to defend M. if he would send the convicts away. The following authorities speak of M.'s 'pursuit' of Castro without adding anything to what I have given. *Bandini, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 106-9; *Gonzalez, Memorias*, MS., 13-18; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 19; *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 449-50; *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 58-60; *Nidever's Life*, MS., 110-11; *Rico, Mem.*, MS., 10-11; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 95-6; *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 156-9; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 125-7; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 135; *Davis' Glimpses*, MS., 121-2; *Ezquer, Mem.*, MS., 19; *German, Sucesos*, MS., 5-6.

force for Micheltorena's defence, as already noted,[12] were still in progress, the authorities not having as yet succeeded in convincing the citizens that any such organization was necessary,[13] when the northern force under Alvarado and Castro arrived unexpectedly in the city. During the night of January 20th, an advance detachment of that force, twenty-five or thirty strong, under Joaquin de la Torre, suddenly entered the town and attacked the barrack, or the curate's house used temporarily as a barrack, which was occupied by a small garrison under Lieutenant Medina of the batallon. The place was taken after a fight, in which several men were killed or wounded, the leader of the attacking party being one of the latter. Little more is known, there being no contemporaneous record. I give some particulars in a note.[14] Most of the Californians state that Andrés Pico was captured with the garrison, and that it was with some difficulty that Torre's men were kept from wreaking vengeance

[12] See chap. xx. of this volume.

[13] Jan. 17th, Pio Pico to alcalde, an unimportant communication on the subject, complaining that the escuadron de auxiliares had not been put under his command. He is now going back home, having done his duty. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 67; *Id., Ang.*, xi. 136. In his *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 106, Pico says he was ordered by Micheltorena to raise funds for the organization of civic troops; and was absent at San Juan Capistrano for that purpose when he heard of Castro's arrival at Angeles by a letter from Castro himself.

[14] Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 56, asserts that one of Medina's men was killed; and that the alcalde and several others were immediately arrested. Rico, *Mem.*, MS., 11–12, says there were three killed and six wounded. Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 106–7, has it that one man known as Juan Tamber, 'Juan the drummer,' was killed in the fight, and later José M. Barreras of the garrison was shot in cold blood as he was trying to escape over the wall. García, *Hechos*, MS., 83, names the drummer and a civilian Olivares as wounded on Castro's side; and one Soto as the man who killed one of the garrison. Several agree that the latter was killed while trying to escape. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 113, thinks Torre had 50 or 60 men. Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 106–9, says four men were killed. Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 115–21, Pico, *Acont.* MS., 60, Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 4, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v 57–9, agree that Juan Higuera of Sta Cruz and Antonio Vasquez of S. José, of the attacking party, were killed. Castro makes the strength of the garrison 20 men, others as low as 7. He names himself as associate commander, and mentions Lieut-col Segura as one of those captured. Alvarado says the attacking force was 56 volunteers, all officers, Ezequiel Soberanes being second in command. Pico names Bonifacio Olivares as one of the wounded. All agree that Torre was wounded in the foot, and that several pieces of artillery were captured. See also *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 19–20; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 95–6; *Buelna, Notas*, MS., 8–9.

on him for the death of their comrades. The main force soon arrived and took possession of the plaza. In the morning Alvarado and Castro addressed a communication to the alcalde, announcing their coming as "proclaimers of the country's rights," and requiring a meeting of the ayuntamiento at noon, in order that the whole movement might be explained.[15]

For a week from the date of the communication just cited there is no documentary record of developments at Los Angeles; nor is it known what action was taken at the meeting of the city authorities on the 21st. Alvarado and Vallejo in their narratives represent that the Picos, J. A. Carrillo, the members of the junta, and other prominent citizens were at once brought into the presence of the revolutionary leaders, some under arrest and others under threats of arrest, and were submitted to a process of intimidation and flattery combined, which soon transformed the abajeños into strong partisans; that is, they were required to choose between holding office as patriots on the side of freedom, or being shot at once as adherents of tyranny. This version as presented by the gentlemen named is not without dramatic effect; but I suppose it has little foundation in fact, though it is not unlikely that threats had to be used on some of the sureños, while prospective offices had an effect on others.[16] The week was doubtless spent by Alvarado and his associates in working up public sentiment in the city, in recalling the old depredations of the cholos in the south, in dwelling on Micheltorena's failure to observe a solemn treaty, and especially in depicting with much exaggeration the outrages to be

[15] Jan. 21, 1845, A. and C. to alcalde of Angeles. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 134–5. They announce that they came at 2 A. M. and are holding the plaza.

[16] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 60–5; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 3–8, partially supported by Manuel Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 121–4, and Rico, *Memorias*, MS., 11–12. José Antonio Carrillo is said to have been won over by being made Castro's 'mayor general,' or chief of staff. Many condemn the conduct of Andrés Pico as treachery to Micheltorena. Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 79, says that Pico was the only one of the Californians against whom M. retained any bitter feeling.

expected from Sutter's foreigners and Indians, and the governor's baseness in enlisting such forces against the Californians. Their arguments were strong and most effective. There was but little opposition. Men and supplies were obtained for the campaign, and southern members of the junta were converted to a state of mind favorable to the popular cause.

One of the most important things accomplished was the formation of a company of foreigners to counterbalance the force under Sutter. The interests of foreign residents in the south were not in any respect different from those of the northerners; nor were their political sympathies materially different, though the loud-mouthed advocates of American conquest were not very numerous in the south, where neither Sutter nor Graham was popular, and where most of the foreigners were more or less content with Californian methods of life. The sympathy of the southerners was for the Californians, and they acted in accordance with it, but not to any great extent because of it. They did not wish Los Angeles to be occupied by Micheltorena and his men, who on their march were understood to have seized all the property that came within their reach, and who would naturally resort to forced loans if not to indiscriminate plunder on capturing a town. They looked with no favor on Sutter's personal schemes, did not relish the airs he would put on nor the power he would wield in case of success, and above all dreaded the unfriendly feelings between Californians and foreigners that would be sure to result if Micheltorena should succeed by foreign aid. Moreover, they did not expect to fight against their countrymen, understanding the false representations under which most of Sutter's men had been enlisted, and feeling sure that their opposition in connection with other influences already at work would cause them to abandon a bad cause. The strongest motive of all was probably a desire to put an end to the war, which it was evident could be ef-

fected quickest by forcing Micheltorena and his men to leave the country.[17] At any rate, there was little or no difference of opinion. Stearns, Workman, Vignes, Rowland, Wilson, McKinley, Bell, and other prominent citizens exerted themselves personally; and about fifty men were enlisted for military service. The leaders seem to have been James McKinley and William Workman, though there was perhaps no formal military organization.[18]

Pio Pico was induced to convoke the junta, which met in January 28th, present, vocales Pico, Figueroa, Botello, and suplente Cárlos Carrillo. Agustin Olvera was chosen temporary secretary. Don Pio, the president, opened the session with a speech, in which, with the usual superfluity of words deemed *de rigueur* in such cases, he announced the approach of Micheltorena,

[17] Abel Stearns, in a letter to Larkin, expresses this last view very strongly. *Larkin's Doc.*, iii. 58. B. D. Wilson, *Observ.*, MS., 46–56, gives prominence to the desire for harmony with the Californians, and the feeling that men like the cholos were really the element most unfavorable to American and all foreign enterprise. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 124, has no doubt the southerners were in sympathy with the insurrection, but they were also influenced by exaggerated reports of outrages by the general's forces. Many new-comers heard only one side of the question, and really thought they were saving the town from pillage and outrage. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 65–6, thinks a few prominent men really favored his cause. The rest followed their lead, or were actuated by a dislike for Graham and Sutter. John C. Jones, writing to Larkin, expresses the opinion of Sta Bárbara that Micheltorena's success would have been a great misfortune to the Californians, largely through Sutter's influence. *Larkin's Doc.*, iii. 75.

[18] In a letter from Cahuenga, Alvarado and Castro later spoke of having 34 riflemen. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 17. Most authorities agree that the whole number was from 40 to 60. Wilson, *Observ.*, MS., 46–56, says there were 50 in different companies, implying that Workman was the commander of his company. The Californians generally represent McKinley as having been in command; and Jones in a letter of the time also names him as leader. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 65. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 123, says McKinley took no active part, and that Stearns did not leave the town. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841-8*, MS., 124, says that the principal force was a company of 40 mountaineers under William Fallon; and Sutter wrote on July 31st of 'O'Fallon who marched against us with his gang for the sake of getting some horses.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 234. Michael White, *Cal. All the Way Back to '28*, MS., 19–21, tells us there were 100 men in his company, under Capt. Workman and Lieut Rowland. The writer was enlisted against his will. The following men are named by one witness or another as having served in this campaign: James McKinley, Abel Stearns, B. D. Wilson, Alexander Bell, Richard Laughlin, Nathaniel Pryor, Alex. Sales, Michael White, P. Mace (?), James Beckwourth (?), James Barton (?), Wm Fallon, Wm Workman, John Rowland, Louis Vignes, Wm Garner, Sam. Carpenter, Henry Dalton, Daniel Sexton, John Reed, Callaghan (3), Cornelius Perry (?), Wm Smith.

whose intentions were not known, and the invasion of the city by the division of the north, claiming to act in defence of the country. He therefore called upon the junta to consider the situation, and to take such measures as would check the movement of hostile forces and restore tranquillity.[19] The only business transacted the first day was to call upon Alvarado and Castro for an explanation of their coming at the head of an armed force. At the next session, on the 29th, the explanation with documentary vouchers was received, read, and referred to Figueroa and Carrillo as a committee. This document was a forcible presentment, not exaggerated, and comparatively free from verbiage, of the events of the past two months, with which the reader is familiar. The authors called attention to the fact that hitherto Micheltorena's authority as governor and general had not been questioned or threatened by anybody, the movement having been directed against the criminal soldiers exclusively, and the governor himself having recognized its justice; but now they declared that Micheltorena, by breaking the treaty of Santa Teresa, by arming foreign adventurers and savage Indians against the Californians, and by giving a high command to a man who was known to have made threats against Mexican authorities, was guilty of treason to his government, and should be sent to answer for his crimes before the tribunals of the republic. The assembly should take charge ad interim of departmental affairs in accordance with the laws, and in reporting the charges against Micheltorena, should petition that the command be conferred upon a native or a citizen of California.[20]

[19] Pico's discourse of Jan. 28, 1845, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 96; *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 57. Ridiculed by Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 442-3, without any good foundation. The speech was wordy, but sensible enough.

[20] *Alvarado and Castro, Exposicion contra Micheltorena dirigida á la asamblea departamental por los Gefes de la Division del Norte, 29 de Enero, 1845*, MS. The 9 accompanying documents are not given; but they consisted of corresp. that has already been cited. Sessions of Jan. 28th–29th. *Id.*, iv. p. 28-9; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 1; *Id.*, vi. 110; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 36; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 4; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 103.

The committe could find in the evidence before it no reason for Micheltorena's present action, after having proclaimed that the country was at peace, and that he had yielded to the just demands of the malecontents. The campaign seemed to be merely a persecution of those who had wished to send away the batallon; and the governor's relations with foreigners, and especially with so suspicions a character as Sutter, instead of strengthening his cause, had *prima facie* removed all his claims to popular sympathy in the south. Both sides of the question should, however, be heard; and to that end the committee reported in the session of February 1st that the president of the junta should appoint a committee to wait on Micheltorena, to consult with him on means for putting an end to dissensions, and to request that pending negotiations he would suspend his advance on Los Angeles, and thus avoid bloodshed. This report was approved before the session the same day. Pico had sent the governor a letter by Sepúlveda, enclosing his speech at the earlier session with other records, and explaining the object of the junta to prevent dissensions.[21] Also on the afternoon of the 1st a meeting of the people was convoked.[22] What was done at that meeting, if anything beyond announcing the action of the junta, is not known; but within a few days Castro with a part of his force set out for San Buenaventura, whither we shall follow him later.

The commissioners appointed by the president of the junta of the 3d were José Antonio de la Guerra of Santa Bárbara, Vicente Sanchez, Abel Stearns, Antonio F. Coronel, and Antonio M. Lugo. Their instructions, dated the 4th, went perhaps a little beyond the original resolution of the assembly. They

[21] Sessions of the junta, Feb. 1, 1845. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 2-8, 11-12; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 30-1, 305; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 3, 42. Feb. 1st, Pico to M. *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 5. M. replied Feb. 4th, from Arroyo Hondo, saying briefly that in order to reply he needed a copy of the constitution, not to be found in camp! *Id.*, no. 6.

[22] Feb. 1st, Castro to alcalde. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 139.

were to urge Micheltorena to respect the universal desire of the people by complying with the agreement of Santa Teresa; to dismiss his foreign allies, whose presence with arms in their hands was against the laws and a menace to the nation; and to send the Indians back to their rancherías, their arming being a most impolitic and dangerous act. Should he consent to these terms, his person and position would be respected, and the junta would coöperate with him to restore order; should he refuse, he would be held responsible for the war that would result, since every Californian was ready to take up arms in defence of national integrity.[23] Captain Guerra was already at Santa Bárbara, where some of the other comisionados joined him, and early in the morning of the 7th they called on Micheltorena at the mission. He refused to treat officially with them as representatives of a junta which as he maintained had not been legally convened; but being about to resume his march, he consented to confer with them as private individuals on the way. Accordingly they called the same evening at his camp at Carpintería, but accomplished nothing. Next day the general started for San Buenaventura, but returned on learning that Castro held that place; and after a conference with Sutter and other officers, he made known to Guerra his ultimatum—that pardon would be granted to the revolutionists, and even the lives of the leaders would be spared, if they would give up their arms and place themselves at the disposition of the governor.[24]

[23] Feb. 3d, 4th, appointment and instructions of commissioners. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 68-72; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 9–10; *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 235–7. The original resolution of the junta of Feb. 1st, with a note from Pico, was sent to M. on the 5th, when the comisionados started. *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 7–8.

[24] Feb. 7th, 9th, Guerra to Pico. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1154–5; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 75–8; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 12. On Feb. 4th, however, according to *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 32, M. had written to Pico from Arroyo Hondo, in reply to Pico's note of the 1st, promising to answer questions of the assembly. Coronel, one of the committee, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 58–63, gives some details of their labors, including several trips back and forward between Micheltorena and Castro, which do not agree at all with the original records. He says the committee consisted of himself, Sanchez, and John Wilson. He

The junta, not having received the explanations promised by Micheltorena on the 4th, nor having any evidence that he had replied to the comisionados, voted on the 12th to demand peremptorily a reply within an hour after the receipt of the demand, which was sent to Guerra, with a threat that if no answer were received by the 14th the assembly would take such steps as it might deem proper to secure the rights of the people. The day came, bringing only the news that the governor had refused to recognize either the junta or its commissioners. Thereupon, on motion of the president, it was resolved, 1st, that Micheltorena's authority be ignored; 2d, that the two positions formerly held by him be filled according to law; 3d, that the junta continue its sessions at Los Angeles, and take measures to make its authority respected; and, 4th, that it proceed to prepare formal accusations against Micheltorena, to be presented to the supreme government. Next day, the 15th, Pio Pico, as senior vocal, was declared to be the legal governor ad interim. The customary proclamations to the people and orders to subordinate authorities were issued. Alvarado and Castro gave in their adhesion to the new régime, and Don Pio, having announced his intention of marching in person against the foe, published on the 17th an order that all citizens, native or foreign, must present themselves in arms for active service on the following day—an order which was obeyed very promptly.[25]

had some personal interviews with M., who asked him not to exert himself to bring about a peaceable arrangement, since he wished to get out of the country honorably before it should fall into American hands.

[25] Feb. 10, 1845, T. S. Ávila testifies that on the 6th he heard Micheltorena say that he ignored the assembly. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ii. 40 1. Feb. 12th, action of junta demanding an immediate answer, communicated by Pico and Olvera to gov., Guerra, and the people. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 32; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 43; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 79; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 137-8; *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 9. Feb. 14th, Guerra to junta, announcing the refusal of M. to treat with the comisionados. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1155-6; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 13; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., i. 81-2. Same date, action of junta ignoring M., proclaimed by Pico. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 33-5; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 14-16; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., iii. 13-15; *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 111; *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 10,

Castro, with most of his northern division and a few who joined him in the south, perhaps 150 in all, had left Los Angeles within a few days after February 1st, and on or about the 8th had occupied San Buenaventura with a view to watch Micheltorena's movements, and to prevent his advance as long as possible, while preparations were being made in the city. Here he is said to have thrown up some slight intrenchments, to have sent out parties of scouts to observe and worry the enemy, and to have performed a variety of evolutions, respecting the unimportant details of which there is no agreement among witnesses.[26]

Micheltorena and Sutter—the latter having taken the precaution to have his land grant signed before leaving Santa Bárbara — started from Carpintería southward on the 8th; but learning that Castro had occupied San Buenaventura, they marched back again to their former camp, or perhaps to El Rincon, and stayed there a week. During this time Lieutenant Coates, with fifteen men of Gantt's company, made a reconnoissance over the hills, and all were captured by an advance party of Californians, probably under Manuel Castro. There is conflicting testimony as to how the capture was effected, and room for suspicion that it was not much against the will of the foreigners. At any rate, they were well treated in Castro's camp,

with date of 15th, forwarded to M. on same date with a long letter of explanation, protest, and warning; *Id.*, no. 11. Feb. 15th, junta declares Pico to be gov. ad interim, his communications to different officials, and his patriotic proclamation to the people. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 35; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 16-17; *Id., S. José*, v. 91-2; *Id., Angeles*, x. 58-60; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 36. Feb. 17th, Alvarado and Castro acknowledge Pico, who says he will march against M. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 36. Pico to M., reproaching and warning him. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ix. 8-11. Pico to citizens, calling them to arms. All who aid M. to be regarded as enemies to the country and to suffer accordingly. *Id., Angeles*, x. 56. The proceedings of the assembly and negotiations with M. are also described more or less fully, nothing being added to what I have given, in *Pico, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 106-11; *Bandini, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 109-10; *Pico, Acont.*, MS., 60-1; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 20-1.

[26] *Garcia, Hechos*, MS., 81-3; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 112-17; *Arnaz, Recuerdos*, MS., 70-1; *Pico, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 111-12; *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 96-7; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 21-3; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 136. These throw no light on the details of Castro's proceedings.

being thoroughly relieved of all fears of oppression from the Californians, and sent back under parole, having promised to take no part in future hostilities. Returning to Santa Bárbara, they induced many of their companions to join them and withdraw from Micheltorena's service. Others had withdrawn before, influenced by their disgust at the slow progress southward and by Marsh's arguments; so that now not over half of the foreign allies, some fifty in number, remained with the convicts and Indians, and many of these were retained only by their unwillingness to abandon a cause in which they had once embarked.[27]

At last, on the 15th of February, the day on which the junta voted to ignore Micheltorena's authority, the latter ordered an advance southward. His army entered San Buenaventura that day or the next. Castro retired without resistance at the enemy's approach, though Sutter speaks of a charge led by himself which compelled the Californians to break and

[27] Wm A. Streeter, *Recollections*, MS., 35–51, gives more details about the captivity than any other. He happened to arrive at S. Buenaventura just at that time, and served as interpreter between Castro and the prisoners. He names Knight, Swift, the Murphys, Coombs, and McIntosh as among the number, and says they were detained 5 days. Streeter went with them to Sutter's camp, and when questioned greatly exaggerated the dangers of attacking Castro. In spite of Capt. Gantt's entreaties, 35 men besides the paroled prisoners decided to leave the company, the writer coming north with them. Sutter, *Person. Remin.*, MS., says that Coates and his men after a day's absence came back with a story that they had been captured and released on parole, and he, not without suspicions, let them go. Chamberlain, *Memoirs*, MS., 14–20, names Sheldon, Wyman, and McCoon as among the captives. Nidever, *Adventures*, MS., 111, says the men had been warned at Sta Bárbara that they would be captured if not more careful. The news of the capture and release was received at S. F. before March 2d. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 139. Manuel Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 124–6, names Los Pitos as the place where the Americans were taken. Rico, *Memorias*, MS., 11–16, gives some details of the capture, which he says was effected by retreating scouts leading the Americans into an ambush, Rico himself being in command. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 450–1, has it that 30 foreigners met and retreated before Castro's force, whereupon José Castro marched out alone to meet them and persuade them that they were on the wrong side. Larios, *Convulsiones*, MS., 21–4, tells us that Murphy, after the capture, promised Castro to go back to camp and induce most of Gantt's company to leave the service, and did so. Mention also in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 450–2; *Buelna, Notas*, MS., 5–8; *Pico, Acont.*, MS., 61. Larkin in letters of the time states that at least half of the foreigners and some of the Mexicans deserted before the battle of Cahuenga. Jones says that only 30 of the riflemen were left.

flee, and there is some evidence that a few cannon-balls were sent after Castro's army as it disappeared in the distance.[28] The adverse action of the Angelinos seems not to have been known at this time; but on the contrary there was a report credited by Micheltorena, and by the people of Santa Bárbara, that the Picos had raised a force and were marching to the general's support.[29] Alvarado and Vallejo, vaguely supported by a few other Californians, talk of a personal interview between Castro and Micheltorena at San Buenaventura, at which, in continuation of their former agreement, the final arrangements for a sham-battle and treaty were made. I have no reason to believe that any such interview took place.[30]

Micheltorena remained a day or two at San Buenaventura, and then resumed his advance, spending a night either at El Triunfo or Las Vírgenes, and arriving at the Encino in San Fernando Valley at nightfall on February 19th. Meanwhile Castro had retired to Los Angeles, where he had been joined by Alvarado with reënforcements. The two had again

[28] Sutter, in his *Personal Reminis.*, MS., affirms that he led the advance with 600 men, by the mountains, while the general with the rest of the army (!) and the artillery came next morning by the beach road. Sutter crossed the hills in the night in a heavy rain, and at daybreak was in sight of the mission, half his force having loitered behind. Sutter made a charge, and the foe fled to form again in line of battle half a mile away. Bidwell was sent back to get permission to attack them, but Micheltorena refused. He could easily have routed Castro's army, he thinks. He mentions no firing of cannon. Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 124–7, says the long rains had damaged their powder, and that M. with his artillery compelled a retreat. Gonzalez, *Memorias*, MS., 13–24, Wiggins, *Remin.*, MS., 8–11, and Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 70–1, say that two or three cannon shots were fired at long range.

[29] Feb. 16th, J. C. Jones to Larkin. Announces the occupation of S. Buenaventura, Castro's retreat, and the reports from Angeles. He thinks M. knew of Pico's approach before he advanced. 'There is no doubt that this news is true, which has put a death-stroke to the hopes of Castro and his party. The Californians must now submit to be governed by Mexicans, and with a rod of iron.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 36. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 447–8, received from M. a letter written at this time, in which he announced the good news from Angeles and his confidence in success.

[30] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 28–9, 48–53; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 2–3. Gonzalez, *Memorias*, MS., 23–4, speaks of M. having received letters from Alvarado and Castro, the former read to the men and containing insults, while the latter was read privately. Others say something of the receipt of letters, but nobody claims to have seen the interview.

advanced through the Cahuenga Pass with 284 men, encamping on the 18th in the southern edge of San Fernando Valley seven or eight miles from Encino. Pio Pico probably came up from the city next day with additional reënforcements, since there is a general agreement among authorities that the Californians had in all nearly 400 men.[31]

Friday morning, the 20th, the rival armies advanced from Encino and Cahuenga respectively—that of Micheltorena down, and that of Castro up, the general course of the Los Angeles River—until they approached within shooting-distance, at very long cannon-range of each other. Both parties, or at least some portions of each, sought protection under the banks of the river, or of the dry gulches communicating therewith. The Californians had two small cannon, the Mexicans three, including the one brought from New Helvetia. It was probably noon before the firing began, and it was kept up all the afternoon on both sides, Micheltorena's gunners using grape and firing over a hundred times; while the others fired less shots, using ball and in some cases perhaps small stones. The result was that a horse on the patriot side had his head blown off—some say two horses fell; while I am impelled by a spirit of historical fairness to record a rumor, not very well authenticated, that a mule on the side of the cholos was slightly injured. Not a drop of human blood was spilled on the battle-field of Cahuenga, or of Alamo, as it is called by several writers familiar with the region.[32] Just before night Micheltorena moved his force eastward across the plain, with the apparent intention of executing a flank movement, striking

[31] Feb. 18th, Alvarado and Castro to Pico. Have arrived, with their division of 250 men, increased by 34 riflemen at Cahuenga. No signs of the enemy yet. An interview with Pico is desired. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 17. Feb. 20th, alcalde of S. Diego to Pico. People here lukewarm about politics, yet a party of volunteers start to-day to join Alvarado and Castro. *Id.*, *Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 114-15. These volunteers, as usual for the S. Diegans, were too late.

[32] Such are Forster, Valle, Botello, etc.

the river at its bend, and following it down to the city. Accordingly, a large part of the Californian army withdrew through the Cahuenga Pass. Then they proceeded to the left until they reached the river, and after ascending its course for a few miles, encamped for the night. Thus when the sun rose on the 21st it found the two armies again facing each other on the Verdugo rancho, some ten or twelve miles from the battle-field of Friday. There seems to have been more cannon firing for an hour or two on this Saturday morning, though this is not quite certain. Then Micheltorena, raising a white flag, proposed a capitulation.

Thus ended the battle of Cahuenga—accompanied by a war of the elements, one of the sand-storms peculiar to this region—the second of the name in which a Mexican governor was defeated by the Californians. I have briefly described its general features, with as much accuracy as is deducible from the mass of confused, contradictory, and often false testimony extant on the subject. I append in a note some items from this testimony, and proceed to take up an important feature of the conflict, the part taken therein by foreigners, not noticed before.[33]

[33] The narrative of B. D. Wilson, *Observations on Early Days*, MS., 46–56, who was an eye-witness of all that occurred, is on the whole the clearest, most consistent, and best supported statement of the whole affair, though the author does not go very minutely into details except on the part taken by foreigners. The editor of the *Los Angeles Co. Hist.*, 41, appears to have seen a copy of Wilson's narrative which was made from my original by a member of his family. The letters of John C. Jones from Sta Bárbara to Thomas O. Larkin on Feb. 23d, 24th, *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 65, iii. 37, and of L. to the U. S. sec. state on March 22d, 24th, *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 22–24, ii. 19–21, contain the earliest accounts, agreeing substantially with Wilson and with my text. Jones says 'unfortunately nothing living was killed except a few horses;' and he attributes the general's defeat to his slow movements, dependence on cannon, the outrageous plundering of private property by his men on the march, and to Sutter's bluster. In his first letter he mentioned the rumored killing of 11 cholos and one foreigner. Larkin also mentioned recorded rumors of several men being killed. Both state that the cannonading continued on Saturday morning. March 2d, reports of the defeat reached S. F.; 12 cholos, one foreigner, one Indian, and one officer killed! *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 139.

Sutter, *Pers. Reminis.*, MS., says they saw the enemy on the night before the battle (19th). Advanced at sunrise, Micheltorena commanding the artillery and infantry, Sutter the cavalry. The first shot broke the wheel of one

Micheltorena had less than fifty of his foreign riflemen left when the battle began, and these left him without firing a shot, being so persuaded by the

of the enemy's guns, and scared away the gunners. Then was the time to charge, 'but we had bad luck. Some of the Mexican dragoons began to waver and some of them deserted. The order to charge was not obeyed by the riflemen.' M. gained a position on a wooded hill and defended himself till night and encamped. Next morning, being entirely surrounded and deprived of supplies, he surrendered. S. was, however, captured the first day and knew but little of what occurred subsequently. In his *Diary*, 5–6, Sutter says: 'Near San Fernando the enemy occupied a fine position, and appeared in full strength, joined by a company of American traders coming from Sonora and another company of the same consisting of Traders and Trappers and the whole force of the enemy was over thousand men (!) well provided with everything, and our force has been no more as about 350 or 375 Men, and during the battle of Cavenga near San fernando the balance of the mounted riflemen and the Artillerie deserted, and myself fell in the hands of the enemy...A few days after this, the general, surrounded by the enemy so that he could get nothing more to eat, capitulated.' Wiggins, *Reminiscences*, MS., 8–11, who was present during part of the battle, says M. had several horses killed and an Indian wounded; the loss on the other side being probably twice as great. Davis, *Glimpses of the Past*, MS., 117–29, was at Angeles during this campaign, having charge of Bell's store while the owner was absent at Cahuenga. He gives a vivid and interesting account of the non-combatant inhabitants of the city crowding on the hill listening to the boom of distant cannon, waiting for news, and praying for the safety of relatives and friends. He also devotes some space to praise of M., and to a development of the absurd theory that he might with his superior arms and disciplined troops have slaughtered the Californians, but was restrained by feelings of humanity, ordering his men, as the writer was told, to fire over the enemy's head. The *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 11–12, contains a fair account of the campaign, drawn mainly from Bird and Forbes, though the latter in a letter falls into some absurd errors respecting the battle, as will be noted later. See also *Chamberlain's Memoirs*, MS., 14–20; letters in *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 235–6; *Nidever's Adventures*, MS., 111; *S. F. Chronicle*, Feb. 13, 1876; *Id.*, June 15, 1879—this article coming from the *Sonoma Index*, and being wholly false, if not intended as a burlesque, of which there is no indication; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 150; *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 212–13; *Honolulu Friend*, iii. 61; *Los Angeles Hist.*, 15; *Belden's Hist. Statement*, MS., 39; *Forster's Pioneer Data*, MS., 26–7; *Temple's Recoll.*, MS., 6–7; *Streeter's Recoll.*, MS., 35–51; *Spence's Notes*, MS., 20–2; *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 214–15; *Bell's Remin.*, 13–14. None of these add anything definite to what I have presented.

Pio Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 112–19, gives a good general account of the battle, and adds many details, some of which I doubt not may be accurate, though I have no means of determining which. According to him, the action began at 9 A. M. Alvarado fired the first gun with his own hand. Alf. Luis Altamirano and Capt. Rico were in charge of the two guns. Pico himself acted as commander-in-chief. Micheltorena sent two requests for a cessation of firing, but Pico insisted on a surrender. Workman and McKinley were reprimanded on the field for trying to open relations with the foe. José Castro was found skulking in disguise out of danger. Pico commanded in person the company that prevented M.'s flanking movement, but Castro came up later, and by morning the foe was entirely surrounded. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 66–75, tells us that on the second day he ordered his men not to waste their powder by repeating the cannonade of the day before. Pico, on a hill out of range, summoned the writer and ordered him in an airy tone to continue the battle. A. went straight back to his guns, and on open

fifty foreigners on the other side, against whom they would not fight, knowing many of them personally. They had been wavering before, and were not sorry for an excuse to withdraw from a bad cause; but they went through the forms of listening to arguments from their compatriots of the south. While posted in the bed of the creek, after the firing had begun, they were visited by McKinley and Wilson, who came as representatives of their company, posted in the same gulch about a mile below, and who labored to show that it was neither the duty nor the interest of foreign residents to fight for the purpose of keeping Micheltorena's rabble in California. Captain Gantt and other prominent members of his company, who had come out to meet the others at a little distance from their camp, admitted the force of Wilson's reasoning, but replied that their men were afraid of losing the lands which Micheltorena had granted or promised them. To remove this difficulty, Pio Pico was sent for and came in person—so say Wilson, Botello, and Pico himself—explaining to the foreigners that Micheltorena's grants and promises were worthless, because lands could not be granted legally to any but Mexi-

ing fire had the good luck to kill three cholos and mortally wound another, whereupon M. at once raised a white flag over his carriage. He also narrates that Trinidad Espinosa rode out before the foe, challenging pursuit, when a cannon-ball killed his horse under him. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 2-15, agrees with Alvarado, and both insist that the battle was a sham, as per agreement between M. and Castro. Manuel Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 127-34, gives a very correct general account of the whole affair. Pico, *Acont.*, MS., 61-3, learned from cholos who remained in the country that some of their number were killed. García, *Hechos*, MS., 84-5, says the Californians had three guns, one of which was in his charge. Rico's gun was dismounted during the fight. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 112-18, witnessed the first day's fight from a distance with Pico. He thinks there was no intention of hurting anybody. Gonzalez, *Memorias*, MS., 23-30, who served under M., gives some particulars of no especial importance. He represents the soldiers as having been anxious to fight, while the general was backward, and says that the Californians first proposed a truce. The narrative of Buelna, *Notas*, MS., 9-16, is one of the best extant on this matter, though by no means so on all subjects. See also, as containing no definite information of any value not already presented, *Serrano, Apuntes*, MS., 96-8; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 125-8; *Arce, Mem.*, MS., 42-6; *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 156-9; *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 452-4; *Bandini, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 109-12; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 135-6; *Valle, Lo Pasado*, MS., 34-5; *Janssens, Vida*, MS., 184-5; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 114-17.

can citizens; yet he assured them that they would in no way be oppressed, that their present occupation of lands would not be disturbed, and that as soon as they chose to become citizens he would give them legal titles. This being satisfactory, all agreed to leave the general's service, though they would not consent to join the other side, and before night they withdrew from the field. It was reported at the time in the letters of Jones and Larkin, printed a little later in Alfred Robinson's book, repeated by Tuthill and others, and has become the current version, that the two bodies of foreigners mutually agreed to withdraw and leave the Californians and Mexicans to fight out their own battles. It is nearly certain, however, that this was not the case, and that the southerners made no such promise. There is little evidence that they did withdraw from the Californian ranks, and they could not consistently and honorably give a promise which would prevent them from defending Los Angeles and its ranchos against Micheltorena's convicts. They may possibly have promised not to use their rifles—as they had no occasion to use them later—except it should be necessary to check the Mexicans' advance on their homes.[34]

[34] Most writers state that the foreigners on both sides withdrew out of range of the guns. Bell says they 'went on a picnic,' with a mutual agreement to permit no sacking or forced loans. Streeter says also that Micheltorena was not to be allowed to enter the town. Jones heard from one of Gantt's men that both parties met in Castro's camp, and that Castro not only promised them kind treatment, but proposed to join them in declaring California independent of Mexico! Alvarado and Vallejo talk of Graham and McKinley marching out in advance of their respective companies to make an agreement by which both parties withdrew, representing Graham as having taken the initiative, and McKinley as being very reluctant. Torre and Serrano tell us that Graham was captured by Joaquin de la Torre. Jesus Pico and Botello state that the northerners went to S. Fernando, the former affirming that Castro furnished them horses, and the latter that the Indian company went with them. Sutter and Bidwell represent that the agreement to withdraw was mutual, and that the southerners broke their promise, thus causing defeat. This is supported by Wiggins and Galindo. *Apuntes*, MS., 49. J. A. Forbes, in a letter in *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 12, gives the following vivid but imaginary picture of the battle: 'Wild firing began by the Mexicans with grape and canister, without effect, and soon the rifle shots from McKinley's men began to tell upon the Mexican artillerymen, but not a shot was fired against Sutter's men. McKinley had staked his all on the issue, having delivered his store of goods of all kinds, worth more than $5,000, to the California party gratis,

Sutter was not in the ravine with the riflemen, but came there while the negotiations were in progress, to learn why they were not obeying orders. His eloquence was of no avail; his old arguments had lost their force. On his way back to the general's position, he and Bidwell, his aid, were surrounded and captured by a party of Californians. They were taken before Castro, kindly received by him and Alvarado, and after a brief detention at the rancho of Cahuenga, were sent under parole, Rowland being their surety, to Los Angeles, where they were lodged at the house of Abel Stearns. There is room for suspicion, though there is no proof of the fact, that Sutter's capture was not altogether against his will, being merely a prearranged method of 'honorably' deserting Micheltorena's cause. It was evident from which quarter the winds were soon to blow, and it was high time for the wily Swiss to trim his sails accordingly. But for a previous stipulation with him or his men, the Californians would have been amply justified in showing him little mercy. His head was all, and perhaps a little more than, he could reasonably have hoped to save.[85]

and now he had come on that field to offer his life in their cause. The Mexican infantry kept up a fire of musketry at McKinley's party, and he, impatient of delay, desiring to speak to many of his friends in Sutter's party, left his own men, and rushing out on the plain with his rifle in one hand and waving his hat with the other, passed at a run under a storm of musket-balls, and unhurt, was received by his friends in Sutter's party, where his cogent arguments soon caused their defection from the Mexicans, and the result was the capitulation'!

[85] In his *Personal Reminis.*, MS., S. says that when he went to the ravine he found his men balloting to decide whether to desert or not, Marsh's eloquence being very effective, and the coming of the southerners to the camp settling the question; that while Alvarado and Castro treated him with great kindness, there was a large party both on the field and at Angeles in favor of shooting him; and that during the first night of his capture he was forced to write advising M. to surrender, though he wrote in French, and in such a way as to let the general know he wrote under compulsion. Bidwell in carrying orders had before been taken by Castro's men, but had escaped. He implies that Sutter's visit to the men was after they had made the agreement and left the ravine. Mauricio Gonzalez testifies that S. joined the enemy with his foreigners and Indians. Manuel Castro says S. surrendered himself voluntarily. Buelna tells a similar story. Osio has it that S. waved a white flag and gave himself up, begging Alvarado's favor. Jones wrote at the time that S. and Graham went to Castro's camp and surrendered themselves. Sut-

Micheltorena had never any idea that he could defeat the Californians with his cholos of the batallon alone. The former were not very good soldiers, but infinitely superior to the latter in every way. The general feared that if he sent away the convict army, as he promised at Santa Teresa, the Mexican government would not approve his action. Therefore he had decided to break the treaty, and trust to Sutter's foreign riflemen to defeat the people. Should Sutter fail, he might yet succeed in getting himself and men sent away under some arrangement that would at least look as well in Mexico as the former treaty. Sutter had failed; there was no thought of continuing the contest; and the general therefore raised a white flag and proposed a capitulation on the morning of February 21st. Of the negotiations that took place during the rest of the day we know little or nothing. José M. Castañares took the initiative on the general's side. Pio Pico and José Castro had each a personal interview with Micheltorena, and finally commissioners were appointed—Valdés and Castañares for the Mexicans, José Antonio Carrillo and Manuel Castro for the Californians—who proceeded to arrange the terms of a treaty.[36]

The treaty signed on the Campo de San Fernando on Sunday the 22d, by the comisionados that have been named and by Micheltorena and Castro as principals, was in substance as follows: Art. 1. Micheltorena, not having received from the supreme government the order asked for through Tellez to retire with

ter 'has fallen, and I think, like Lucifer, never to rise again; it is thought he will be banished.'

[36] General accounts of the negotiations, containing little that is reliable, in *Pico, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 119–20; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 66–84; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 2–21; *Gonzalez, Mem.*, MS., 28–30; besides many mentions of the treaty. It is said that Bandini was secretary of the commission, and that Castro sent food to M.'s camp for his men. Pico after his interview with the general, in which he says the latter warned him not to trust Castro, returned to Angeles, whence, under date of Feb. 21st, he writes to some one on the field, suggesting that M. should be made to acknowledge the acts of the assembly and Pico's appointment as gov.; and also recommending caution to prevent him from breaking this treaty as he did the former one. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 68–70.

his men, the revolt of the Californians being against the latter, and being no longer able, with his small force and resources, to check the conflagration which had become general throughout the country, agrees to march with his troops to San Pedro, where Castro will furnish a vessel to carry him to Monterey. Art. 2. At San Pedro those who wish to remain in the country will give up their arms, and the authorities are bound to protect them as citizens. Art. 3. Those who wish to follow the general will embark for Monterey, whence, with those of that garrison, they will sail in the same vessel, or another if that will not hold them, for whatever port of the interior they may choose, taking their arms with them. Art 4. Officers wishing to remain will be considered as belonging to the Mexican army, and will be paid from the public funds, their lives and property being guaranteed. Art. 5. The same privileges will be accorded to all citizens who have aided Micheltorena. Art. 6. All the armament and war-stores in the armory at Monterey are to be delivered to the commander of the revolted forces, in order that with them he may defend the departmental and national integrity which the general intrusts to him. Art. 7. From this date the political command is turned over to the first vocal of the assembly, as that corporation has provided in accordance with the laws, to which end the general will at once issue a circular order for publication. Art. 8. He will also issue another order that Lieutenant-colonel José Castro be recognized as comandante general of the department. Art. 9. Micheltorena's division will march with all the honors of war, with music, flying colors, and three pieces of artillery with lighted matches, the flag to be saluted by Castro's drummers, but the guns and appurtenances to be given up at San Pedro.[37]

[37] 'Convenios celebrados en el Campo de San Fernando entre los Sres Gen. de Brigada y Comandante General de este Departamento D. Manuel Micheltorena, y el Teniente Coronel de Ejército D. José Castro, comandante de las

The ex-governor seems to have been allowed to dictate the terms of this remarkable, not to say absurd, treaty, according to his own fancies of what would make the best impression in Mexico, the Californians being willing to indulge his idiosyncrasies without limit, if they could only get rid of the batallon as a military organization. On the 23d Governor Pico issued a proclamation, congratulating the people on the peace of Cahuenga, and setting forth in somewhat flowery language the blessings that were to be showered upon the country under the new régime. Next day the treaty and the changes of government resulting from it were officially circulated by Juan Bandini, who had accepted the position of government secretary under Pico.[38]

Little is known in detail of Micheltorena's subsequent experience in California. Not more than a day or two after the treaty, perhaps on the same day, he started with his batallon, enjoying all the military honors that had been promised him, for the coast, and encamped for more than two weeks at the Palos Verdes rancho near San Pedro.[39] Meanwhile Pico and

fuerzas pronunciadas en el mismo.' *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 5-9. Copies in *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 75-6; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 15-18; also printed in *Micheltorena, Expediente*, no. 12; translation by J. A. Forbes in *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 12. The first 8 articles are signed by the four comisionados as well as the principals; the 'additional article,' which I have called art. 9, by M. and C. only.

[38] Feb. 23d, Pico's proclamation. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., 67; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 88-91; *Id., Ang.*, x. 55. Feb. 24th, Bandini to town authorities. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 2, 5, 9. I have not found the circular orders promised by M. in the treaty; but Feb. 25th the bishop sends to P. Duran that one announcing Pico as gov. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 111.

[39] In Jones' letter of Feb. 24th we read: 'McKinley writes that the general shed tears like an infant at Angeles, and publicly told the people that he thought he had done wrong in taking up arms against the citizens of California.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 37. But I do not think he passed through the city at all. Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 156-9, speaks of the noble and frank bearing of M. in contrast with Pico's downcast eyes and stammering speech on the occasion of the formal transfer of the command; but I have no reason to suppose there was any such occasion. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 125, called on M. several times at Palos Verdes. Mauricio Gonzalez, *Memorias*, MS., 30-3, was with the force, and subsequently returned to Angeles to deliver the artillery. He speaks of some insults offered to the cholos by the people, and relates that José Limantour came to S. Pedro and had business interviews with M. Coronel, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 66, also had an interview with M. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 86-9, and Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 18-20,

his associates made a contract with John Paty to transport Micheltorena and his troops, 200 in number, to Monterey, and thence to San Blas, in the *Don Quixote*, for the sum of $11,000 in silver, or its equivalent.[40] The vessel left San Pedro about March 12th and arrived at Monterey about the 19th. Davis, who was on board the *Don Quixote*, describes himself and Paty as having been charmed with the bearing of Micheltorena, and with the deportment of his soldiers. So impressed were these gentlemen with the general's affable manners that they accepted his explanations of past affairs with entire credulity, and seem to have honestly believed that this kind-hearted man had spared his beloved Californians from a terrible slaughter.[41] At Monterey the vessel lay at anchor for a week, the soldiers not being allowed to land, and their comrades of the garrison joining them on board. Seven or eight officers of the batallon remained in California under the terms of the treaty, as did a few soldiers, besides fifteen or twenty who had previously left the service and had been scattered through the country. Micheltorena was permitted to go on shore, where he held interviews with leading citizens, and obtained some statements to be used in his defence. He was joined by his wife, and finally sailed in the last days of March, receiving a salute from the guns of the fort as the *Don Quixote* left the harbor.[42] He

talk of M. stealing cattle, offering grants of mission estates to friends, spiking the guns before sending them back, etc. March 6th, Huson (?) complains of the soldiers spoiling his wall and threatening to shoot him if he did not sell them brandy. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 112.

[40] Feb. 25th, Paty to Larkin. Expects to get the contract. Supplies to be gathered. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 39. March 7th, *D. Quixote* ready for sea. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 20. March 8th, contract between Pico and Paty. $1,000 payable at S. Pedro; $1,000 at Monterey; $9,000 in 90 days. Pico, Figueroa, and Lugo sureties for the $9,000. The govt also to pay for food. The sum was paid in July. *Id.*, vi. 20–1. March 18th, no money at Monterey to pay the $1,000. *Id.*, *Ben.*, iii. 66.

[41] *Davis, Glimpses of the Past*, MS., 127–9. Davis did not make the trip to S. Blas, but says that Paty was delighted to the last with his passengers. Both Micheltorena and Paty are said to have been masons of high degree, and the more intimate on that account.

[42] March 20th, M. at Monterey to Vallejo, mentioning Castro's appointment. Will soon sail. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 140. March 21st, Larkin to M., a friendly letter expressing sympathy for his misfortunes, due to his ex-

wrote from San Blas on April 19th, sending to Pico some documents, including his own (M.'s) appointment as constitutional governor in accordance with the *terna* sent by the junta in 1844; and he next appears in the records on July 9th, when he had an interview with President Herrera, by whom it is said he was not very warmly received.[43] I have not found his report to the government, whose action in consequence of his expulsion will be noted later. It seems, however, that he tried to advance his own cause and throw discredit on his opponents, by creating the false impression that he had been overthrown by the aid of Americans and by a party which favored annexation to the United States.

In taking leave of Micheltorena, I need not repeat, even in brief résumé, what has been said in former chapters of his life in California, and before he came; neither is there anything more to be said of his character. The reader has found him a strange mixture of good and bad; a most fascinating and popular gentleman; honest, skilful, and efficient as an official in minor matters; utterly weak, unreliable, and even dishonorable in all emergencies. In person he was tall, slight, and straight; with agreeable features, clean-shaven face, light complexion, and brown hair. A portrait, copied from a painting in Mexico, was presented to Governor Booth in 1873 for the state capital, where it is still to be seen.[44] The general

excessive kindness and aversion to shedding blood. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 21–2. Mar. 24th, the vessel still at anchor. M. allowed 6 days to settle his affairs. *Id.*, ii. 20. Arce, *Mem.*, MS., 44–7, tells us that M. expressed much gratitude to himself and a few others who had taken no part against him. As he walked down to the boat dressed in black with only his general's sash, with his wife on his arm, both were cheerful, saluting all they met. Serrano, *Apuntes*, MS., 98–9, mentions as the officers who remained Col Segura, Capt. Flores, lieuts Villa and Padilla, alfs Dueñas, Garfias, Servin, and Sanchez.

[43] *Micheltorena's Admin.*, 28; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 82; *Bustamante, Mem. Hist. Mex.*, MS., ii. 170.

[44] *California Journal of Assembly*, 1873–4, p. 143; *Hayes' Scraps, Cal. Notes*, v. 10; *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, i. no. 11; see also a lithographic portrait in *Ramsey's The Other Side*, p. 114. His wife, Doña Josefa Fuentes, is spoken of as a bright, intelligent, pleasing, and generous woman, who was highly respected by the Californians.

was a man of good education who made some literary pretensions; and who on the evening of September 27, 1845, a few months after his return from California, read in a public celebration at the University of Mexico a literary production, which, if we may credit the bitter criticism of Cárlos María Bustamante, put all his hearers to sleep.[45] In February 1847 Micheltorena served as adjutant-general under Santa Anna at the battle of Buena Vista, or Angostura.[46] In October 1847 he was appointed comandante general of Oajaca, but the appointment was revoked because his presence was deemed necessary at Querétaro as a member of congress.[47] In April 1849 he writes from Mexico to Manuel Jimeno.[48] In 1850–1 he was comandante general of Yucatan;[49] and in 1854 his name no longer appears in the list of officers belonging to the Mexican army.[50]

During his absence in the south Micheltorena, as we have seen, had left Captain Abella with about fifty men of the batallon to protect Monterey. It is not easy to form a definite idea of what occurred at the capital during the period; but it appears that a party

[45] *Bustamante, Mem. Hist. Mex.*, iii. 46. 'Este pedantesco militar tiene toda la audacia y orgullo que da la ignorancia y que lo constituyen objeto de burla en toda linea. Por desgracia es mi paysano, y sin duda es el Oajaqueño mas orgulloso y tonto que ha visto Mexico'! In May 1833, on the occasion of the removal of Gen. Vicente Guerrero's remains to Oajaca, Col Micheltorena took a prominent part in the exercises, contributing a eulogistic oration, a Latin distich, and a poem. *Guerrero, Soberano Estado de Oajaca*, Oajaca, 1833, 8vo, 61 p. In *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 271, I have an original document entitled *Chronologia, Remitido*, a treatise on chronology, astronomy, dominical letters, etc., illustrated by a human hand, the fingers marked with letters and figures in a mysterious and complicated manner. 10 leaves and tables. Dedicated to the *bello sexo*, and signed Manuel Micheltorena.

[46] Feb. 23d he issued an order of thanks to the army for gallantry, etc. From *Boletin de la Democracia*, in *El Sonorense*, April 3, 1847; from *N. O. Picayune*, in *S. F. Californian*, Oct. 27, 1847. See also *Ramsey's The Other Side*, 114, etc.

[47] *Oajaca, Esposicion, 1848*, p. 7. M. was at the time brigadier-general and ayudante general. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., ii. 203.

[48] *Doc., Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 506. It is a brief note containing no information.

[49] *Mexico, Mem. Guerra*, 1851, p. 11.

[50] Taylor, *Odds and Ends*, no. 14, p. 59, says that he died in Michoacan about 1856, naming no authority, and presumably having none.

of Californians was organized outside the town, with a view of attempting its capture, which was prevented more by the influence of citizens and foreigners than by the strength of the garrison. At the end of February, after a series of hostile demonstrations confusedly recorded, on receipt of rumors that Alvarado and Castro had been defeated, Gabriel de la Torre, in command of the force mentioned, summoned Abella to surrender. The captain refused, and Torre made no attempt to enforce his demand, yielding, as he stated, to the solicitations of Spence, Hartnell, and Pablo de la Guerra, who came out as representatives of the townspeople, and because news soon arrived of what had really happened in the south.[51] Immediately after the surrender at Cahuenga, General Castro, fearing that Micheltorena might break this treaty as he had the former one if allowed to land at Monterey, despatched Andrés Pico with a small party to go to Monterey by forced marches and assume command. He left Los Angeles on February 24th, and arrived at Monterey before March 5th. Torre put his men at Pico's disposal; and Abella made no objection to giving up the command. Thus Micheltorena's men

[51] March 1, 1845, Abella to Torre. Refuses to surrender the town without an order from Micheltorena. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 13. March 5th, Torre to Castro, explaining the reasons for making the demand and for not having enforced it. He had 62 men. *Id.*, ii. 14. I suspect that Torre may have made the second demand after he heard of Pico's approach, with a view to gain credit with the new govt. Josiah Belden, *Hist. Statement*, MS., 36–9, says the Californians marched on Monterey and demanded its surrender soon after the governor's departure. Mrs Micheltorena was not sure of her own soldiers, and Belden at Larkin's request organized a guard of 6 American riflemen, who thereafter kept guard at her house. Abella and his officers were at first inclined to surrender, but Mrs M. protested and carried her point. Later came a second demand (that of Torre already noted), and commissioners were sent out, who made an arrangement by which the Californians were to hold the fort, and the garrison the town, one party or the other to yield later according to the issue of the struggle in the south. Swan, *Hist. Sketches*, MS., 3–4, says the foreigners stood guard under the direction of Spence and Dr Stokes. Feb. 4th, news of the troubles at Monterey had reached S. F. Torre was said to have won over most of the garrison, and even to have occupied the town. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 134. García, *Apunte*, MS., 6, says that some of the garrison went over to the Californians. Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 190–4, and Garnica del Castillo, *Recuerdos*, MS., 4–7, talk of various movements of defence and offence, of spies, of shots fired, of threats to blow up the govt house, etc. Felipe Butron and Santiago Estrada are named as leaders among the Californians.

were not permitted to land, and the purely imaginary danger of new troubles with him was averted.[52]

There was an alarm at Sonoma that Sutter on his march southward had detached a part of his force to return and ravage the northern frontier. Colonel Vallejo so far credited the report that he issued a stirring appeal to the people to rally in defence of their homes; but Osio soon wrote from Yerba Buena that the report was founded on nothing more terrible than Sutter's boasting of what he would do on his return.[53] Meanwhile Sutter was detained for some days under nominal arrest at Los Angeles; but finally the new authorities pretended to accept his explanation that he had aided Micheltorena merely as a subordinate officer in obedience to orders, and not only released him, as indeed they were bound to do by the treaty, but also allowed him to retain all his old powers on the Sacramento. In March he started with Bidwell, Townsend, Vaca, his kanaka servants, and part of his Indian warriors, returned northward by way of the Tejon Pass and Tulares Valley, and arrived at New Helvetia the 1st of April.[54] The foreigners of the rifle company did not return in a body, but most of them were probably at their homes before the end of March. Gantt and Marsh before leaving the south made a contract with Pico to attack the Indian horse-thieves for a share of the live-stock they might recover. None of the num-

[52] Feb. 23d, Castro's instructions to Pico. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 27–8. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 89–93, thinks M. had no idea of making a new stand. Most Californian writers merely mention Pico's taking command at Monterey; there is no need to repeat the references.

[53] Feb. 1st, V.'s circular. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 132. Feb. 4th, 6th, 8th, Osio to V. *Id.*, xii. 134, 136–7.

[54] Sutter, *Personal Reminis.*, MS., claims that many were in favor of shooting him, which is likely enough, and that the discovery of M.'s order among his papers was all that saved him. But of course he was protected by the treaty, and probably also by promises made to him at the time of his capture and previously to his companions, to say nothing of the fact that he promised his hearty support to the new govt. Feb. 26th, S. to Pico, asserting that he had acted merely by M.'s orders, and asking to be released. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 123–4. Arrival home on April 1st, after having been 'acquitted with all honors.' *Sutter's Diary*, 6. Before April 9th he had made an Indian campaign and killed 22 of the savages who had killed Thomas Lindsay. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 173.

ber lost anything but their time, or suffered any oppression because of their unwise meddling in politics, though the most of them, not being citizens, were not legally protected by the treaty.[55]

[55] Feb. 27th, contract between gov. and Gantt. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 171–2; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xix. 20–2. March 1st, Gantt to J. A. Carrillo. Declares that charges against himself, Marsh, Hensley, and Dickey, in a letter from Carrillo, are unfounded and very strange. *Carrillo (Dom.) Doc.*, MS., 104. He was then at S. Francisco rancho. April 12th, Castro to Weber. Sutter's men wishing to settle may be offered guaranties; besides, they are protected by the treaty. Letter in *Halleck's Mex. Land Laws*, MS.

CHAPTER XXII.

RULE OF PICO AND CASTRO—POLITICAL ANNALS

1845.

PICO AND CASTRO IN COMMAND—LOS ANGELES THE CAPITAL—SESSIONS OF ASSEMBLY—EXPEDIENTE AGAINST MICHELTORENA—PRISONERS' REVOLT—JUNTA DE GUERRA AT MONTEREY—ACTS OF MEXICAN GOVERNMENT—EFFORTS OF CASTAÑARES—INIESTRA'S EXPEDITION—A FIASCO—HIJAR'S MISSION—J. M. CASTAÑARES SENT TO MEXICO—PROPOSALS FOR GOVERNOR—SUPREME COURT—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS—PREFECTURES RESTORED—VOTE FOR PRESIDENT—JONES AND LARKIN—CASTILLERO'S MISSION—MILITARY ORGANIZATION—SEPTEMBER REVOLT AT ANGELES—ELECTIONS—ALVARADO FOR CONGRESS—VARELA REVOLT AT ANGELES—CARRILLO EXILED—FLORES REVOLT AT SANTA BÁRBARA—INDIAN AFFAIRS—CONTRACT WITH GANTT AND MARSH—LOCAL ITEMS.

THE rule of Pio Pico as governor, and of José Castro as comandante general, both holding office ad interim under Micheltorena's enforced acknowledgment, and Pico also legally as senior vocal of the assembly, dates from the treaty of Cahuenga on the 22d of February, 1845. Neither had any special qualifications for his position; neither would have been chosen by the leading citizens, or even by a popular vote, perhaps, in his own section; and neither would have selected the other as his associate. Castro had earned his place by his services in the revolution; and Pico, in addition to his legal claims and his claims as a southern man, had also the support, politically, of Alvarado. Don Juan Bautista, if, as many believe, he had hoped to secure the governorship for himself, had been forced to make this concession as an alternative of failure; and when the danger was past, he was

not a man to break his word, nor did he desire to place himself in open rebellion against Mexico, or to stir up the old sectional animosities.[1]

It is not known whether there had been any positive stipulation that Los Angeles was to be the capital, as part of the price paid for southern coöperation; but the silence of northern politicians on the subject during this year indicates that such was the case.[2] At any rate, with a southern governor and a southern majority in the assembly, there was no hope for Monterey; and to Los Angeles the capital went and remained there without official protest, the sessions of the assembly being held there, for the most part without the attendance of northern members. Pico made Juan Bandini his secretary of state at first, and a little later José M. Covarrubias. He was unsuccessful in his efforts to bring the treasury also to the south, and to establish a custom-house at San Diego; but he made Ignacio del Valle a kind of treasurer to have charge of that portion of the revenues belonging to the civil government. Alvarado was made administrator of

[1] Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 231; iv. 17–18; v. 59–60, 64–5, 72, says he was urged by Castro and by others to make himself governor, on the legal ground or pretext that he had not served out his term when Micheltorena had come to relieve him; but he refused, being determined not to set an example of violating the laws. I suspect that a still stronger motive was his promise to Pico and his friends; but it must be admitted that Alvarado, throughout his career, was rarely if ever found taking a position against the letter of the law. Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 121–2, tells us that he distrusted Castro from the first, making an effort to have Vallejo chosen as general. Many officers agreed with him, but it was feared that if the matter were pressed Castro would commit some act of violence. March 21st, J. C. Jones, writing to Larkin in approval of the general result of the revolution, says: 'But as to our new governor. Ye gods! The idea of Pio Pico being dignified with the title of Excellency! It is almost too ridiculous to believe, but still Pio Pico will be a more efficient governor than Micheltorena, and if he errs, it will be through ignorance and bad advice. I do not believe, however, that his reign will be long; there will be a flare-up no doubt before many months between the Californians themselves. The great bugs of Sonoma are to be crushed; there will be no office assigned to any one of that great family.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 75. March 4th, Larkin sends his respects, etc., to Pico, and asks for information about the changes of govt. *Id.*, *Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 29. Feb. 27th, Bishop García Diego congratulates Pico on his accession. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 141.

[2] Private individuals in the north complained frequently of the inconvenience of so distant a capital. Vallejo in his letter to Bustamante recommended Sta Clara as a central and altogether suitable place.

the custom-house at Monterey, where Ábrego retained the treasury, and where Castro established his military headquarters, with Francisco Arce as secretary. Castro's military authority in the south was delegated to José A. Carrillo, who was an enemy to Pico, and who occupied a position as comandante of the southern line similar to that of Vallejo in the north.

Thus the conditions were not favorable to harmony. With the governor, capital, and assembly at Los Angeles, and the civil offices all in the hands of the abajeños, while the military headquarters, custom-house, and treasury were at Monterey, under the control of arribeño politicians, a renewal of the old sectional quarrels, as well as of those between military and civil authorities, might safely be predicted. Yet, perhaps because the spoils and advantages were more evenly divided between the north and south than in former years, the quarrel was not in 1845 so bitter or so disastrous in its effects as might have been expected. The troubles were, moreover, not so much between the two sections of the department as between the general and governor; and in most cases the petty conflicts were waged on southern soil, between the Pico element and certain southern men who represented, and were perhaps abetted by, the Castro clique at Monterey.

Outside of the personal and official jealousies referred to, the reader will find but little to condemn in the acts of this administration; that is, in comparison with the average of preceding ones, and before the outbreak of the final and inevitable storm that brought it to an end. Particularly will there be found much to be mildly praised in Pico's general policy during the year 1845. He was not a brilliant man, and effected no radical reforms; but he displayed a creditable degree of good sense and moderation in his management of public affairs, and was far from deserving the ridicule that has been heaped upon him by his countrymen and others. This will be particularly

apparent from the three following chapters, devoted to the important general topics of mission affairs, trade, finance, immigration, and foreign relations.

The asamblea, or junta, whose sessions of January and February have already been recorded in connection with the revolution,[3] met again at Los Angeles in regular session on the 2d of March, and held frequent meetings until October, the northern members, Spence, Munrás, and Estrada, being absent, but several southern suplentes being called in at various times to take their places.[4] Pico, Botello, Figueroa, Cárlos Carrillo, and Ignacio del Valle were the members and suplentes who were present from March to May. The first matter that came up for consideration—and the only important one except those connected with commerce and missions, as noted elsewhere—was the preparation of an *expediente* on the late proceedings against Micheltorena, to be sent to Mexico as a defence of the Californians. Pico and Castro, three days after the treaty of Cahuenga, had written to the

[3] See chap. xxi. of this vol.

[4] Sessions of March, April, and May, recorded in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., x. 77, 87; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 37–64, 250–61, 266; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 93; *Id., Ben.*, ii. 101. Many minor routine matters, including land grants, local complaints, days of meeting, regulations of voting and debate, reports of committees, excuses of members for non-attendance, etc., receive no further notice. I may note, however, the following items not pertaining to the topics treated in my text. March 28th, four laws proposed and sent to Mexico for approval, 1st and 2d, on trade, opening the port of S. Diego, and prohibiting the introduction of liquors; 3d, on the appointment of gov., the president to appoint him for 5 years from a list proposed by the assembly according to art. 136–7 of the bases orgánicas, the second part of facultad xvii. of art. 134—giving the pres. authority to disregard the list in the case of frontier departments—not to have effect in Cal.; and 4th, Alta Cal. to extend south to S. Fernando on the Baja Cal. frontier. April 18th, 21st, action on missions. April 23d, educational *proyecto de ley*. April 25th, discussion on confirmation of land grants. April 28th, prop. to establish a mercantile tribunal at Monterey; also secret session to propose candidates for gov., with no result given. April 30th, May 7th, land grants. May 9th, 12th, 14th, various minor matters, without results. May 16th, a forest law passed, prohibiting the cutting of timber on private lands and regulating it on public lands. May 19th, the sec., Olvera, to have an assistant as soon as the assembly can afford the funds; rumors of war with the U. S. May 21st, mission matters. May 23d, local troubles between judges at S. Francisco. May 26th, troubles caused by the absence of members without legal excuses. May 28th, decree on the renting and sale of missions.

president, asking that the ex-governor's reports be not credited, and that judgment be deferred until full explanations could be received from a commissioner who would soon be sent for that purpose.[5] The assembly named Spence and Ábrego at Monterey, Olvera at Angeles, and Francisco de la Guerra in Santa Bárbara to collect evidence on the subject, indicating in instructions issued some of the sources from which and points upon which evidence was to be sought. At the same time Miguel Pedrorena and J. A. Carrillo were appointed to visit Mexico and present the charges. Both declined the service, and Pico was authorized to appoint substitutes; but nothing more is recorded in the matter after the end of April.[6] On the 28th of March, however, Pico had sent a report and defence to Mexico, with a collection of twelve documents in support of his statements. The documents have been already cited; and the only peculiarity of Pico's defence is the fact that he represented Micheltorena's refusal to convene the assembly as one of his chief offences, alluding to the illegal session at Monterey in the spring of 1844. This phase of the subject was rather weak.[7]

Meanwhile there were disturbances at the new capital, more or less political in their significance. In March Simplicio Valdés was arrested on a charge of having conspired to seize the public funds and proclaim Micheltorena governor and general.[8] At the same time Matías Moreno, afterward a somewhat prominent man, was prosecuted for indecorous expres-

[5] Feb. 25th, P. and C. to pres. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 18.

[6] Mar. 4th, appointments. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 37–44, 306–8. Pico to Spence, Alvarado, and Castro. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 6. Pico to Olvera with instruc. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 74–5. April 9th, Ábrego's instruc. to take statements of 5 or 6 prominent men, search for doc., etc. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xix. 1–2. April 11th, Alcalde Escobar prepared 20 p. of matter under Ábrego's instruc. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 311–12. April 23d, Carrillo and Pedrorena decline. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vii. 330.

[7] *Micheltorena, Expediente contra el General, 1845.* In *Monitor Constit.*, May 27–8, 1845; *Minerva*, May 29–31, 1845.

[8] March 26th, Agapito Ramirez was the accuser. An investigation ordered. No results recorded. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 27; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 54; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 27.

sions against the government in writing. There was an order issued to banish Moreno across the frontier, but he was set free a few months later.[9] In the night of April 8th, some twenty criminals confined in the jail, or guard-house, overpowered their guards, seized their arms, and stationed themselves before the church, where they kindled a bonfire and opened fire with cannon and muskets up and down the street, shouting "Down with Pico, Carrillo, and Sanchez!" As the citizens began to assemble in arms, the enthusiasm of the rebels cooled, and most of them surrendered to the authorities. Three or four of the ringleaders obtained horses and escaped, to be retaken later and sentenced to six years of convict life at Acapulco.[10] At the beginning of May, for reasons not explained, Carrillo was temporarily relieved of his command in favor of Andrés Pico, by Castro's order.[11] John C. Jones wrote to Larkin as follows: "I have just returned from the pueblo; they are all at loggerheads there. Pio Pico is most unpopular, and José Antonio Carrillo, in my opinion, is endeavoring to supplant him. The present government of California cannot exist six months; it will explode by spontaneous combustion."[12]

[9] March 26th, 31st, June 13th, 25th. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 28–9.

[10] April 9th, Cárlos Carrillo to Capt. Guerra. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., iv. 252–3. April 10th, J. A. Carrillo to com. of Sta Bárbara. *Id.*, v. 168–9. Ricardo Uribe, Ritillo Valencia, and Cordero are named as leaders. July, 4 men condemned. Castro wishes them sent away on the *Soledad*. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 46. Pio Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 138–9, in telling the story, states that the prisoners were 6 or 8 'respectable men' who were exasperated at Mayor Gen. Carrillo's ill treatment, and fired their cannon at his house. A few days later they sent for Pico, and by his advice gave themselves up for trial, and were acquitted. José Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 79–81, gives many particulars of the efforts of the citizens under Covarrubias and Palomares to recapture the prisoners. He says their leader was one Faustino, a Spanish carpenter, who had been unjustly imprisoned by Alcalde Sanchez. They were not sent to Acapulco, but taken north by Castro and finally released. Manuel Castro, *Relacion*, MS., 142–3, says the prisoners were Indians.

[11] May 1st, command of the plaza surrendered. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, S., viii. 44.

[12] May 1st, J. to L. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 139. In a letter of May 23d he continues, *Id.*, iii. 163: 'I am more and more convinced that the new government will be of short life. His Excellency has few or no friends, and every day is becoming more unpopular. Since the arrival of Don Andrés and his taking command over Don José Antonio, who leads a powerful party, the governor

It was in May that the *María Teresa* brought a report of war with the United States. The matter was mentioned in the assembly, exciting but little attention; but at Monterey it was deemed sufficiently important to justify the holding of a junta de guerra, at which about thirty officers were present, the 24th of May. Patriotic speeches were made by Castro, Alvarado, and others; but the only practical result was to authorize the general to despatch a vessel to Acapulco in quest of definite news, and material resources for defence, as well as to give assurance of California's loyalty and determination to resist invasion.[13] It does not appear that any vessel was chartered; but Castañares was subsequently sent to Mexico by the general.

The arrival in June of a comisionado from the supreme government, and the sending of a military comisionado to represent the department at the national capital, as will be recorded a little later, render this a convenient opportunity to turn our attention to Mexico, and to what was done there in 1845 with reference to Californian affairs. During the first three months of the year no later news reached Mexico from Monterey than that contained in Micheltorena's reports of December 12, 14, 1844, which arrived in January. Over and over again did Castañares represent the critical condition of his department, declaring that if relief were not promptly afforded, not only would Micheltorena be forced to leave the country, but that within a few months California would share the fate of Texas, and be lost forever to Mexico. The administration was somewhat alarmed, summoned Castañares to a conference, and proposed to send him as governor and general

and Carrillo have been at swords' points. They have descended to personal and scurrilous abuse, and came almost to blows.' Jones was a man prone to hold exaggerated views in these days.

[13] May 24th, full report of the meeting by J. M. Castañares, sec., and signed by all the officers participating, in *Amigo del Pueblo*, Aug. 30, 1845.

to restore order and save the country. Don Manuel was willing to accept the position temporarily, but he refused to start unless he could carry with him not only assurances and promises, with definite instructions to send away the worst of the cholos and to convoke the assembly, but also 200 cavalrymen perfectly armed and equipped, a complete equipment for 150 infantrymen of the batallon, some cannon and 200 muskets with the proper munitions, and above all, some $13,000 in ready money, with positive orders for prompt quarterly payments in advance of the $8,000 per month already assigned! He did not propose to go to California on a fruitless mission, to be ridiculed and driven out by his constituents; but his conditions did not suit the government, and no more was heard of the appointment. This was on February 1st; after keeping silent for two months from motives of delicacy, Don Manuel renewed his supplications, and was assured on March 27th that the president had ordered the sending of troops to California.[14]

Ministers Cuevas and García Conde in their reports of March both alluded to the lamentable condition of affairs in California and to the probable expulsion of Micheltorena. They regarded the defence of that department as of the highest importance, recognized the real causes that had led to the late governor's overthrow, regretted past neglect on the part of Mexico, and announced the purpose of the government to avert the consequences of that neglect by prompt action.

[14] Corresp. of Castañares with the govt, Jan.–March 1845, in *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 54–70. In his letter of March 30th he seems not to approve the sending of troops that had been announced, without other necessary measures, since their coming was likely to alarm rather than relieve the Californians. The only letter of later date than March was one of July 17th, in which he expressed his fears that it was now too late to save Cal. He wrote no more, as he states in a final note, because the govt in subsequent measures did not consult him at all. The preface to his printed collection is dated Oct. 10th, and he concludes with: 'Quiera Dios alejar de nosotros los males que traería á la nacion la pérdida de las Californias!' Bustamante, *Nuevo Bernal Diaz*, i. 48, represents Castañares as making himself intrusive, in the hope of succeeding Micheltorena. The deputies sitting near him complain that he keeps them, *Californiados*, talking of nothing else. The zealous deputy never returned to Cal.

"The government is busy with measures which will assure the integrity of our territory in that most precious part of our republic. A purely military expedition would be impolitic in the actual state of Californias, since the people were groaning under the ominous yoke of soldiery, which never permitted a meeting of the assembly or of municipal bodies, but made them feel all the weight of brutal power. Therefore the government has to employ force, but always combined with political measures expected to produce the most happy results. The executive regrets that he cannot announce his plans on this subject; but repeats that he hopes for a favorable and permanent result," said García Conde; while Cuevas added: "This administration desires—and may its measures be successful!—to supply resources in men, money, and armament, on the point of starting under the command of a new chief, who by his wise conduct may be able to conjure the evils with which California is threatened."[15]

Early in April there came the news of Micheltorena's actual overthrow—news by no means unexpected; whereupon José María Híjar, a person not unknown to my readers, was at once sent as a comisionado to California, with instructions dated April 11th, which were virtually an approval of all that had been done. There was in them no word of blame; there was an exhortation to peace, a request that the assembly would propose the man desired for governor, and an assurance that the military force to be sent for the country's defence would be composed of good men under a carefully selected leader.[16]

Early in May the tidings came to Mexico that, de-

[15] *Mexico, Mem. Rel.*, 1845, p. 25-7; *Id., Mem. Guerra*, 1845, p. 9-10. Jan. 9th, declaration of Tellez and Mejía—Micheltorena's agents—that they adhere to Gen. Paredes' pronunciamiento. *Meteoro de Sinaloa*, Jan. 20, 1845. Jan. 18th, decree subjecting Cal. to art. 134, fac. 17, of bases orgánicas—that is, allowing the pres. to appoint a gov. without regarding the list of candidates sent by the assembly. *Mexico, Col. de Leyes (Palacio)*, 1844–6, p. 81.

[16] *Híjar, Instrucciones del Gobierno Supremo al Comisionado para California, 1845*, MS. Later in this chapter I speak again of Híjar's mission.

spite Micheltorena's downfall, order had been restored in California, which was by no means disloyal to the nation; and on May 25th was printed in the official newspaper Pio Pico's report of March 28th, in which he gave a correct version of the late troubles, with assurances that his countrymen were law-abiding people.[17] In reply, a communication was despatched to Pico on May 29th, virtually recognizing the legality of his position as governor, asking his coöperation for the welfare of the country, repeating the spirit of Híjar's instructions, demanding California's vote for president, and renewing the promise of a military force.[18] In June and later, several orders were sent to the north bearing on the imminence of war with the United States, as will be noted later,[19] and in July, as we have seen, Micheltorena arrived and was not very cordially received. With one exception, there is no other topic to be noticed in this connection.[20]

The military expedition determined on by the government as early as April was long enshrouded in a kind of mystery, for reasons not very apparent. I have already noted several allusions to the matter. As late as July 18th, the minister of war assured congress that there was being fitted out 'a most brilliant expedition,' the success of which depended on a secret which he had no authority to reveal.[21] It was in August that the veil of secrecy was lifted, and it became known that a fully equipped force of at least 600 men, veteran troops, was to be sent from Mexico

[17] *Diario del Gobierno*, May 25, 1845, containing Pico's report of March 28th copied in substance next day in *Bustamante, Mem. Hist. Mex.*, MS., ii. 103–6, with previous mention of the subject in *Id.*, ii. 92, 100. Bustamante disliked Micheltorena, and was very ready to believe that the Californians had been justified. The report of Pico has been noted in connection with the *Micheltorena, Exped.*, printed in other Mex. newspapers.

[18] May 29th, Cuevas to Pico. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xvi. 17–19. *Guerra, Doc.* MS., vii. 199.

[19] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 64–9, quotes a letter of June 3d from Castillero to Castro, announcing that the latter was to be confirmed as comandante general. 'The pill is a bitter one, but they will have to swallow it'!

[20] In Nov. there was a report of a union of some kind between Cal. and Sonora. *Bustamante, Mem. Hist. Mex.*, iii. 158.

[21] *Bustamante, Nuevo Bernal Diaz*, i. 48.

by Acapulco, under the command of Colonel Ignacio Iniestra, an able officer educated in the military schools of France. Salvador M. Iturbide was the agent, or comisario, who, under Iniestra, superintended the outfit of this army. Large quantities of stores were purchased at the capital and sent on mules to the coast; four vessels were chartered at Acapulco to transport the troops under two men-of-war as convoys, and the troops themselves, including three hundred infantry under Colonel Baneneli, marched from Mexico in detachments, which in October were scattered along the route to Acapulco. Meanwhile Andrés Castillero had been sent to California to superintend preparations for the reception of the force,[22] and a controversy had broken out at the capital. It was charged that there had been waste, extravagance, and even dishonest management in fitting out the expedition, so that the funds liberally but carelessly provided by the government had been exhausted at the beginning, and before the end of September great difficulty was experienced in supporting the troops already en route. Iniestra and Iturbide denied the charges of mismanagement, and threw the blame for present difficulties on other shoulders. In the details of the scandal we are not interested,[23] and the results are not very definitely

[22] No date, Castillero's instructions from Gen. Iniestra. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vii. 37–8. It was probably in July or August that he left Mexico, and the expedition was then expected to sail from Acapulco about Sept. 20th.

[23] *Iniestra, Expedicion de Californias, 1845*, a series of long editorials, with letters from Iniestra, Iturbide, and others, in the *Amigo del Pueblo*, Sept. 2, 9, 18, 27, Oct. 4, 23, 25, 30, Nov. 15, 25, 27, Dec. 4, 1845. It was charged that tent-poles were sent from Mexico on mules; that 'hard-tack' was likewise transported, its cost in Mexico being about the same as at Acapulco; and that the charter of one of the vessels at least cost as much as the vessel was worth. Much ridicule was also directed to the employment of a large number of musicians; it being suggested that California, like Jericho, was to be taken by the sound of trumpets miraculously, by this 'expedicion musico-militar.' The transports chartered and lying at Acapulco for months at great expense were the *Mercurio*, *Catalina*, *Correo de Acapulco*, and *Primavera;* and the convoys *Andhuac* and *Correo de Californias*. In many numbers of the *Amigo* from Sept. to Nov. appeared a series of 'preguntas sueltas,' one of which was, 'La espedicion á Californias, por fin, va ó no? Herros visto al Coronel Iniestra muy despacio en un café, y muy contento al parecer, mientras que los buques estan ganando estadías en Acapulco,

recorded. It seems, however, that before the end of the year the arms, ammunition, and various other stores belonging to the expedition reached Acapulco, as did a large part of the troops; but the men joined General Álvarez in the revolution of December against President Herrera, and all the stores, together with the ships, fell into the hands of the revolutionists, while California was left to defend herself.[24]

Let us return to California and to the month of June. José María Híjar, Mexican comisionado and formerly director of the famous Híjar and Padrés colony of 1834, arrived at Santa Bárbara on June 8th. He announced his arrival, presenting his instructions next day, and was welcomed by Governor Pico on the 11th, by the assembly on the 13th, and by Castro and Alvarado a little later, no secret being made of the nature of his mission.[25] Híjar had been selected because of his knowledge of California, where his unpopularity, arising from the colony affair, was supposed to have died out. Had there been any difficulties in his way, his mission would doubtless have been a failure; but as he really had nothing to

y se está apolillando la galleta que se llevó allá desde esta capital. Esto no es calcular *á la Iniestra*, sino *á la siniestra*.'

[24] President Paredes, in his address of June 6, 1846, to congress, qualifies the revolt of this expedition as 'horrible and parricidal.' *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones*, 1847, annex, p. 94. Gen. Manuel Marquez de Leon writes to the *Eco de Occidente* (*Guaymas*), Sept. 25, 1878, that he was a member of the expedition, and blames the party that prevented its departure and thus lost California. The news that the expedition was in difficulty and would probably not come reached California on the *Hannah*, Jan. 17, 1846. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ii. 116. See also *Bustamante, Nuevo Bernal Diaz*, ii. 14, 58.

[25] July 1st, Pico to min. of rel., announcing Híjar's arrival and reception at Angeles; likewise the 'inexplicable pleasure in my heart' with which he ordered the publication of his instructions, 'amid salvos of artillery, ringing of bells,' etc. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 55–6. April 11th, Híjar's instructions. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 72–6. June 9th, H. to P. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 34–5. June 11th, P. to H. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 49–50. June 13th, action of assembly, thanking the sup. govt and welcoming Híjar. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 68–70. June 21st, Alvarado to H. Castro starts to confer with H. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 70–1. June 25th, Pico to Larkin, describing Híjar's mission. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 139. June 12th, Pico announces to the people that the sup. govt is seeking to promote the welfare of Cal. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 77; also in *Ávila, Doc.*, MS., 143–8.

do but to announce the welcome news that the revolutionists had nothing to fear from Mexico, he met with no opposition whatever. He was an educated gentleman, who played the guitar and made himself agreeable. He did not meddle in politics beyond writing a few routine communications, and he died at Los Angeles on December 19th, probably before he had spent all the advance of salary received in Mexico.[26]

At about the time of Híjar's arrival, Castro sent José María Castañares to Mexico, presumably in consequence of the Monterey meeting of May 24th, to explain California's needs in connection with the rumors of coming war. Of his instructions, or what he tried to accomplish in Mexico, nothing is known, and nothing was known at the time; but Pico and the assembly suspected that the mission might not be favorable to their interests, and requested the supreme government to pay no heed to Castañares' representations on matters pertaining to the civil administration.[27] On June 27th, in accordance with the recommendation brought by Híjar, the assembly balloted for a *quinterna* of candidates for governor, selecting the following five names given in the order of preference: Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, M. G. Vallejo, José de la Guerra y Noriega, and Antonio M. Osio.[28] In

[26] Dec. 19th–20th, death and burial of Híjar. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 136; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 247. Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 82–3, says that Híjar told him he had authority to declare himself governor or general if he should deem it best. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 96–109, 116–23, and Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 35–43, devote considerable space to Híjar's mission, which they ridicule, blaming Pico also for divulging the nature of his secret instructions. They state that H., finding he could accomplish nothing, resigned. They say also that he was coldly received by all but Bandini and some of the old colony men, speaking of impolite toasts and speeches made at a banquet given him by Bandini. I find, however, no contemporary evidence that the old troubles were remembered or that Híjar had any difficulties whatever.

[27] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 246–7; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 84; viii. 8–9; *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 145–9.

[28] June 27th, Pico's proclamation of the result. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 40; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 30–3; *Id., S. Jose*, v. 95–6; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 74, 76; July 29th, Célis to Vallejo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 145. 'What a selection!' writes Jones. 'This I will wager, however, that should the president select from that number—a thing most improbable—Bandini will be the man; and in my opinion, of the five he is the man most fit to fill the office; he would,

the same month there were fears at the capital that there was to be another revolt of the prisoners, José Antonio Carrillo having in the mean time been restored to command.[29] I append an outline of the assembly's proceedings for June and July.[30]

The three great matters that occupied the attention of the legislators at Los Angeles in July were the reorganization of the supreme court, constitutional reform, and a restoration of the prefectures. The tribunal superior, according to the act of the assembly on July 2d and Pico's proclamation of the 4th, was to consist provisionally of two justices, to alternate as presidents, and a fiscal, each receiving a salary of $2,000 and being appointed by the governor from candidates named by the assembly. The tribunal was to appoint a secretary, first oficial, and clerk; was to be divided into two chambers to consider cases of second and third instance respectively; and was to be governed by the law of 1837. Men learned in the law were to be obtained for justices as soon as possi-

however, never go down for governor in California.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 212.

[29] June 16th, Carrillo to Pico, and governor's orders. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 42-3; *Id.*, *Ang.*, xi. 149-51.

[30] Sessions of assembly, June 1845. June 11th, land grants; complaints of private individuals against local authorities; absence of members. June 13th, Guerra of Sta Bárbara takes his seat; land grants; Hijar's instructions. June 16th, 18th, lands; Hijar's mission. June 20th, lands; Bandini retires from secretaryship in favor of Covarrubias. June 23d, lands; committee on political division of the department urged to make haste; Valle not permitted to retire. June 25th, lands; petty local affairs; committee work. June 27th, lands; S. Diegans want a tribunal mercantil; report on courts; quinterna for governor. June 30th, lands; courts. Botello and Valle generally monopolized the discussions in these days. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 64-77.

Session of July 2d, organization of courts. July 4th, ditto; and division of dept into districts and partidos. July 7th, reply to critcism; absent members, vote to publish corresp., showing that due efforts had been made to secure attendance. July 9th, lands; supreme court. July 11th, lands; elections; constitutional reform; Valle allowed to return; also Guerra for 15 days. July 14th, 16th, 18th, constitutional reform; Spence and Munrás still 'sick.' July 21st, same topic; long discussion on parliamentary rules; Botello vs Pico; gov. not allowed to decide a tie by his vote *de calidad*. July 25th, Botello had left the assembly in disgust, but now returned to his duties; declaration in favor of the federal system of 1824; Castro's representation to the sup. govt read. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 77-104. The more important topics are further noticed in my text.

ble, and were to receive an increased salary. As the court seems never to have performed any of its duties, it does not appear necessary to specify those duties more fully.[31] On July 9th the assembly suggested three candidates for each of the leading positions, and two for each of the substitute justices; and on the 12th the following appointments were made: 1st ministro, J. A. Carrillo; 2d, Manuel Requena; fiscal, Mariano Bonilla; ministros suplentes, Ignacio Coronel, Santiago Argüello, Raimundo Carrillo, José Abrego, Salvio Pacheco, and Guillermo Castro.[32] Carrillo declined the appointment immediately, and Bonilla later, as did Bandini appointed in Carrillo's place. Juan Malarin, president of the old tribunal, protested against a change which deprived him of his position, but his protest was not heeded. In September, and later, an attempt was made to organize the court by calling in the suplentes, but apparently without success.[33]

In the matter of constitutional reform, suggestions had been received from Híjar on changes affecting California alone; while on those affecting the national system, propositions were received from Michoacan, Puebla, and Chiapas. On the first point, the decision reached by the assembly, June 14th, to be submitted to the supreme government for approval, was that to California there should be granted exceptional laws, giving to the governor, assembly, and municipalities greater powers than were held in other states, and also that duties on foreign goods should be reduced at least ten per cent, no class of goods being prohibited,

[31] July 2d–4th. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 75–85; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 46; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 64–7.

[32] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 87–9; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 51–2; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 85; *Id., Angeles*, x. 67–9.

[33] July 13th, Carrillo declines. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Jusg.*, MS., iv. 44, 46–7. July 21st, Requena accepts. *Id.*, iv. 47. Aug. 8th, Sept. 11th, Coronel and Bonilla decline. *Id.*, iv. 44, 46. Aug. 20th, Malarin complains. *Id.*, iv. 47. Sept. 25th, 27th, Bandini declines. *Id.*, iv. 45–6. Aug. 18th to Oct. 1st, action of assembly and efforts to organize the court. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 113–15, 227–8, 237–8, 281–2, 290–3; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 29; *Id., Ang.*, x. 73; xi. 161. Malarin had been snubbed by the assembly, but he still presented his claims on Dec. 31st. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 137–8.

and trade in national goods being entirely free. So far as national affairs were concerned, the assembly voted finally, on July 25th, in favor of the federal system of 1824, with some modifications to prevent centralization of power, and to insure individual rights.[34]

The third project, and the only one of the three that was practically carried into effect, was a division of the department into districts, and a restoration of the former system of prefectures. By the act of July 4th, published by Pico July 5th, Alta California was divided into two districts—the 1st, that of Los Angeles, from San Luis Obispo south, with three partidos, 1. Los Angeles, 2. Santa Bárbara, 3. San Diego; and the 2d, that of Monterey, from San Miguel north, with two partidos, 1. Monterey, 2. Yerba Buena. At Monterey there was to be a prefect, and in every other partido a sub-prefect. At Los Angeles and Monterey the ayuntamientos were to remain; and in each other partido there was to be a junta municipal, consisting of the justice of the peace and two citizens, presided over by the sub-prefect. In the first district the sub-prefects were to exercise the powers of the prefects, except certain ones reserved for the governor. All the new officials were to be governed by the former regulations of 1837, except so far as they might conflict with the constitution and with the present decree.[35] Manuel Castro, nephew of Pico, cousin of the general, and a prominent man in the first movement against Micheltorena, was made prefect of the 2d district, and assumed the office August 2d.[36] The

[34] June 13th, Híjar to Pico. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 35–7. Action of assembly July 11th, 14th, 16th, 21st, 25th. *Ley. Rec.*, MS., iv. 91–103, 270–3; *Moreno, Doc.*, MS., 85; *Carrillo, Doc.*, MS., 3–4; *Carrillo (J.), Doc.*, MS., 47–9.

[35] July 4th, 5th, decree of assembly and Pico's bando restoring prefecturas. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 47; *Ley. Rec.*, MS., iv. 79–83; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 98–101; *Id., Ang.*, x. 60–3; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 30. The prefect had a salary of $1,500, with a sec. at $600; sub-prefects had $500, except at Angeles $600—all to pay their own office expenses. All appointed by the gov. except the sub-prefect of Yerba Buena, who was appointed by the prefect with the governor's approval.

[36] July 12th, Castro's appointment; July 18th, letter of acceptance;

appointments of sub-prefects will be given in connection with local annals.

Early in July General Castro went down to Los Angeles. About the same time the *Soledad* brought Captain Flores with the Mexican despatch of May 29th, already mentioned as including a virtual approval of all that the Californians had done, an assurance that a large military force would soon arrive, and a request for the presidential vote of the department.[37] Castro's business at the capital was chiefly connected with the division of the revenues between the civil and military branches, on which topic the governor and general soon came to an agreement, as will be related in the next chapter.[38] There is but slight evidence of controversy at this time between the two factions, except in the letters of Jones, who represented Castro as having come south full of wrath and determined to have vengeance, though his tone was somewhat modified by the news from Mexico. It is evident that Jones' statements on this subject were exaggerated.[39] Jones and Larkin also fell into an error respecting the news from Mexico, representing the coming expedition as intended to punish the Californians and the foreign allies against Micheltorena, all of whom were in great terror, but resolved to resist to the death, and to that end were engaged in

Aug. 2d, sworn in. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 491; ii. 84; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 132, 137; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 65-6; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 375-6, 364-5; *Id., Angeles*, x. 68-9.

[37] July 9th, arrival of the *Soledad* at S. Pedro; July 11th, 12th, publication of the despatch of May 29th. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 1-2; *Id., Ang.*, xi. 156-8; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xvi. 17-19; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 2; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 91-3; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., iv. 188-9. July 12th, McKinley to Larkin on the arrival. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 218.

[38] June 21st, Castro leaves the command at Monterey to Alvarado during his absence. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 11. June 30th, C. expected soon at Angeles, but not yet arrived. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 44.

[39] July 7th, Jones to Larkin. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 212, and similar ideas in other letters. In his letters of July 20th he says: 'From all accounts, the capital is in a most rebellious and disorderly state. Justice has closed her wings and fled from that place. The governor is most unpopular; he is led by the nose by the new secretary (Covarrubias), who is placarded almost every day. The Honorable Assembly are at loggerheads, and confusion is the order of the day.' It is also said that Castro and Hijar had quarrelled.

raising forces.[40] Of course this was all wrong. Mexico had no intention to avenge Micheltorena's downfall; and the Californians had no fear of such a movement, understanding perfectly that the expedition was to defend the country against American invaders. It is not easy to determine whether Larkin intentionally misrepresented these matters for effect on newly arrived immigrants and at Washington, or whether he was misled by Castro and Alvarado, who wished to conceal the preparations being made against the United States.

California's vote was cast on August 1st by the assembly for Herrera as president of the republic, though Gomez Farías got two of the five votes—those of Botello and Carrillo.[41] Later in the month came rumors of impending war, duly published with appeals to popular patriotism, and orders for military organization—all to be repeated and redoubled in September, when there came from Mexico more definite reports and orders, brought by Andrés Castillero, who came to act as co-comisionado with Híjar, and especially to prepare for the reception of Iniestra's army. Indeed, this expectation of war with the United States, with resulting acts and correspondence, including the reception of overland immigrants and Castillero's negotiations for the purchase of Sutter's Fort, was the principal matter to be noticed in the last half of this year; but it is also a topic to be treated in a later

[40] July 7th, 20th, J. to L. July 10th, L. to sec. state and to *N. Y. Journal of Commerce. Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 212, 226; *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 25-6; *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 203.

[41] Aug. 1st, vote for Herrera announced by Pico to min. of rel. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 7; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 104-5; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 71; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 147. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 43-4, credits Pico with having managed this affair very skilfully to get the vote thrown for Herrera, who was not popular, while Castro and Alvarado were absent; but there is no foundation for this view of the matter. Doubtless the bearer of the despatch of May 29th had instructions as to who was to receive the vote, and the Californians were glad to obey orders, not caring who was president. Rivera, *Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 705, states that Cal. did not vote. Perhaps the vote did not arrive in time. On April 21st Herrera's accession to the presidency had been published in Cal. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., v. 30. On Sept. 9th a vote was also thrown for Castillo as justice of the Mexican sup. court. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 121-2.

chapter[42]—only one of its phases, the controversy that to some extent grew out of it, requiring attention here.

Pico claimed the exclusive right to organize the militia according to Mexican decrees of June; and his jealousy of all military interference was shared by Prefect Castro, the representative of civil authority in the north. There resulted a controversy between the prefect and Colonel Alvarado on the matter of enlistments, a quarrel which was thought to be healed on the general's return to Monterey.[43] It was revived again, however, when Pico declared that no military *fuero* could be recognized except in officers of the regular army, and called upon General Castro to put all other officers, including Alvarado of course, at the disposition of the civil authorities.[44] This the general deemed

[42] See chap. xxv., this vol. Sept. 10th, Hijar to Pico, announcing Castillero's appointment, and receipt of $1,000 for travelling expenses. Sept. 13th, C.'s instructions published. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 37–9. Sept. 20th, Jones writes to Larkin: 'You will have learnt the news from Castiyares (Castillero), who, by the way, is the most outrageous liar I ever encountered. Do not believe a word he tells you. He has no commission whatever, only a letter from the new governor to advise him of the state of the coast when he arrives. He is a spy, nothing more.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 278.

Sessions of the assembly Aug.–Oct.: Aug. 1st, election of president of the republic. Aug. 4th, Botello sick; petition of a sub-prefect for increase of salary, refused; land grants. Aug. 6th, nothing done. Aug. 7th, secret session to deliberate on war. Aug. 8th, 11th, 13th, same subject, and lands. Aug. 18th, 20th, 22d, lands; supreme court. Aug. 25th, 27th, 29th, com. on missions; prop. to adjourn at end of month carried, and members not residing at Angeles permitted to retire—but the sessions went on just the same. Sept. 3d, dept treasurer; lands. Sept. 5th, report of com. on missions. Sept. 9th, vote for magistrate of supreme court in Mexico. Sept. 10th, missions; elections; military organization; celebration of the fiesta of the 16th. Sept. 12th, forms of celebration; Carrillo absent on account of sickness; Castillero's appointment. Sept. 13th, form of ceremonial at the fiesta. Sept. 19th, elections; military organization; Botello objects to a proclamation which Pico proposes to publish. Sept. 22d, preliminary reports of committees; sup. court. Sept. 24th, regulations for militia in 13 articles; a treasurer to be appointed; lands. Sept. 26th, lands. Oct. 1st, lands; cattle-stealing; sec. to get his salary notwithstanding the adjournment; sup. court; reference to election of senators of the republic. Oct. 3d, land grants. Oct. 8th, regulations for the sale of hides; land grants; sessions suspended for the rest of the year, because inability to pay salaries makes it necessary to allow members to retire. *Leg. Mex.*, MS., iv. 104–244; *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 37–8. Oct. 11th. Pico's proclamation closing the sessions.

[43] August. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 109, 112–13, 118–19. Sept. 1st, Pico calls for information about rumors of disturbances at Monterey, *Id.*, ii. 125; and is assured Sept. 12th by Castro that all is quiet now, though there had been uneasiness in consequence of rumors that the prefect and citizens would attack the soldiers. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 363–4.

[44] Sept. 13th. P. to C. *Doc. Hist. Cal.* MS. ii. 148–.

an unwarrantable interference with his prerogatives, and issued a general order annulling the governor's decree on the ground that the officers in question were in active service and therefore under his own command. The prefect then issued a proclamation in defence of Pico's rights, and declared that dissensions between the chief authorities should not be allowed to interfere with the military organization, since while they were quarrelling he would put himself at the head of the citizens and save the country! General Castro replied, praising Don Manuel's patriotic zeal, but reminding him that the country's defence was a duty belonging only to the comandancia general.[45] The trouble continued to some extent in October, the only definite result being to prevent the enlistment of defensores, and to lay the foundations of a still more bitter controversy for 1846. So far as the north was concerned, Castillero's visit and his tour with Castro to Sonoma and New Helvetia tended somewhat to allay personal dissensions in the last months of 1845.[46]

[45] Sept. 29th–30th, prefect's proclamation; Castro to Pico and to prefect; and Alvarado's protest. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 168; *Avila, Doc.*, MS., 56–8, 61; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 56. Larkin, *Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 27, writes on Sept. 29th that matters were getting worse and worse between the two parties, so that the people hardly cared what flag was exchanged for their own.

[46] Oct. 1st, Castro to prefect, expressing surprise, etc., at his proclamation. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 172. Oct. 3d, Don Manuel defends himself at some length in a letter to Don José, using plain and forcible language. He has offered his resignation, but until relieved proposes to discharge faithfully and fearlessly the duties of his office. Manuel was a much abler man than José, and was evidently not so manageable as the latter had expected to find him. *Id.*, ii. 173. Oct. 1st, a friend of the author wrote to Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 214, giving a gloomy picture of the country's miserable and disorderly condition, arising from internal dissensions; but all foreigners grossly exaggerated the difficulties in these days. This writer states that Pico had been arrested and imprisoned. Oct. 15th, A. M. Pico at S. José to prefect. Wants a detailed account of the troubles; thinks there should be no revolt save for serious causes. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 192. Oct. 28th, Alvarado to Pinto, on preparations for Castro's trip to the northern frontier. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 208. Dec. 10th, Gen. Castro to prefect and to Castillero. In consequence of news just received, desires to see them in Monterey to take steps to avert civil war. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 239. Dec. 20th, Castro is going south and leaves Narvaez in command at Monterey. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 255. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 46–8, blames Pico for all the troubles. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 455–6, thinks Castro at first tried to act in harmony with Pico, but was influenced by Castillero to turn against him. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 126, thinks the old triumvirate, Alvarado, Castro, and Vallejo, were intriguing to overthrow Pico and recover the capital. Most Californians merely refer to the controversy of 1845–6 as a general matter, with a general

At the capital in the mean time the abajeños not only circulated exaggerated rumors of northern troubles, but made some progress in their own phases of the current quarrel.[47] In the night of September 15th–16th, the garrison revolted, but next day returned to duty, some changes being made by the governor and assembly in the officers commanding. José A. Carrillo accused Pico of having instigated the troops not to recognize his authority; while the governor's version was that the troops had risen because unable to endure the comandante's oppression, but had been persuaded to submit. Carrillo was temporarily relieved of the command, or at least a recommendation to that effect was sent to General Castro.[48]. Pico's messengers bearing despatches for Castro respecting the late occurrences were overtaken north of Santa Bárbara by a party sent in pursuit by Carrillo to seize the despatches and carry others to Castro, in which they were successful; while another party sent by the alcalde of Santa Bárbara to capture Carrillo's messengers failed. Neither were those messengers arrested in the north as ordered, but soon came back with passes from Castro, much to the disgust of Pico, who with reason looked upon the proceeding as an outrage

expression of opinion that governor and general wished to get rid each of the other. Both are accused of favoring their friends without much regard to the public welfare.

[47] Jones, now that the troubles were no longer quite imaginary, wrote on Sept. 3d: 'His Excellency still continues to hold the reins, and rules with even-handed justice. I begin to think the chair of state might have been filled by a much less worthy citizen.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 279.

[48] Sept. 17th, Pico to Castro. Hilario Varela, José Carrillo, and Jacobo Sanchez seemed to be ringleaders. A junta de guerra called by the assembly on the 16th put Lieut Somoza in command, and left the chief command—Carrillo's place—for the general to decide upon. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 150. Sept. 17th, Somoza to Pico. All is tranquil, the men regretting their acts. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 54. Sept. 18th, Pico orders a prosecution of Carrillo for saying that he could prove Pico to have seduced the troops. *Id.*, vi. 54. Sept. 18th, —— to Castro. Protests against Carrillo's restoration to the command. *Id.*, viii. 13. Jones on Sept. 16th sent an inaccurate report of the matter to Larkin, to the effect that Pico and his friends had tried to put down Carrillo, failed, and been arrested. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 278, 297. The bishop's prayers had been invoked to restore tranquillity. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 149. Sept. 30th, prefect publishes Pico's report at Monterey; and Gen. Castro tells P. that he has ordered the disbandment of the rebellious troops as a punishment! *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 57; *Id.*, *Monterey*, iii. 109.

upon his authority.[49] The governor protested that there was no foundation in the current reports that he was disposed to ignore the military authority; and he urged upon Castro the necessity of united efforts, so that the chiefs of the department might no longer be objects of ridicule. But a little later, in a report to Mexico urging the sending of military forces under a new general, he accused Castro and Alvarado not only of creating dissensions which endangered the territorial integrity, but also of squandering the public funds.[50]

The assembly adjourned on the 8th of October, assigning as a reason the necessity for country members to go home and earn a living, as there was no money with which to pay their salaries.[51] During the sessions the northern members had not been in attendance, ostensibly on account of sickness, but in reality because they were unwilling to serve as a minority and at a southern capital.[52] Two days before the adjournment, October 5th–6th, a general election was held, the last under Mexican rule, at which Juan B. Alvarado was chosen diputado to congress, with Manuel Requena as substitute, though

[49] Sept. 21st–29th. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ff. 175–7; *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 297. Pico's messengers were Juan Supúlveda and Leonardo Cota; Carrillo's, Capt. José Carrillo, José Lugo, and Jacobo Sanchez, who returned in Nov. Capt. Valentin Cota had also been summoned by Carrillo, and was intrusted with a *comision reservada* to Sta Bárbara on Sept. 23d. *Cota, Doc.*, MS., 17–18.

[50] Oct. 2d, Pico to Castro. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 17–21. Oct. 9th, P. to Ábrego. *Id.*, vi. 91–2. Oct. 24th, P. organizes a special force under Capt. Juan Gallardo and Lieut Leonardo Cota to preserve order. *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 51. Nov. 3d, Jones writes: 'The civil and military authorities are at open war in the capital. The governor and people have refused to allow the cannon to be removed to this place in compliance with Castro's order, and J. A. Carrillo is on his march to establish his headquarters in Sta Bárbara.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 364. Nov. 11th, P. to min. of rel. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 96–7.

[51] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 243–4.

[52] On July 26th, in accordance with a vote of the assembly, and in consequence of some current charges that that body was not acting legally, Pico published in a bulky document his corresp. with Spence and Munrás, showing that they had been legally summoned and repeatedly urged to attend before the suplentes were called in. *Pico, Carespondencia con los vocales recalcitrantes del Norte, 1845*, MS. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 120, has also something to say on this topic. Munrás claimed that he had no horses to make the journey. Spence had sore eyes, and feared the Angeles climate.

neither ever went to Mexico to take his seat.[53] At the same time there were chosen three vocales for the assembly, to take the places of Spence, Munrás, and Estrada, whose terms had expired. The successful candidates were Juan Bandini, José Ábrego, and Santiago Argüello, leaving one northern member against six southerners, with Joaquin Carrillo, Abel Stearns, Santiago E. Argüello, Agustin Olvera, Ignacio Palomares, Antonio M. Pico, and Joaquin Ortega as suplentes.[54]

At the end of November there were some new developments in the politico-military quarrel at Los Angeles and Santa Bárbara. José Antonio Carrillo, with the Varela brothers, Sérbulo and Hilario, formed a conspiracy to depose the governor and seize his person. An attack was to be made upon his house in the night of November 28th; but Pico was informed of the plot, put Carrillo under arrest, and called upon his friends in the city and ranchos for assistance. The Varelas ran away and even succeeded on the 29th in capturing the horses of a party of rancheros who had come in at the governor's call; but they were promptly pursued and taken prisoners. After an investigation before the alcalde, it was decided to banish Carrillo and Hilario Varela, who were put on board the *Clarita* and sailed for Maza-

[53] Oct. 5th, election. *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 37; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 58.

[54] Oct. 6, 1875, election of members of assembly. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 37–8, 125–6. There was a tie between Bandini and A. M. Osio, which was decided by lot in favor of the former. Preliminary corresp. and orders as follows: Laws of June 19th, Mexican, in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 39. July 11th, 12th, decree of gov. and assembly on details of the election. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 89–91; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 36–7; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 42; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 131. Local, primary, and secondary elections in Aug.–Sept. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 70, 88, 94, 108, 126–7, 136, 140, 180; iv. 1161; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 149; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 6; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 49–52. The S. F. elector was not chosen because the *compromisarios* from Sonoma and Contra Costa failed to appear. Those who went to Angeles were Narciso Botello, Pedro Carrillo, and Antonio F. Coronel for Angeles; Juan M. Marron for S. Diego; Francisco de la Guerra and Raimundo Carrillo for Sta Bárbara; and Pablo de la Guerra and Joaquin Escamilla for Monterey. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 282, 287. Incomplete record of preliminary organization of the electoral junta on Sept. 28th, in *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 115–17.

tlan the 5th of December from San Diego. Sérbulo Varela was detained in prison, but escaped before the end of the year; while the exiles found their way back early in 1846, Carrillo not deeming himself safe at Angeles, but joining Castro in the north.[55]

The outbreak at Santa Bárbara, presumably as a part of the same general plan, occurred on November 29th, one day later than the proposed movement at the capital. A large number of citizens under Captain Gumesindo Flores, José Antonio de la Guerra, and José Lugo arrested the sub-prefect and alcalde, declaring their purpose to ignore the authority not only of those officials but of the governor also, and to recognize only General Castro. The alleged grievances were that the civil authorities had disregarded a petition of the citizens to be relieved from guard duty, and that at the capital military officers had been oppressed by the governor. Flores, the comandante at Santa Bárbara, was the chief instigator, and doubtless had an understanding with Carrillo. At a meeting held on the 30th it was proposed to march on Angeles; but the news being unfavorable, this project was abandoned. On December 11th the pronunciados held another meeting, at which it was decided to send for the sub-prefect and submit to the civil authority. By Pico's order there was a later attempt at legal investigation, leading to no practical results; as it soon became apparent that a large majority of the people had directly or indirectly favored the revolt, and that they would

[55] Nov. 30th, alcalde's investigations. No details except that José A. Tapia, Agapito Ramirez, Dolores Higuera, Casimiro Rubio, and Romero were arrested as accomplices. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ii. 102, 130, 140–1, 152. Nov. 30th, Pico to sub-prefect of S. Diego. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 99–102. P. to Célis and to Capt. Vioget of the *Clarita*. *Id.*, vi. 98-9; viii. 22. Sailing of the exiles. *Id.*, vi. 63; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 68. Dec. 2d, P.'s report of the whole affair circulated by Sec. Covarrubias and the sub-prefects. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 223, 231; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 170. Dec. 24th, escape of Sérbulo Varela. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ii. 169. Some particulars are given by Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 140–6, and a general account is found also in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 49–58; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 109–14. Botello, *Anales del Sur*, MS., 126–8, tells us that an outbreak of some prisoners in the jail under one Ricardo Uribes started the investigation which implicated Carrillo.

not permit the governor to select a few individuals for vengeance.[56]

Castro's part in the disturbances just described is not brought to light by the evidence. Friends of Pico in the south believed that Castro and Carrillo were acting in perfect accord to overthrow the governor. Such was probably the case, though it is possible, as Vallejo and Alvarado insist, that Carrillo may have acted independently so far as the details of this particular revolt were concerned. At any rate, Castro in his communications, while he urged the people to preserve harmony and submit to the lawful authorities, had no blame for Flores, and accepted that officer's theory that the revolt had resulted from Pico's arbitrary acts.[57] I have also a private letter from Hilario Varela to Castro, which shows not only that the latter was in secret communication with the leaders of the southern revolt, but that Pico, with the support of the northern prefect, was believed to be preparing for a *golpe de estado* against the general.[58] The development of this quarrel will form a prominent topic in the earlier annals of the next year.

[56] Dec. 2d, Sub-prefect A. Carrillo to Pico, announcing his arrest and that of the 1st alcalde (apparently Nicholas Den) and Antonio Rodriguez. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ii. 168. Nov. 30th, Jones to Larkin, describing the affair as the work of a gang of outlaws, who now have possession of the town. Hopes that Castro will sustain the gov. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 386. Dec. 11th, record of submission and promised pardon. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 168–9; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 168. Dec. 23d–30th, investigations. *Id., Ben.*, iv. 27–35. Jan. 9th, prefect still in quest of evidence. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vii. 98.

[57] Dec. 15th, Castro to Flores, Pico, and to the people. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 63–4; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxxxvi. 9–11. The general announced his purpose to come in person to the south.

[58] Oct. 25, 1845, Varela to Castro, *reservada*. Says that Castro's orders to him have been obeyed; and that Pico is trying, by offers of good places in the custom-house when it shall be removed to the south, to gain support among the people against Castro, though not with much success. He continues: 'I will also tell you that communications from Señor Manuelote'—Manuel Castro, the prefect—'have been shown me, in which he tells the gov. to make his *grito* when he chooses; that he will tie them here. This is true, my friend. All this has been laid before me, probably to induce me to take part with them, but I would never do it. I therefore await you without fail for Nov. 8th. Be not afraid—we will die together—and let me know in time of your coming, that we may be prepared... Don't fail to come at the time I tell you, para fregar ó que nos frieguen.' *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 204.

The Indians were still troublesome, though their ravages—with the exception of killing Thomas Lindsay in the spring and William Brander in November[59] —were confined for the most part to the stealing of horses and cattle. One of Pico's first acts was to try a new experiment in Indian policy, by letting a contract to punish the savages. Captain Gantt and Dr Marsh, with their followers who had marched south under Micheltorena and Sutter, agreed to undertake an expedition, and to free the country from its Indian pests at their own expense. Their compensation was to be 500 cattle, and one half of all live-stock that they might recover from the robbers.[60] This raid was to be begun apparently in connection with the return march of Gantt's company to the north; but I find no information respecting its results, except that in June Captain Sutter declared his belief that the contractors would not be able to accomplish any of the great things promised, because the men were not willing to accompany them.[61]

Soon after making this contract for the country north of the capital, Pico made an effort to organize a campaign against southern horse-thieves. From April to June active preparations were made, on paper at least, for a grand combined movement of volunteer forces from all the southern towns. The force was to march from San Fernando on June 15th; but about a week before that date all communications cease, and we are left to conjecture that the Indians' operations

[59] Brander was killed on Nov. 30th, at Amesti's rancho. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 219, 252.

[60] Feb. 27, 1845, contract between Pico and John Marsh and John Gantt for an expedition against the Indians. Also Gen. Castro's instructions to Gantt. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 169–74; *Id., Angeles*, xi. 140–2. Also referred to in *Sta Bárbara, Arch.*, MS., 45; *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 85. According to the contract, any men who joined the party might take their own animals recovered before the division was made. In the instructions certain friendly tribes were named which must be respected, and others who were notorious robbers. Men might be killed if they resisted; but women and children were to be put at the disposal of govt; and no inhumanity was to be shown to those who would submit.

[61] June 14th, *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 20.

were not seriously interrupted at this time.[62] In the San José region at the north complaints of depredations seem to have been somewhat less frequent than in former years. In June Colonel Alvarado announced that he had taken command of the forces and was about to march against the Indians, making at the same time some extended explorations; but his achievements are not of record.[63] North of the bay we read of a raid from Sonoma to the region of Ross, made by rancheros with a view to obtain Indian laborers, and brought to light in the local courts on account of a quarrel about the division of the spoils.[64] At New Helvetia Sutter's men made a few successful raids on hostile rancherías, having also a degree of success in making treaties with several chieftains. The captain still sold Indian children and the labor of older captives to his creditors around the bay.[65] A Walla Walla chief from Oregon was killed at Sutter's Fort early this year, or at the end of 1844, by Grove Cook, from whom he had stolen a mule; and his tribe were much excited about the matter, proposing to send 1,500 warriors to avenge the act. Elijah White, missionary and Indian agent in the Walamet Valley, reported the matter to Consul Larkin and Governor Pico, urging

[62] April 19th to June 7th, orders and corresp. on the proposed expedition. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 31, 37–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 51–2; xi. 145–6; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 104, 109–10, 149; *Sta Bárbara, Arch.*, MS., 45, 49–53; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., iv. 188–9. July 1st, B. D. Wilson from Jurupa sends a diary of his recent expedition against the Indians, who are still troublesome. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 43–4. Aug., further alarms. *Id., Ang.*, xi. 159; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 132. Oct., alarm caused by the coming of Wak, a Yuta chief, with 180 persons to S. Bernardino; but his purpose proved to be friendly and commercial. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 177; *Id., Angeles*, xi. 163–6.

[63] June 21st, Alvarado to Pico. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 143. Aug. 2d, a reported attack on Sta Clara, in which two men were killed. *Napa Reporter*, Aug. 10, 1872. Oct. 19th, complaints of depredations on the rancho del Refugio. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 199. Dec. 6th, Bolcof at Sta Cruz asks permission to send out 25 men every fortnight. *Id.*, ii. 252.

[64] August, proceedings before the judge. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 383–94. Several Indians were killed and 150 were captured. Antonio Castro and Rafael García are named as the leaders. Wm Benitz complained of outrages committed at his rancho. Two women were outraged there.

[65] *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 27–31; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 177; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 10.

that Cook if guilty should be brought to justice. An investigation was ordered, but of the results we know only that Sutter declared the chief—a troublesome fellow named Leicer—to have been killed by Cook in self-defence; and that the Walla Wallas remained more or less hostile, their conduct giving rise, as we shall see, to some sensational rumors in 1846.[66]

[66] May 6, 1845, White to Pico, and Sept. 24th, Pico's reply. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 178–9. July 21st, Sutter to Larkin. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 227. See also *Honolulu Friend*, iv. 29.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MISSIONS—COMMERCE AND FINANCE.

1845.

SECULARIZATION TO BE COMPLETED—PICO'S POLICY—CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS—VIEWS OF PRESIDENT DURAN—BANDOS OF APRIL, MAY, AND OCTOBER—PREPARATIONS AND INVENTORIES—DEBTS—PICO'S REGULATIONS FOR SALE AND RENTING OF THE MISSIONS—THREE ESTABLISHMENTS SOLD—FOUR RENTED—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS—PIOUS FUND—COMMERCE—FOREIGN GOODS—A NEW CLASS OF SMUGGLING—WHALERS—CUSTOM-HOUSE—ALVARADO AS ADMINISTRATOR—MINOR PORTS—TREASURY—ÁBREGO AND VALLE—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES AND STATISTICS—CASTRO AND PICO—THE 'STAR OF THE WEST' WRECKED—DISTRIBUTION OF DEBT AND REVENUE—LIST OF VESSELS, 1841–5.

THE mission estates occupied Pico's attention from the first months of his rule. It was desirable from every point of view that the process of secularization should be completed. As was evident to every person in California, the old system was dead, past all hope of recovery. No step short of complete secularization could have been more beneficial than Micheltorena's of 1843; but under the administration of the padres there was no restoration of prosperity.[1] The remnants of property were small and unequally distributed; many of the estates were burdened with ever increasing debts; the Indians fit for work were few and unmanageable; and the friars were old, worn-out, dis-

[1] Gleeson, *Hist. Cath. Church*, ii. 156–7, thinks the missions were slowly but surely gaining when Pico dealt the blow that completed their ruin; but there is no evidence that this was so, or that the friars themselves thought so. They sometimes complained of the acts of government, recalled the past glories of the missions, and pointed out the ruin that secularization had caused; but I find no expression of a belief that prosperity could be restored—save, of course, by a complete return to the original system with many absurdly impossible conditions—though Duran and others expressed the contrary belief.

couraged men, utterly incompetent to overcome the obstacles that beset their path as administrators. The estates were doomed to irremediable ruin at an early date, unless the values they represented could be realized and properly invested without delay. Creditors demanded a change which should enable them to collect their dues. There were some, indeed, who desired to get possession of the mission lands. The governor was in duty bound to protect national property, and was willing to help his friends among the two classes just mentioned. Further than this, he was anxious, let us hope, to deal justly with the ex-neophytes, and he saw in the mission estates a source of possible revenue to be utilized by the government in emergencies; while the padres, representing the Indians, opposed a change, if at all, only because of fear that their wards might be cheated out of their rights. That individuals were actuated by selfish motives, and that high officials were likely to misapply the net proceeds, are facts that do not affect the soundness of the views held by Pico and others respecting the necessity of final secularization. It was important that the estates should be saved from ruin and made to yield a revenue. That revenue belonged to the government if the authorities did not intend to spend it wisely, they are to be blamed. Their announced intentions and their proposed methods were altogether praiseworthy.

Pico sent Cárlos Carrillo and Ignacio del Valle to the missionary prelates with an explanation of his views, to the effect that the mission estates must pass into private hands if any part of the property was to be saved for the neophytes. He desired advice from the padres as to the best methods of carrying out his plans, at the same time suggesting a sale of the smaller establishments and a renting of the larger ones, the proceeds to be devoted exclusively to the benefit of the Indians.[2] Duran refused flatly to take any share

[2] March 18th, P. to C. and V. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 45–8; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 56–8.

in "the tremendous responsibility about to be incurred before God and man." He was surprised that a governor ad interim should dare to undertake such innovations, and declared the real motive to be clear—"the master-key which opens all windows to see, not through a screen, but the clearest crystal, the mystery lurking behind the absolute liberty of the Indians." Their ideas of liberty were those of schoolboys glad when the master is sick and school closed. The 'new masters' will have use only for the strong and well; what is to become of the rest? He would never consent to a sale of the missions, which belong, not to the nation, but to the Indians. A 'supreme injustice' was about to be perpetrated in the interests of men who wished to get the estates at less than their real value.[3] The governor did not, however, abandon his project, upon which Duran was soon induced to look more favorably than at first.

In April Pico issued a bando, in accordance with a resolution of the junta, which called for detailed accounts of debts and assets from all in charge of missions. He suspended the granting of lands near the missions, as they might be required as *egidos* for new towns. He suspended also the granting of freedom papers to neophytes, and enjoined upon the padres to abstain from selling movable property.[4] The call for reports and the injunction respecting sales were circulated by the prelates to the padres. The replies of the latter, so far as I can judge by the specimens before me, contained little information about the financial status of their respective establishments;[5] but to the injunction most replied, some indignantly

[3] March 26th, Duran to Pico. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 48–51.

[4] April 18th–19th, report of com. of junta. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 398–9; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 42–3. April 21st, Pico's bando, identical with the report. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 94; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 45; *Hartman's Brief*, 17; *Hoffman's Opinions*, 33.

[5] Sta Inés, debt $1,151; Sta Bárbara, $2,765; no assets mentioned in either except small quantities of tallow and hides. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 52–3. S. Fernando, no debt, a few cattle. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 187. S. Diego, a little property, no debt mentioned. *Id.*, x. 188–9. S. Gabriel has sold land to Dalton for $400. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ii. 119.

resenting the imputation as an insult, that they had sold no property at all, except in the case of useless articles, with the governor's permission. Duran subsequently admitted, however, that Esténega at San Gabriel and Jimeno at Santa Inés had been at fault in this matter.[6]

On May 28th the junta, following to a great extent apparently the suggestions of Padre Duran himself, who had been won over by the eloquence of Juan Bandini,[7] passed the following resolution, published as a decree by Pico on June 5th: 1. The Indians of San Rafael, Dolores, Soledad, San Miguel, and Purísima are warned to reunite and occupy those missions within a month, or they will be declared *mostrencas* and disposed of for the general good of the department. 2. Carmelo, San Juan Bautista, San Juan Capistrano, and Solano are to be considered pueblos as at present; and after reserving a curate's house, church, and courthouse, remaining property shall be sold at auction for the payment of debts, the surplus being devoted to the support of divine worship. 3. The rest of the missions may be rented at the option of the government; and the Indians shall be free to work for the renters, on the lands to be assigned them, or for other persons. 4. The principal building of Santa Bárbara is reserved for the bishop and the padres, and the rent of this mission is to be equally divided between the church and the Indians. 5. The product of the rents

[6] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 52–5; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 181–8; *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 51–3, 59–60. Jimeno and Real were the indignant ones, the former denouncing the order as part of a scheme to find excuses for a change of administrators; while the latter demanded personal satisfaction for the insult.

[7] May 16th, Duran to Pico, in reply to Pico's of 8th (not extant), praising the governor's patriotism and willingness to seek advice. Arguing in favor of leasing rather than selling the missions. The sale would put the best missions in foreign hands, and would be more likely to result in malversation of the proceeds. The plan of renting should be limited to those establishments not profitably worked by the neophytes in community. Abandoned missions might properly be sold as *bienes mostrencos* after a warning to the Indians to occupy them. All steps should be approved by the assembly. 'We are growing old; there is no possibility of our being replaced; the abandonment of the missions is but a question of time.' Translation in *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 31–47. May 21st, thanks voted to Bandini and Duran. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 57–8.

shall be divided into three equal parts, one for the support of the minister and of worship, one for the Indians, and one for the government, to be devoted to education and the public welfare, after the payment of debts. 6. The first part shall be placed at the disposal of the prelates for equitable distribution. 7–8. This to be duly published; and debts due the missions to be strictly exacted and the proceeds used for the purposes named in the third part of article 3.[8]

In June, also at Duran's suggestion,[9] the governor appointed Andrés Pico and Juan Manso as commissioners to visit each mission for the purpose of making inventories of property, with a view to carrying into effect the decree of June.[10] The appointees performed the duty assigned them in July and August, apparently to the satisfaction of most concerned, though there was a little trouble at the start with Padre Esténega of San Gabriel, and though several padres held themselves aloof and would take no part in the proceedings.[11] Among the papers of Andrés Pico, I find the inventories made during this tour for ten establishments: Santa Inés and Santa Bárbara in the south, with property valued at $20,288 and

[8] May 28, June 5, 1845, Pico's bando and decree of the junta. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 33; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 127; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 49; *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 61, 64; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 63–4; *Halleck's Report*, appen. 20, p. 162–3; *Jones' Report*, 72; *I. Rockwell*, 471; *Dwinelle's Colon. Hist.*, add. 88; *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 352; *Id., Legal Hist. S. Diego*, i. 45, p. 108–11; *Hartman's Brief*, 17–18; *Hoffman's Opinions*, 33; *Hall's Hist. S. Jose*, 430–3; *Taylor's El Dorado*, i. 184.

[9] June 23d, D. to Pico. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 59–62.

[10] June 30th, July 1st, Pico to Duran, announcing the appointment, and asking that corresponding instructions be sent to the padres. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 53–4; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 415–16; *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., x. 235–8. July 3d, Duran to padres. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 49.

[11] S. Gabriel. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 57; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 53, 55. Sta Cruz and S. José. *Id.*, v. pt ii. 64–5. Sta Inés. *Sta Inés, Lib. Mision*, MS., 39. Something in the proceedings at S. Gabriel seems to have offended P. Duran, who again refused to have anything to do with the matter. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 56. The old man, however, soon changed his mind, and on July 21st wrote to thank the gov. for the good judgment he had shown in appointing the commissioners, who had acted with the greatest moderation and prudence. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 51–3. Den and Hill are recommended as worthy persons, who wish to rent Sta Bárbara. July 12th, McKinley to Larkin, on the appointment of Pico and Manso. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 218.

$25,846 respectively; and all those from San Miguel northward, except San Cárlos, San Francisco, and San José, aggregating $58,876; with San Rafael and Santa Clara at $17,230 and $16,173 respectively, and Solano at zero.[12]

Padre Duran proposed in August some regulations designed to secure for the padres under the new administration a certain control in the matter of compulsory worship and of personal service; but it does not appear that any action was taken on the subject.[13] The debts that encumbered some of the missions were found to be serious obstacles to the securing of favorable leases; and Pico, at the suggestion of the junta, consulted Duran on the practicability of paying the debts out of the pious fund recently restored to the bishop's management.[14] The prelate's response was prompt, to the effect that the fund could not be used for the purpose, and that the encumbered establishments must be sold to pay the debts. In the first place, argued the friar, though the remnant of the fund had been restored, on paper, to the bishop, it was far from certain that any property would be secured; secondly, the fund, if entire, could not justly be used to pay debts which the missionaries had not contracted, or if they had, had also left abundant assets for paying; and finally, if consent should be given, the administrators of the fund might deduct the amount required from the *sínodos* of the friars—a manifest injustice.[15] There had probably been no hope of obtaining the friar's consent to a use of the pious fund, but only to the sale, which he had hitherto opposed.

[12] *Pico, Papeles de Mision*, MS., 7–14, 29–42, 89–99, 115–40, 147, 152. The land of S. Rafael was valued at $8,000, which accounts for its high relative figure.

[13] Aug. 1st, D. to Pico, with a reglamento in 6 articles. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 57–8; *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 63–4.

[14] Sept. 10th, resolution of the junta. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 114, 122–3. Sept. 11th, Pico to Duran. *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., x. 239–42; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 417–18.

[15] Sept. 15th, D. to P. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 65–8. He suggests that the missions in debt be offered to the creditors at a valuation fixed by appraisers. Oct. 7th, D. suggests that the Indians should be allowed to retain their little gardens on condition of not selling them. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS. v. pt ii. 58–60.

Pico's regulations for the sale and renting of the mission were issued October 28th. This decree provided for the sale at public auction of the abandoned San Rafael, Dolores, Soledad, San Miguel, and Purísima, and of the mission pueblos of San Luis Obispo, Carmelo, San Juan Bautista, and San Juan Capistrano. From each of the pueblos were to be reserved the church and buildings for a curate's house, town house, and school; and from all the establishments disposed of by sale or rent, such produce and goods as were necessary to support the padre and Indians till the next harvest. The product of the sale was to be paid into the treasury and used for the payment of the debts of each establishment, the surplus going to the prelates for the support of public worship. Bids were to be received from date; San Luis, Purísima, and San Juan Capistrano were to be sold on December 1st–4th, and the others on January 2d–4th. Santa Cruz and Solano were not named in the decree. The remaining ten missions were to be rented to the highest bidder for a term of nine years; San Fernando, San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and Santa Inés on December 5th, and the rest as soon as obstacles arising from their debts could be removed. There were reserved the churches and public buildings already indicated, all of the principal edifices at Santa Bárbara, and some small pieces of land occupied by the Indians. The renters were to take all other property by inventory, giving bonds for its return in good condition, and for the payment of rent quarterly. The government reserved the right of watching over the property and of preventing its destruction or waste. The Indians were to be entirely free to remain in the service of the renters or to settle elsewhere; and they were to receive titles to their lands on application. Each ex-mission community was to be governed under the laws by four *celadores*, chosen monthly from among the Indians, and subject to the juez de paz. Ten or a dozen In-

dians were to be furnished by each community for the padre's service and that of the church.[16]

In November an order was issued in Mexico that all proceedings connected with the sale of missions be suspended; but this document belongs properly to the annals of the next year, when it reached California. Meanwhile, before the end of 1845, the three missions were sold and the four rented, according to the reglamento. December 4th were sold San Juan Capistrano to John Forster and James McKinley for $710; La Purísima to John Temple for $1,110; and San Luis Obispo to Scott, Wilson, and McKinley for $510—the titles being issued on the 6th, though the price was not in all cases paid, or full possession given, until the next year.[17] On the 5th were leased Santa Bárbara to Nicholas A. Den and Daniel Hill for $1,200 per year; San Buenaventura to José Arnaz and Narciso Botello for $1,630; Santa Inés to José María Covarrubias and Joaquin Carrillo for $580; and San Fernando to Andrés Pico and Juan Manso for $1,120, the executing of bonds and formal giving of possession not being completed in all cases until the next year.[18]

Of general mission matters outside of those connected with the disposal of estates, a bare mention will suffice. The presidency was held by Duran in the south and Anzar in the north. Two friars—José M. Gutierrez and Miguel Muro—left the country during this year; and one, Juan Moreno, died—all be-

[16] *Pico, Reglamento para la enagenacion y arriendo de las Misiones, 28 de Oct., 1845*, MS. Translation in *Halleck's Report*, appen. 21; *I. Rockwell*, 472; *Jones' Report*, 75; *Dwinelle's Colon. Hist.*, add. 90. See also *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., x. 190–6; *Olvera, Doc.*, MS., 27; *Hartman's Brief*, 18; *Hoffman's Opinions*, 33–4. Nov. 16th, Duran to Pico. Says the Indians are so full of liberty that there is no such thing as restraining them. On account of the scarcity of laborers, fear of robberies, etc., he fears bids will be very low. Much property has disappeared since the inventories were made. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 60–1.

[17] See translation of all the papers for the three missions in *U. S. vs Bolton, Appellant's Brief, U. S. Sup. Court*, append., p. 155–60. Also *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 65–6; *Unbound Doc.*, MS., 390–1; *S. Luis Ob., Arch.*, MS., 11.

[18] *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 68, 58–9; *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., x. 243–7; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 61–3; *Hayes' Miss. Book*, 373–7; *Unbound Doc.*, MS., 331; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 136.

ing Zacatecanos. From Mexico came news that the old college of San Fernando had been almost ruined by an earthquake.[19] Bishop García Diego still resided at Santa Bárbara, but was unable to accomplish anything in behalf of his diocese so far as I know, except to represent his difficulties to President Herrera and Governor Pico.[20] In Mexico the form of assigning the bishop's *cóngrua* and the friars' *sínodos* was still kept up at the treasury department;[21] though there is no record that any part of the $18,600 was paid. By a decree of April 3, 1845, which seems to be the last ever issued on the subject, all the pious fund property not already sold under the law of 1842 was restored to the administration of the bishop as in 1836.[22] There are extant, however, no figures to show what property if any was turned over to the bishop's agents under this decree; nor is there any record to show additional payments in 1845–6 of interest due from the government on the proceeds of past sales.

In 1845–6 Consul Larkin continued to send his government not only current statistics, but clear and comprehensive descriptions of commercial methods.[23] The methods, already more or less familiar to the reader, did not change materially in the last decade of Mexican occupation; and it is only with the history of commercial events, changes, and statistics that I have to do in these chapters.

[19] *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., xii. 146.

[20] July 4th, bishop to Pico. Has no means with which to support worship. Will try parish fees, though they will not do much good. Wishes that a successor might be found for him. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 142–7. Sept. 27th, letter to President Herrera on the lamentable condition of all religious interests in Cal. The only method of relief he could suggest was to bring a new force of priests and missionaries for old and new establishments from Europe, paying the expense from the pious fund. In *Memorial Hist.*, Jan. 20, 1846, cited as Nov. 27th in *Bustamante, Mem. Hist. Mex.*, MS., iv. 33-4.

[21] *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1844, presupuesto 7; *Id.*, 1845, p. 267. The sínodos were $12,600, and the cóngrua $6,000.

[22] An original of the decree of April 3d in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Son.*, print, no. 747.

[23] *Larkin's Descrip. Cal. 1845*, MS., p. 98–100; letters of March 22, 1845, and Jan. 4, 1846, in *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 35, etc.

Governor Pico issued, March 22d, a decree revoking that of his predecessor dated July 30, 1844, by which the importation of nationalized foreign goods from Mexican ports had been prohibited. I find, however, no evidence of complaint either against the original order from Mexican traders, or from the Boston men against its repeal. A clause was added to this decree, requiring strict compliance with Mexican laws on the coasting trade, to which of course no attention was paid.[24] In the case of one vessel, the *Star of the West*, an attempt was made to reverse the former process by entering at Monterey foreign goods intended to be reshipped to Mazatlan; but the loss of the vessel and cargo by wreck gave a dismal prospect to the development of this new commercial industry.[25] Another of Micheltorena's regulations now revoked was that placing restrictions on trade by whalers. These craft might now sell goods to any amount in exchange for produce by paying the regular duties. They were no longer required to pay a tax of thirty dollars each, and were permitted to go or send their boats freely to Sauzalito or any other part of San Francisco Bay.[26] Each vessel had to pay this year, as in 1844, a tax of

[24] March 22, 1845, Pico's decree. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 123–5; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 77–9; *Id., Ang.*, x. 54–5; xi. 144; *Id., S. José*, v. 93–4; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxxxvi. 6–7; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 6.

[25] See list of vessels under *Star of the West*.

[26] The order was dated Sept. 9th. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 185; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 88; *Id., Ben. Cust.-H.*, viii. 10–11. Sept. 26th, 28th, instruc. to receptor at S. Francisco. *Id.*, viii. 12–13; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 185–6, 188. Sept. 29th, Larkin to U. S. sec. state. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 28, who says 'the Californians are determined to exchange their produce with whalers in their own way.' Oct. 10th, whalers to be well treated at S. Diego, so as to attract them to that port. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 10. Yet later there was trouble with the *Espadon*, which was required to pay a tax of $30, *Id.*, viii. 73–4, 78, so that the order in favor of whalers may have applied only to S. Francisco. June and Nov., Antonio Menendez of Lima, Mexican vice-consul, complained to the sup. govt, and obtained a recommendation to the Cal. authorities in favor of his business agents Cot and Pedrorena, who, it was alleged, found great difficulty in collecting debts due for goods. *Doc. Hist., Cal.*, MS., ii. 210; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 167. Feb. 22d, circulated in Cal. Sept. 9th, tax of 1 per cent on money transferred from one dept to another repealed. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 12; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., ix. 53. Feb. 19th, circulated in Cal. Sept. 9th, 2 per cent of fines on smugglers to be devoted to support of hospitals or to charitable works. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 11. April, orders on introduction of cotton goods. *Id.*, ii. 17; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 92.

fifty dollars per month for a license to engage in the retail trade. From this revenue the guards kept on board were paid, and the balance was devoted to the construction of a pier at Monterey.[27] The assembly in March decided to prohibit the importation of brandy and ordinary wines, and this resolution was sent to Mexico for approval.[28]

Juan B. Alvarado, as his share of the revolutionary profits, was made administrator of customs, taking possession of the place on May 1st, and Pablo de la Guerra, the acting administrator, resuming his position of contador from that date. There was no material change in the personnel of the revenue department at Monterey under Alvarado, and his administration was marked by no special events requiring attention here. In June, being named by Castro to command an expedition on Indian and exploring service, he placed his resignation at the disposal of Pico, who—in consequence perhaps of troubles between himself and Castro, and somewhat unexpectedly I think to Alvarado—accepted it in July. The transfer of the office to Guerra was delayed, however, on one pretext or another, until December 20th, Alvarado having in the mean time been elected to congress.[29] At San Fran-

[27] In Nov. it was proposed to abolish the guards, to whose presence most traders objected; but not the tax of $600 per year, which most were willing to pay. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 81–4. There are records of 10 or 12 vessels agreeing to pay the tax in 1845. *Id., Cust.-H.*, MS., vi., passim.

[28] March 20th. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 40–1. Vallejo, *Doc.*, MS., xii. 157, p. 5–7, in a letter to Ex-president Bustamante, urged that the ports of California should be made free; and the expenses of the govt be paid by a direct tax on productive property, with a small allowance punctually paid by the nation. Pico's regulations on the sale of hides, in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 104; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 167; *Fitch, Doc.*, MS., 371; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 239–42, 355–6; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 75–6; xi. 164.

[29] March 16, 1845, Alvarado's appointment by Pico. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 122. Takes possession of the office May 1st; and June 21st leaves Guerra temporarily in charge. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., vi. 6–7; *Id., Ben.*, MS., iii. 69, 77. No date, Pico, on receipt of Alvarado's note of June 21st, relieves him in favor of Guerra, deeming the office incompatible with a military command. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 23–4. July 17th, P. to A., to same effect, but in slightly different words. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 143; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., iv. 191–3. Sept. 5th, etc., A. still acts as administrator. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 7. Sept. 9th, A. has not yet surrendered the office, on account of difficulties and lack of orders respecting certain payments. *Id.*,

cisco Rafael Pinto was by Alvarado made receptor in August to succeed Diaz; the new custom-house building was perhaps completed before the end of September.[30] At San Diego, Henry D. Fitch served as receptor. I find no commercial records respecting either Santa Bárbara or San Pedro. Early in the sessions of the assembly at the new southern capital a proposition was adopted to open San Diego as a first-class port, equal in every respect to that of Monterey. This was sent to Mexico for approval, and nothing more was heard of it.[31]

The treasury remained throughout the year in the hands of José Ábrego at Monterey. There was an attempt to move it with the capital to Los Angeles, but Ábrego protested against the right of the departmental authorities to interfere in any way in his office, and, the supreme government sustaining him, refused to permit the change.[32] Ignacio del Valle had been appointed treasurer in anticipation of the change, and seems to have acted in that capacity at Los Angeles,

vi. 889. Oct. 11th, P. replies, sending the orders and urging haste. *Id.*, viii. 14. Dec. 20th, office turned over. *Id.*, *Ben.*, iii. 84; *Id.*, *Ben. Cust.-H.*, vi. 6–7. March 5th, list of customs officers at Monterey, with salaries. *Id.*, vi. 4–5. Sept., Rafael Sanchez appointed 1st officer. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 123. July 15th, Eutimio Trejo appointed in Mexico celador at Monterey.

[30] Aug. 30th, Pinto appointed. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., viii. 10. Sept. 27th, Jacinto Rodriguez and Pánfilo Soberanes appointed to reënforce the guard. *Id.*, viii. 11. Feb. 21st, let the house remain in its present state. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 121. Sept. 30th, total expenditures on the building now completed, $2,678. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., [235–7]. Dec. 30th, Castro orders the com. to let the receptor have all the tiles he may need. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 216. Paid to Leidesdorff $50 for a Mexican flag for the building. *Id.*, ii. 209. This flag was in later years presented to the Society of Cal. Pioneers. July 29th, Pinto complains that the custom-house establishment is a laughing-stock. To-day a vessel came in, and he went down to the beach to borrow a boat to go off and visit her; but no attention was paid to his shouts by the vessels at anchor! *Id.*, i. 295.

[31] Session of March 28th. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 39–41. The new establishment was to have an administrator at $1,500, a contador at $1,000, a clerk at $480, and two guards at $240. The Monterey custom-house was to be put on the same basis. Sta Bárbara, S. Pedro, and S. Francisco were to be *puertos menores* for coast trade, to have each a receptor at $500. The abajeños had lost something of their old spirit, or they would have closed the northern ports altogether.

[32] Aug. 1st, the treasurer announces this decision of the pres. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 101. May 17th, Ábrego to Pico. An argument that the dept authorities had no power to move the treasury or change its officials. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 12–13.

so far at least as to take charge of that portion of the revenues sent south for the civil list.[33] In August Ábrego resigned, assigning as his reasons his belief that the treasury should be at the capital, and the insufficiency of his salary for the support of his family;[34] but when in December Valle was sent north to take possession, General Castro refused to permit a transfer of the office, fearing that there was still a design to move the treasury, and insisting that such a step would interfere with a proper defence of the country against foreign invaders.[35]

The obligation to pay $11,000 for the transportation of the late governor and his men, together with other necessary expenses growing out of the revolution, involved the new administration in some financial difficulties, which were, however, greatly lessened by the early arrival of the *Tasso* and *California*, and by the fact that the customs revenue for this year was nearly double that of 1844. One of Pico's first orders in February was to suspend the payment of all debts, having in mind chiefly the debts recently incurred by Micheltorena in his efforts to defeat the Californians. There was no desire to repudiate any part of these obligations; but it was deemed unfair to give them the preference, by carrying out Micheltorena's special agreements, which he had been led to make so freely in his time of need. Larkin had advanced large sums to the ex-governor, to be repaid from duties on the first cargoes that should arrive, and he protested against the suspension, as perhaps did others; but Pico in reply assured him that the debts would be paid, the delay being necessary for an examination of resources and a plan of distribution by which justice

[33] June 19th, 25th, Valle addressed as treasurer by Bandini and Carrillo. *Valle, Doc.*, MS., 69–70. In Sept. the assemb. considered the advisability of appointing a treasurer to take charge of govt funds. *Ley. Rec.*, MS., iv. 120–1.

[34] Aug. 27th, Ábrego to Pico. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 9–10.

[35] Dec. 30th, Castro to Pico. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 64–5. Same date, Guerra to Pico. *Id., Ben.*, iii. 84. Feb. 15th, Arce's letter in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 184. See also *Valle, Lo Pasado de Cal.*, MS., 38–9; *Botello, Anales*, MS., 125–6.

might be done to all. Larkin was also reminded that "'speculators must take risks." By the end of March payment seems to have been resumed on a basis that afforded all claimants a share, though a small one, of the revenues;[36] but in September there was another suspension of payment in the case of the Micheltorena claims.

Quite naturally there had been disagreement between Pico and Castro about the distribution of public funds, especially as to the shares of the civil and military branches. Each had a host of friends to be rewarded with profitable positions; but Castro had the advantage, because it was easier to find a pretext for increasing the list of military officers than that of civil employés; and the general did his best to give everybody a commission. After a series of wranglings, of which we have no detailed record, the two chiefs made an agreement to divide the revenues as follows: Actual indebtedness growing out of the late political events and including the Micheltorena claims were to be paid *de preferencia*, with a view to restore credit for future emergencies; and these debts having been paid direct from the custom-house, one third of the balance was to be paid over to the governor for the civil list, and two thirds to the general, through the treasurer, for

[36] March 27th, Pico to Alvarado, who is directed to reserve from the duties of the *California*, $9,000 for Capt. Paty, and $8,200 for other payments, and to make an equitable distribution of the balance among employés. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., vi. [353–5]. March 5th to April 12th, corresp. between Larkin and Pico. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 30, 39; *Id., Doc.*, MS., 60, 62, 107. May 27th, Pico urges Alvarado to coöperate in promoting economy, since full payments cannot be made on account of obligations growing out of the late struggle. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 43–9. Before August some of Micheltorena's drafts had been paid, including $5,600 to Limantour. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 120–1. March 18th, Guerra and Hartnell certify that since Jan. 1843 the custom-house has paid over to Micheltorena $83,256. The amount of outstanding drafts not known. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 70. March 20th, Abrego certifies that M. turned into the treasury $207,682 in receipts of employés, officers, and troops. *Id.*, iii. 74, 88. Sept. 9th, $20,000 still unpaid on M.'s drafts for horses and cattle seized by him. Alvarado thinks actual employés should have the preference. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 88–9. Sept. 11th, Feliciano Soberanes claims $782 for live-stock. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 67. Sept. 18th, an order to suspend payment of the Micheltorena claims referred to. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 11.

military expenses, neither to interfere in the distribution of the other's share.[37]

It may seem strange that Pico and Castro should have consented to pay the whole indebtedness in preference to other expenses, but a communication from Castro to Ábrego throws a flood of light upon this subject. It appears that the chiefs had reason to expect the payment into the treasury, in addition to the regular revenues, of a sum sufficient to pay all debts and leave a surplus. But the goose that was to lay this golden egg—doubtless John Parrott's *Star of the West*, which was to pay half-duties on a rich cargo to be reshipped to Mexican ports—failed by a visitation of providence to keep her contract. This being the case, the first part of the agreement became of course a nullity; and the creditors had to wait.[38]

The total revenue paid into the custom-house in 1845 was about $140,000, of which sum about $14,000 was consumed in expenses, leaving $126,000 for the civil list estimated at $42,000,[39] for military expenses amounting to $34,000 for officers alone and for the payment of outstanding debts, to an amount not

[37] No date, agreement between P. and C. The latter was to pay from his share $125 per mo. for schools in the south. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 47-8. July 28th, Aug. 7th, P. to Ábrego, and reply, referring to the agreement. *Id.*, viii. 4–5; vi. 120–1. The purport of the agreement seems to have been known as early as June 25th. *Valle, Doc.*, MS., 70. July 11th, 14th, a proposition was approved in the assembly to give to Cal. one half of her revenues, the other half going to the national treasury—that is, for the support of the military department, which in theory was supported by the nation. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 245–9. This was a scheme to get more for the civil list than the agreement granted, but it had to be approved in Mexico. The national govt in August gave Cal. two thirds of her revenue—more than the assembly asked; but I find no evidence of any attempt of Pico to enforce this. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 73; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 15.

[38] Castro to Ábrego, copied to Pico by the latter on Aug. 27th. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 8–9. Ábrego at the time of the agreement had $9,000 on hand, of which sum he was ordered by Pico to send $5,000 for urgent expenses at Angeles, and distribute $4,000 among employés. *Id.*, xiii. 10.

[39] Estimate of June 30th for the year, specifying all branches and officers, $42,550. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 263–5. The items were assembly $12,800, governor's office $10,200, tribunal $12,750, prefecture $4,000, treasury $2,800. A partial list of March foots up $14,985. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 133. Revenue officers $13,600. *Id., Cust.-H.*, MS., vi. 4–5; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 2–3. Cost of military officers, inválidos, etc., for a month, also artillery company, $2,843. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 3–5. Some fragmentary statistics of distribution in *Id.*, passim.

known. Existing accounts are too fragmentary to give any accurate idea of how the funds were distributed among the three classes of claimants, none of whom got all that was due them, and none of whom suffered much inconvenience from the loss. According to an elaborate statement prepared by Larkin for the U. S. government, the total indebtedness of California at the end of 1845, not all accrued in this year, but none of it dating back more than two or three years, was in round numbers $158,000. Of this sum $62,000 was due to twenty private individuals, Vallejo and Larkin having the largest claims; $32,000 to twenty-eight civil employés for salaries, José A. Estudillo of the tribunal being entitled to the largest sum, $3,000; $45,000 to fifty military officers, Vallejo heading the list with $5,600; and $19,000 to the soldiers of different companies.[40]

I name sixty vessels in the Californian fleet of 1845, though there are about a dozen doubtful names, many of them resting only on the statements of men who claim to have come to the coast on them;[41] two are

[40] *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 112–16, with full details, names, etc. In *Id., Doc.*, MS., iii. 98, is a balance-sheet of the treasurer, showing the total amount of money disbursed by Micheltorena in 1842–5. The sum was $209,219, divided as follows: presidial companies, $18,000; artillery, $11,000; batallon, $127,000; hospital, $2,500; schooner *California*, 3,000; Tulares establishment, $429; inválidos, $36, etc.

[41] *Admittance, Alfred, America, Argo, Baikal, Bajio, Benj. Morgan* (?), *Bull, California, California* (schr), *Clarita, Constantine, Constitution, Covolitz, Don Quixote, Dromio* (?), *Erie, Espadon, Fama* (2 ?), *Fannie* (?), *Gustave, Hannah* (?), *Helvetia* (?), *Héroine, Hibernia, Hopewell, John and Elizabeth* (?), *Jóven Guipuzcoana, Juanita, Julia, Julia Ann, Levant, Lion, Magnolia, Maria, María Teresa, Martha, Matador, Medicis, Morea, Nasledník, Onjaca, Pacific, Portsmouth, Primavera, Republicano, Sarah, Savannah, Soledad, Star of the West, Sterling, Tasso, United States* (?), *Vandalia, Vancouver* (?), *Warren* (2), *Waverly* (?), *and Wm Nye.*

According to a table in the *Honolulu Friend*, ii. 37, the number of vessels leaving that port for Cal. was 9, while there arrived 5. Larkin, *Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 36–7, 111, gives a table of shipping at Monterey for 1845 as follows: American vessels 27, Mexican 18, English 4, German 3, French 3, Hawaiian 3, total 58; men-of-war 5, whalers 5, traders 48, total 58; ships 23, barks 17, brigs 8, schooners 10, total 58; total crews, not including men-of-war, 885; total tonnage, 14,670 tons; cost of cargoes, $189,500; value in Cal., $367,000; duties paid, $138,360. The amount of the sums as given for each vessel in the list is $142,309; and a total of $144,913 is given in one record of the custom-house. The total receipts for the year at San Francisco were $1,029, of which

Boston ships that had wintered on the coast; fifteen were traders that brought new cargoes this year; twelve were whalers; eight were men-of-war; and thirteen came on miscellaneous or unknown business—to bring despatches, to collect debts, to obtain cattle, or to repair damages. The notable arrivals, if any may be so termed, were the *Matador*, which paid into the treasury $67,000, an amount far exceeding any ever paid before by one vessel; the *Star of the West*, a pioneer in a new class of smugglers, wrecked near Monterey; the *Tasso*, the first to furnish revenues for Pico's administration, and the assault on whose captain was one of the most prominent current themes of San Francisco local annals; and the Russian *Nasledník*, whose supercargo, Markof, published a narrative of his visit.

I have given for each year a mere list of vessels; but have reserved all details respecting each vessel for a general list for 1841–5, which I append to this chapter. I thus not only effect a saving of space, but produce a result much more satisfactory to the reader than by a scattering and repetition of particulars.[42]

sum $271 was paid out for expenses. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 215; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvi. 13. There are no other statistics except such as are fragmentary and of no value. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 205–6, speaks of a steamer from Sitka visiting S. F. Bay this year or in 1844.

[42] List of vessels, 1841–5:

Admittance, Amer. ship, 501 tons; 20 men; Peter Peterson, master; Henry Mellus, sup. and consignee. Arr. Mont. from Boston Mar. 4, 1843; cargo, $19,221; duties, $2,407 (20,407 ?). Passed two winters on the coast, touching repeatedly at all the ports. Sailed for Boston in autumn of 1845.

Alert, Amer. ship, 398 tons; W. D. Phelps, master. Had arr. in 1840; and sailed for Boston in Dec. 1842. Alfred Robinson seems to have departed in her. She was the last ship sent out by Bryant & Sturgis. Her exploit of spiking the San Diego guns in the 'Com. Jones War' is recounted elsewhere.

Alexander, or *Alexandrovich*, or *Jóven Alejandro*, or *Alexander the Heir*, Russ. bark. At S. F. from Sitka in spring of 1843 and autumn of 1844. On the 2d trip she had some trouble about entering S. F. before going to Mont.; about support of guard put on board to prevent smuggling; and about tonnage dues. She came for wheat from Sutter; and S. tried to pay the tonnage with a draft on custom-house, which was not acceptable. See *Nasledník*.

Alexander Barclay, German whaler, at Sauzalito in Dec. 1843. Perhaps also in 1842.

Alfred, Hamburg bark, at S. Pedro Feb. 1845, in ballast from Callao.

America, Engl. man-of-war, 50 guns; John Gordon, com. At Mont. and S. F. July 1845, bound to Columbia River. At Honolulu in Oct.

In this list there are named 148 vessels, of which a dozen or more rest on doubtful records, 18 being found

Angelina, Fr. whaler, at Mont. 1844. Her crew had a fight with soldiers of the batallon.

Argo, Fr. whaler at Mont. Aug. 1845.

Ayacucho, Mex. schr, 93 tons; J. Blanca, master; Jos. Limantour, sup. and con. According to Mofras she now belonged to Bizat & Roussell of Bordeaux. Arr. Mont. Oct. 1841; cargo, $15,586; duties, $15,726. Sailing for S. F. she was wrecked near Pt Reyes, the crew and part of cargo being saved. Mofras makes the date Sept. 27th, but it was at least a month later.

Baikal, Russ. brig. 180 tons. At S. F. Oct.–Nov. 1845 for grain from Sutter and others.

Bajio, bark, on the coast in 1845. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 4.

Barnstable, Amer. ship, 403 tons; Jas B. Hatch, master. Arr. from Boston at Mont. July 7, 1842; cargo, $27,943; duties, $28,548. Fined $300 for admitting a private individ. before the revenue officers. Spent 2 winters in Cal., making the round trip up and down several times; and sailed for Boston in Dec. 1844.

Benj. Morgan, whaler at S. F. autumn of 1844, and perhaps also in 1845.

Bertha and Jenny, Hamburg brig; 130 tons; John Mein, master; A. M. Ercilla, sup. Arr. Mont. from Callao Dec. 1842; cargo, $5,394; duties, $6,802. Sailed for Mazatlan in ballast Jan. 1843.

Bolina, Mex. schr. Brought back 19 of the exiled foreigners in July 1841.

Bolivar, Amer. brig, 202 or 180 tons; Gorham H. Nye, master. Said by Peirce and Simpson to have been on the coast Nov.–Dec. 1841. At Sta B. Dec.–Jan. 1842–3. Back from Honolulu June 1843; John C. Jones, master; A. B. Thompson, sup.; cargo, $2,329; duties, $3,121. At S. Pedro Nov. 1844; Roderick, master. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 241.

Braganza, whaler; Waterman, master. At Mont. Sept. 1841.

Bremen, whaler, at S. F. Aug. 1843.

Brothers, Engl. bark from Col. Riv. to Oahu. At S. F. July 1844. Refused to pay tonnage because driven in by weather. This view sustained by Consul Forbes.

Bull, Swedish brig; arr. Honolulu, Sept. 1845, from Col. Riv., via Monterey.

California, Mex. schr; Cooper, master; arr. at Mont. June 1841, from Mex. coast, paying $291 and $457. Lay at Sauzalito Sept.–Dec., and sailed for Mont. Dec. 31st. In 1842, John Roderick was mate, crew of 14, all foreigners but 2. Expense this year $2,831, besides $6,428 paid to Peirce & Brewer for previous repairs. See *Simpson's Narr.*, 282, 294–5, 358, for amusing details about her outfit for a voyage. Sailed Jan. 20, 1842, for Acapulco, with the comisionados Prudon and Castañares and 7 or 8 other passengers. Arr. Acap. Feb., Honolulu March, Mont. June 2d; duties, $4,136. Sailed again June 9th, arr. Acap. July, S. Blas and Mazatlan Aug., Mont. Sept. 30th. Pay-roll for the 2 trips, $1,842. Captured by U. S. with Monterey Oct., and released. Trip to S. Pedro and Sta B. and back Feb.–April 1843; in S. F. Bay and Petaluma Creek Apr.–May, thence south with provisions from Vallejo to Micheltorena; back at Sauzalito Oct.–Nov., and Mont. Nov.–Dec. Sailed Dec. 10th, with 'lots of passengers,' including Larkin, Abrego, Andrés Pico, and Capt. Wolter, leaving S. Pedro for Mazatlan Dec. 23d. Expenses to Sept., $2,754. Her cargo to Maz. included 127 casks brandy, 23 bbls of wine, 6 bbls pisco, 1 bbl olives, 1 can dried fruit, 16 hams, 112 cheeses. Came back to S. Pedro with the passengers, including also Davis, Johnson, Glein, and Dr Moro, Feb. 1844. Small-pox among the kanaka crew on this voyage. *Cooper's Log.*, MS., closes abruptly Mar. 8th on the way to Mont. Swan, one of the crew, says Cooper was ordered to sea by the gov. on account of small-pox, but replied he would see the gov. damned first. In May the schr carried

also in the list of 1836–40. Of the 134, the stars and stripes were borne by 45; 26 sailed under the Mexican

Capt. Flores to Mazatlan and returned in June; arr. Acapulco in July and lay there rest of year. Still at Acapulco in Jan. 1845. Some accts of expenses down to June; but I find no evidence that she ever returned to Cal.

California, Amer. ship; 422 tons; Jas P. Arther, master; Curtis Clap, sup.; arr. Mont. from Boston Feb. 1842; cargo, 21,961; duties, $21,328; up and down the coast; carried lumber from S. F. to Mont. in Oct. 1843; no record of her departure or of her presence in 1844. In spring of 1845 back from Boston; Howard sup.; cargo cost $35,000, worth in Cal. $70,000, appraised at $27,599; duties, $18,000, or $21,243, or $25,129, acc. to different records. Remained all the year.

Caroline, Amer. whaler; at Sauzalito Oct. 1843; 6 of her men stole the boat and escaped.

Carysfort, Engl. man-of-war, 26 guns, 240 men; Lord Geo. Paulet, com.; at Mont. Oct. 14–21, 1843, from Honolulu for Mazatlan. John Swan describes a ball on shore and dinner on board; also some fights, in which the ship's men got the best of the cholos.

Catalina, Mex. brig; Chris. Hansen, master; E. Célis, sup. At Mont. and S. F. May and Nov. 1841; duties, $858; left coast in spring of 1842. Back at Mont. in Aug. 1843; Robert Marshall, master. And again from Acapulco in Aug.–Nov. 1844.

Charles W. Morgan, Amer. whaler; Thos A. Norton, master; at Mont. in Aug. 1844; and also, according to *Dally's Narr.*, MS., in autumn of 1843.

Chato, Mex. brig, paid $387 duties at Mont. in 1841. In 1842 brought part of Micheltorena's force to S. Diego in Sept.

Clarita, Mex. bark, 202 tons; Chas Wolter, master. Paid $382 in spring of 1841. On coast July, Oct., 1842; detained for a day by Com. Jones at Monterey. Two trips in 1843 from Mazatlan; cargo, $1,391; duties, $239. Vioget, master in 1844–5. Duties in 1845, $750 on cargo of $6,500.

Columbia, Engl. bark; Humphries, master; Wm Wood, sup. Arr. Mont. Jan. 1, 1841, from Oregon; duties, $2,311 on cargo of $1,777. Jas Douglas and a party of hunters on board.

Columbine, Mex. schr, 55 tons; Manuel Turincio, master. At Mont. July 1841. Duties, $57; cargo, $456.

Constante, Chilean brig; Francisco Unamano, master, 1842. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 13.

Constantine, or *Grand Duke*, Russ. brig, 220 tons; formerly the *Wallace*. At S. F. Nov.–Dec. 1841. Carried 100 of the Ross colonists to Sitka. Wintered at S. F. 1843–4; and came again for grain in Oct.–Nov. 1845.

Constellation, U. S. man-of-war; 46 guns, 350 men; Kearney, com. At Mont. fr. Honolulu, Sept. 15–29, 1843. From China, squadron bound for U. S.

Constitution (?), U. S. man-of-war; John Percival, com. Left Honolulu for Mazatlan via Cal. Dec. 2, 1845; no record of arrival.

Corsair, Amer. brig. 182 tons; Michael Dowd, master; Dav. Spence, consignee. At Mont. from Callao May 1841; cargo, $11,944; duties $12,217.

Corvo (Craw-fish), whaler, at S. F. Aug. 1843.

Cowlitz, Engl. bark, 312 or 345 tons; Wm Brotchie, master. At Mont. Aug.–Oct. 1841 from Col. Riv. via Honolulu; duties, $10,965; Rae and Birnie passengers. Back from Oreg. in Dec. with Sir Geo. Simpson, John McLoughlin, and Duflot de Mofras; tonnage, $518; sailed for Oahu Jan. 1842. At Mont. again in Aug. 1843; and again in spring of 1845.

Curaçoa, Engl. man-of-war, 28 guns; Jones, com. At Mont. Nov. 1841 from Honolulu on business connected with Graham affair.

Cyane, U. S. man-of-war, 20 guns, 250 men; Stribling, com. At Mont. Oct. 19–Dec. 11, 1842; thence to S. F. with Com. Jones in Dec. Left Mont.

flag; 11 under British colors; 8 were French; 7 German or Swedish; 5 Russian; 3 South American;

Jan. 10, 1843, and S. Pedro Jan. 22d for Mazatlan; back at Mont. and S. Fran. Apr.–May. Left Mont. June 3d for southern ports and Honolulu. Back again at Mont. Dec. 10th–13th, and sailed for Mazatlan. Lost some deserters, including a negro named Norris, who was killed by Californians. Some dissatisfaction about the deserters as shown by corresp. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 352, 361, 364, 373; *'King's Orphan,' Visit*, 7; *Bojorges, Recuerdos*, MS., 37.

Dale, U.S. sloop of war, 16 guns, 165 men; Dornin, com. Arr. S. F. from Panamá Dec. 15, 1842; at Mont. Jan. 5–10, 1843, and sailed for Mazatlan.

Delphos, whaler, Sept. 1844.

Diamond, at S. F. Aug. 1843 with lumber and missionaries from Col. Riv. for Oahu. W. Fowler, master. Dr Sandels, the scientist, left Cal. on this vessel.

Don Quixote, Amer. bark, 270 tons; John Paty, master. Arr. Mont. Sept. 1841 from Hon.; duties, $6,989 on cargo of $6,584. Arr. again June 1842, cargo, $2,651; duties, $3,056. Perhaps came back and wintered on coast. Left Sta B. Feb. and returned from Hon. to S. F. May; cargo, $1,108; duties, $1,745; tonnage, $304; Wm H. Davis, sup. By connivance of guard $20,000 of goods were landed in the night at S. F. On the coast Nov.–Dec. 1844. In Feb. 1845 carried Micheltorena and his army to S. Blas, returning in May, and sailing for Hon. in Dec.

Dromio, doubtful name of 1845.

Eagle, whaler, at S. Diego Sept. 1844; Perry, master.

Elena, Russ. brig, at S. F. Feb. 1841, and came back from Sitka to Bodega in July. Tonnage, 1st trip, $253.

Eliza, Fr. whaler, Malherbe, master. At S. Fran. Sept. 1841.

Erie, U. S. store-ship; Lieut C. C. Turner, com. At Mont. and S. F. autumn of 1845, according to Lancey.

Esmeralda, Mex. schr, 92 tons; Hugo Reid, master. At S. Pedro May 1842. At Mont. Sept. from Hon.; cargo, $1,167; duties, $1,305. At the ports Jan. 1843; tonnage, $138. At San Pedro Jan. 1844.

Espadon, Fr. whaler; Désiré Batan, master. S. Diego Sept. 1845.

Fama, Amer. ship, 343 or 397 tons; C. Hoyer, master. At Mont. Jan. 1842 from Hon.; cargo, $5,353; duties, $5,868. Again in Aug.; cargo, $808; duties, $1,383. Her mate was consulted by Com. Jones before taking Mont. in Oct. Wintered, and left Sta B. with horses for Oahu in Jan. 1843. Back from Col. Riv., Nye, master, in June; cargo, $183; duties, $226. Left Mont. and Sta B. in Oct.–Nov., for Hon. Back at Mont. June 1844, with cargo to J. C. Jones. Arr. Hon. from Cal. April 1845; Wm P. Reynolds, mate. Back at Mont. June; cargo, $6,000; duties, $2,459. Was wrecked on the coast during this voyage, according to statements of Larkin and Swasey.

Fame, whaler; Mitchell, master. S. F. 1845.

Fanita (?), Mex. schr; Limantour, master. Spencer's list for 1843.

Fanny, Fr. whaler, 409 or 364 tons; Duval, master. Mont. and S. F. Nov.–Dec. 1843. Tonnage and duties, $621 or $546. Suspected of smuggling. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 265–6, ii. 31–2; *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 63. Possibly also in 1845.

Fariseo, Mex. brig, 105 tons; José D. Yndarte (?), master. Mont. Oct. 1845 fr. Acapulco. Cargo, $3,000; duties, $667.

Fernando, Mex. brig. At S. Pedro in June 1842. (The *Ferdinand* also named in 1843.)

Flying Fish, U. S. schr; Knox, com. Tender to *Vincennes* of U. S. expl. exped. At S. F. Oct. 1841.

George Henry, Amer. bark, 344 tons, 19 men; Stephen Smith, master and owner. Arr. Mont. fr. Baltimore and Paita May 1843; cargo, $5,941; duties, $7,744. Brought the 1st steam-engine, which was set up at Bodega; also the

and in the case of 29—many of them whalers and most perhaps American—no nationality is mentioned in the

1st pianos. Obtained a credit of 9 months for duties. At Sauzalito in Jan. 1844.

Georgia, whaler; Hull, master. S. F. 1844.

Guadalupe, lighter on S. F. Bay, 9 tons. 1844-5.

Gustave, Bremen bark; Clement Norton, master. San Diego Oct. 1845. Probably a whaler.

Hamilton, whaler; Hand, master. Mont. Sept. 1841.

Hannah, doubtful name of 1845.

Helvetia, doubtful name of 1845.

Héroine, Fr. man-of-war; Lecomte, com. Mont. July 1845. Lost some deserters.

Hibernia, Amer. whaler; Jas Smith, master. S. F. 1844, 1845.

Hoque, or *Hougue*, Amer. whaler; Jos. Hawley, master. S. F. Aug. 1842, and Feb. 1844.

Hopewell, whaler; Geo. Littlefield, master. S. Diego Nov. 1845.

Index, Engl. bark, 211 tons; Wilson, master; Scott, sup. Mont. Sept. 1841. Cargo, $2,459; duties, $2,776. Also seems to have wintered 1842-3, and left Sta B. for Valparaiso Feb. 1843.

John and Elizabeth, doubtful name of 1845.

John Jay, Amer. whaler, 400 tons; Wm J. Rogers, master. Mont. Sept. 18, 1843.

Jowfita, lighter, 3 tons, used by Victor Castro in S. F. Bay, 1844.

Joseph Peabody, John Dominis, master; doubtful record of 1842.

Jóven Carolina, Colomb. schr, 172 tons; José Legarda, master; Mig. Romana, sup. Mont. Feb. 1841, fr. La Union; cargo, $793; duties, $902.

Jóven Fanita. See *Fanita*. Mex. schr, S. F. Nov.–Dec. 1842.

Jóven Guipuzcoana, Mex. brig, 210 tons; Snook, master; Mig. Pedrorena, cons.; Aguirre, owner. At Mont. fr. Callao June 1841; cargo, $8,427; duties, $8,740. In Jan. 1842 brought Aguirre and bride with the bishop from S. Diego to Sta B. Detained by Com. Jones at Mont. in Oct. At Sta B. in Jan. 1843. Back at Mont. fr. Callao in Aug.; cargo, $3,503; duties, $4,553. On the coast in 1844; Orbell, master. At Mont. Aug. 1845 from Callao; cargo, $10,500; duties, $5,314. Still on coast in Dec.

Juan Diego, schr, to sail for Mazatlan in Oct. 1841.

Juan José, Colomb. or Mex. brig, 218 tons; Thos Duncan, master. Mont. Oct.–Dec. 1842 to winter; duties, $608 (possibly also in 1841). Back *from* Mazatlan Aug.–Dec. 1843; cargo, $1,696; duties, $318. At Sta B. Nov. 1844.

Juanita, Haw. (?) schr, 102 or 126 tons; John Wilson, master. Mont. April 1844 from Mazatlan. S. F. Aug. 1845.

Julia Ann, Amer. schr, 106 tons; Wm A. Leidesdorff, master; J. C. Jones, cons. Arr. Mont. June 22, 1841, from N. Y.; cargo, $7,149; duties, $6,807. J. J. Warner, passenger; also Robt G. Davis and J. W. Weed, and J. C. Jones from Panamá. In Sept. went to Hon., A. B. Thompson, pass.; and returned Nov. to Mont.; cargo, $6,445; duties, $6,604; John Sinclair, pass. At Sta B. Jan. and S. F. Dec. 1842. At all the ports in 1843. Arr. Mont. fr. Mazatlan in May and Aug. 1844. Arr. Mont. fr. Hon. Jan. 1845; cargo, $17,000; duties, $3,688.

June, whaler; Eddy, master. S. Diego Sept. 1844.

Lagrange, Fr. ship at Mont. April 1844. In trouble for smuggling. Cambuston and Peter Richards fined $500 each, and goods confiscated.

Lahaina, whaler, at S. F. Sept. 1841. *Niles' Reg.*, lxi. 401.

Lausanne, probably inaccurate mention of 1841.

Leonidas, Mex. schr; Stock, master. At S. Diego July 1841, doubtful record.

Leonor, doubtful record of Jan. 1841.

records. Of the 134, again, 43 were whalers; 22 were national craft of war or exploration, leaving 69 engaged

Levant, U. S. man-of-war, 20 guns, 237 men; Hugh N. Page, com. At S.F. and Mont. July.-Aug. 1844. Back at Mont. in Oct. 1845, carrying Larkin to S. Fran.

Lion, Fr. transport; Bonnet, master. At Mont. June 1844 for cattle, etc., for Marquesas Isl. Allowed to purchase for cash and drafts. At Sauzalito in Aug., refused to pay for a guard to prevent trade. Probably wintered on coast. Sailed in April 1845 with 400 cattle, losing 350 and her masts on the voyage. In Aug. she was back at Hon. on her way to Cal.) where her arrival is not recorded.

Llama, Amer. brig, 208 tons; Jones, master. Arr. Mont. from Boston via Hon. May 13, 1841; cargo, $6,038; duties, $6,350. At Hon. with John Sinclair as pass. in Sept. Apparently at Mont. in June 1842.

Magnolia, Amer. whaler, 400 tons; B. Simmons, master. Mont. Aug.-Sept. 1843. Also at S. F. in 1844 according to Davis.

Maria, Hamburg or Danish brig, 109 tons; W. Holstein, master. Mont. in Dec. 1845 fr. Valparaiso; cargo, $12,000; duties, $19,467.

Maria Teresa, Mex. brig, 185 tons; Julian Hanks, master. S. Diego and Mont. May-June 1845 fr. Mazatlan and Guaymas; cargo, $8,000; duties, $1,164.

Martha, Amer. whaler; Dav. R. Drabe, master. S. Diego Oct. 1845.

Maryland, Amer. brig, 100 or 160 tons; Blinn, master, At Mont. in spring of 1841; tonnage, $192; F. Johnson, sup. Capt. Blinn died on a trip to Kamchatka. Back at Mont. in Nov.; Henry A. Peirce, master and owner; tonnage, $192. Wintered on coast and sailed in Jan. 1842 for Mazatlan. Capt. Peirce has given me his original diary, noticed elsewhere.

Matador, Hamburg brig; C. F. Matchin, master. Mont. July 1845 fr. Valparaiso; cargo, $55,000; duties, $67,030 (the largest ever paid in Cal.).

Medicis, Fr. bark; Huguee, master. Left Hon. June 1845 for Cal. No record of arrival.

Menkar, whaler, S. Diego, Sept. 1844; Shearman, master.

Merrimac, whaler. At Sauzalito Sept. 1843.

Modeste, Engl. man-of-war; Thos Baillie, com. At S. F. and Mont. Oct.-Nov. 1844.

Monmouth, whaler; Hedges, master. S. F. 1844.

Morea, whaler; Benj. Cushing, master. S. F. Nov. 1845. Also mentioned on doubtful authority in 1841 and 1844.

Nantucket, Amer. whaler; Geo. W. Gardner, master; Mont. Oct. 1844.

Naukdnik, Russ. brig; apparently the same as the *Alexander*. At S.F. Oct.-Nov. 1845, and went down to Cármen Isl. for salt. Alex. Markof, the supercargo, published a narrative.

New Spring (?), schr, at S. F. Dec. 1842.

Newton, whaler; John Sawyer, or Sanger, master, who died at S. Diego Nov. 30, 1844.

Ninfa, Mex. schr; Hen. D. Fitch, master (and later Norton). Arr. fr. Mazatlan April 1841; cargo, $4,508; duties, $240. On the coast till Nov.

North America, Amer. whaler, 31 men; Geo. Deston, master. Mont. Sept.-Oct. 1843.

Oajaca, Mex. brig; A. B. Thompson, owner and sup.; at Sta B. June 1844; cargo, $1,555 and $4,075; duties, $704 and $1,913. Sailed for Mazatlan April 1845.

Oregon, U. S. brig; Carr, com. Formerly the *Thos Perkins;* bought for the U. S. explor. exped. At S.F. Oct. 1841.

Orera, whaler; S. F. Aug. 1841.

Orizaba, doubtful record of 1841.

Pacific, Amer. whaler. Mont. Aug. 1845.

Palatina, at S. Diego Oct.-Nov. 1842.

in trade. Of that number, 30 came chiefly from Mexican and South American ports; 8 from Boston; 7

Porpoise, U. S. brig; Ringgold, com. of U. S. expl. exped. At S. F. Oct. 1841. Touched at Mont.

Portsmouth, U. S. man-of-war; John B. Montgomery, com. At Mont. Oct. 1845 from Honolulu.

Primavera, Mex. brig; Alex. Chienes, master. S. F. Oct.–Nov. 1842. Claimed damages on account of Jones' taking of Mont. At Mont. autumn of 1844; Chas Baric, master. At S. Diego March 1845 fr. Mazatlan. Mont. June; cargo, $5,000; duties, $538.

Refak, Amer. whaler, 249 tons, 26 men; Henry S. West, master. Mont. Sept. 1843.

Relief, U. S. store-ship; Isaac Sterrett, com.; at Bodega and Mont. Jan. 1842; and again in Jan.–Feb. 1843.

Republicano, Mex. transport. Probably brought part of Micheltorena's army in Aug. 1842. *Nuevo Republicano* named in Feb. Also at Mont. Oct. 1845; Machado, master.

Robert Bowen, whaler; Sauzalito Sept. 1843.

Rosalía, see *Savannah*, lighter, 24 tons. Patent applied for by Wm Johnson April 1844.

Rosalind, Engl. brig; Henry J. Crouch, master. Brought bishop and others to S. Diego Dec. 1841; tonnage, $307. Sailed in the spring of 1842.

Russell, whaler; at Sta B. Oct. 1844; duties, $36.50.

Sacramento, schr; running on the river and bay. Patent applied for by Flügge for Sutter in 1844.

San Francisquito, lighter, 5 tons. Patent applied for by A. B. Thompson in Aug. 1844.

St Louis, U. S. man-of-war; at Mont. in 1841, to carry away Estabrook and protect Americans, according to Mofras. No other record of her presence; but she was at Honolulu bound to Cal.

Sapphire, whaler; Cartwright, master; at Mont. Sept. 1841. Mofras says she harpooned 3 whales in one day in the harbor.

Sarah, whaler; Myrick, master; at S. F. in 1844 and 1845.

Savannah, U. S. man-of-war, 50 guns, 610 men; Armstrong, com.; at Mont. Oct. 3–Dec. 1844. Carried Tellez and Mejía as Micheltorena's agents to Mazatlan. Surgeon Wood published a narrative of the voyage. Back at S. Fran. Oct. 1845 from Honolulu.

Soledad, Mex. brig, 105 tons; Chas Hubbard, master; Henry Dalton, sup. On coast Oct.–Dec. 1843 fr. Mazatlan; cargo, $3,709; duties, $1,279. John Swan, a well-known writer of pioneer reminiscences, was left by this vessel. Back at San Pedro in July 1845 with despatches, and Capt. Flores as passenger.

Star of Oregon, schr, built in Or.; Jos. Gale, master. Came down the coast in 1841, and was sold in Cal., the men returning with cattle to Or. in 1842.

Star of the West, Engl. schr; Wm Atherton, master; John Parrott, owner. Wrecked at Pt Lobos near Monterey July 27, 1845, and all that was saved was sold to Belden and others for $3,000. The *Star* brought a very valuble cargo from Liverpool, not intended for Cal., but for Mexico. Apparently the Californian authorities had agreed to take duties on a nominal valuation, a clean profit of the whole amount for them; while Parrott would then introduce the goods free of duties at Mexican ports and thus realise a large profit. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 167–9, tells us that all the Monterey ans became wreckers for the time, some making great gains; though 3 men were drowned. Swan, *Hist. Sketches*, MS., 13, thinks the plan was merely to pay duties in goods in Cal., while cash would be required at Mazatlan.

Sterling, Amer. ship, 386 tons; Geo. W. Vincent, master; Thos B. Park, sup. Arr. Mont. from Boston April 1844. Still on coast in 1845.

Susannah, schr.; built in Napa Creek in 1841. At Mont. from S. F. Nov.

from Honolulu; 6 from the Columbia River; 5 from Sitka; 7 were lighters employed on Californian inland

11–12, 1843. Sailed for Mazatlan. Swan says she was loaded with potatoes which were sold for $3,750, and the schr for $2,000, Capt. Davis returning on the *California*. Cooper, *Log of the Cal.*, MS., calls her the *Rosalia*.

Tasso, Amer. bark, 314 tons; Sam. J. Hastings, master; John H. Everett, sup. Arr. from Boston June 28, 1841; cargo, $15,996; duties, $16,467. Refused to land her goods unless permitted to engage in coasting trade; and the authorities yielded rather than lose so large an amount. There was a plan to seize her in 1842 at the time of Com. Jones, the captain being arrested. She sailed for Boston late in 1843. Came back Feb. 1845; Elliott Libbey, master; Henry Mellus, sup.; cargo, $35,000; duties, paid at S. Diego, $16,107. At S. F. Oct. 11th some of the *Tasso's* men on shore late at night were arrested by a patrol, or by a party of men claiming to be such; and Capt. Libbey on attempting to interfere was badly cut and beaten, his companion, Nathan Spear, being also beaten. This affair gave rise to much excitement and correspondence, Larkin coming up from Mont. on the *Levant*, and 6 of the assailants being sent to S. José for trial. No penalty was ever inflicted so far as the records show. See corresp. between Prefect Castro, Larkin, Forbes, sub-prefect, judges, Com. Page, etc., extending to May 1846, in *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 320–3, 327, 347; iv. 66, 101; *Id., Off. Corresp.*, i. 53–67, 77, 97; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 175–7, 184–5, 204–9; ii. 14, 19, 25, 76; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, iii. 112, 160, 222; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 67–8; *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 93; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 205–6; *Fernandez, Doc.*, MS., 41–3; *Castro, Rel.*, MS., 153–4, 163; *Buelna, Notas*, MS., 20–1.

Thomas Perkins, Amer. brig; Varney, master. At Mont. Feb. 1841 fr. Hon.; Warren and Geiger, passengers. Went to S. Diego to load hides for Peirce & Brewer, but was ordered away, and reached Hon. in March, 13 days from S. Diego. Sailed in April for N. W. coast, where she was sold to U.S. govt. See *Oregon*.

Trinidad, Mex. brig, 170 tons, 14 men; R. Menchaca, master; C. Lataillade, sup. At S. Pedro July 1842; detained by Com. Jones at Mont. in Oct.; and in Nov. carried despatches from Micheltorena to S. Blas. At Mont. Sept. 1843; Manuel Diaz, master; cargo, $3,696; duties, $517 (?). Back again in Sept. 1844; José M. Gamon, master.

Tuscany, whaler, at Sauzalito Oct. 184-.

United States, U. S. man-of-war; Armstrong, com. Flag-ship of Pacific squadron, with Com. Jones on board. At Mont. Oct. 1842. Made a trip to Hon. and back in Nov.–Dec. Probably sailed from Mont. with *Dale* and *Cyane* Jan. 10, 1843 (also doubtful mention of 1845).

Valleyfield, Eng. bark, fr. Col. Riv. At S. F. Sept. 1842, in ballast. Also Jan.–March 1843; duties and tonnage, $822.

Vancouver, Engl. bark, 325 tons, 30 men; Alex. Duncan, master. At Mont. and S. F. Feb. 1843 fr. Col. Riv.; duties, $933 on cargo of $368. She left Col. Riv. for Hon. via Cal. in Dec. 1845. No record of her touching.

Vandalia, Amer. ship, 491 tons; John C. Everett, master; W. D. M. Howard, sup. Arr. Mont. fr. Boston Feb. 21, 1844; no record of cargo or duties. Still on the coast in 1845. Three sailors were arrested for a robbery. Being Englishmen, they were claimed by Consul Forbes. Larkin also interfered, and to him the men were given up after a month's imprisonment. The correspondence on this subject is somewhat extensive.

Vincennes, U. S. man-of-war, of U. S. expl. exped.; Wilkes, com. At S. F. fr. Col. Riv. Aug. 14 to Nov. 1, 1841. Sailed for Honolulu.

Warren, U. S. man-of-war, 24 guns, 250 men; Jos. B. Hull, com. At Mont. fr. Hon. Nov.–Dec. 1843. Also on coast July–Sept. 1845 fr. Mazatlan for Honolulu.

Warren, whaler, S. F. Nov. 1845.

Waverly, doubtful name of 1845.

waters; and 6 came from various ports of America and Europe, the exact business of a few not being known.

Wm C. Nye, whaler, Budington, master. At S. Fran. 1843. Again 1845; Stevens, master.

Yorktown, U. S. man-of-war; J. H. Aulick, com. At Mont. fr. Hon. Nov. 23–7, 1841. Took some testimony on the Graham affair. Again at S. F. Sept. 1842; Nicholas (?), com.

Yuba, lighter, 5 tons; patent applied for May 1843 by Thco. Cordua.

The authorities for the information in this list are chiefly scattered documents in many different archives, public and private; but I may mention also as valuable general authorities the *Honolulu Friend*; *Polynesian*; and *Temperance Advocate*; the custom-house records in *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Cust.-H.* MS., iii.; v.–viii.; *Larkin's Doc.*, *Off. Corresp.*, and *Papers*; *Cooper's Log*; *Robbins' Diary*; and *Pinto, Doc.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

IMMIGRANT COMPANIES AND PIONEERS.

1845.

OVERLAND IMMIGRATION—NEW MEXICANS—THE MCMAHON-CLYMAN COMPANY FROM OREGON IN JULY—CLYMAN'S DIARY—OREGON TRAIN OF 1845—PALMER'S JOURNAL—COOKE'S SCENES—CALIFORNIAN AGENTS AT FORT HALL—THE SWASEY-TODD COMPANY—SUBLETTE AND HIS MEN—THE GRIGSBY-IDE COMPANY—NAMES—WOMEN AND CHILDREN—RECOLLECTIONS OF MISS IDE—STATEMENTS OF KNIGHT, GREGSON, DEWELL, ELLIOTT, AND TUSTIN—FRÉMONT'S THIRD EXPEDITION—OVER THE SIERRA BY TWO ROUTES IN DECEMBER—A BLUNDER—KINGS RIVER AND KERN RIVER—BIBLIOGRAPHY—THE HASTINGS-SEMPLE COMPANY—A NARROW ESCAPE—PIONEERS AND VISITORS OF 1845.

OVERLAND immigrants to California in 1845 numbered about 150 men, besides women and children, who may be estimated, for we have no definite records on the subject, at nearly 100. They came from Oregon in the north and over the sierra from the east in six companies; though one of them was not fitted out originally as an emigrant party, and two of the others were properly but divisions of the same company. Not more than two thirds of the whole immigration remained permanently in the country. I shall notice the six companies in the chronologic order of their arrival.[1]

[1] Besides those companies, Bidwell, *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 125–6, and Sutter, *Pers. Remin.*, MS., 106, *Diary*, 5, say that among the foreigners opposing Micheltorena at Cahuenga were 30 or 40 mountaineers just arrived. Cronise, *Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 54, tells us that in the spring of 1845 nearly 2,000 Mormons left the Missouri for California; and Tustin, *Recollections*, MS., 2, speaks of a Mormon company under Barstow which came with his party to the summit of the mountains (?). May 26th, Julian Follen petitions for a tract of land in the S. Joaquin Valley for himself and 20 foreign colonists—about whom there

The first came from Oregon in July, and may be called the McMahon-Clyman company, the captain having been Green McMahon, who, as the reader will remember, had first come to California in 1841 with Bartleson; and James Clyman, who twenty years before had been in the Rocky Mountains with the fur-traders, having written a diary of the trip. Most of the members had come overland to Oregon in 1844. Clyman's diary describes the journey day by day from May 14th, when they left Independence, until October, when they reached the Willamette Valley. Near Fort Hall the California immigrants of that year, the Stevens company, left the main body, which at one time consisted of nearly one hundred wagons, forming with cattle and horses a column about two miles in length. The details of this journey do not concern us here. Of the nineteen men in Clyman's particular company, or mess, only Everhart accompanied him to California.

In the spring of 1845 a party was organized of such as were dissatisfied with Oregon or wished to see more of the western country before settling permanently; and they started southward from the rendezvous in the upper Willamette June 8th, forty-three in number, including one woman and three children. I append a list of their names made by Sutter at the time of their arrival.[2] The march, though described

is no information. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 60. May 7th, José Antonio García asks for land for 33 New Mexicans. Wants S. Gabriel. Refused. *Id.*, MS., iv. 50. Aug. 18th, petition of Santiago Martinez and 20 New Mexican families at S. Barnardino for La Jabonera, as a site for a settlement. *Id.*, iv. 112, 23–4. In June, Felipe Castillo formed an itinerary of his journey from Hermosillo to Los Angeles, giving distances, geographical features, etc. Total distance, 264 leagues. *Castillo, Itinerario desde Sonora hasta California, 1845*, MS.

[2] McMahon-Clyman immigrant company of 1845: Hiram Acres, James (?) Barrett, Wm Bartel, Martin Brown, Buchanan, Benj. Carpenter, S. U. Chase, Morris R. Childers, James Clyman, Thomas Cochran, Joseph Davis, Duncan, St Vrain Durand, John Ellick, Lazarus Everhart, Abner Frazer, Wm Frazer, Marion Gibson, Hayes, Geo. Hibler, James Houck, Huet, Lenoir, Frank Lightstone, Green McMahon, James W. Marshall, Wm Northgrave, Ed. Owens, Henry Owens, James Owens, John Owens, Thomas Owens, R. K. Payne, Mrs Payne (a widow), J. D. Perkey, Al. Sanders, Franklin Sears, Sipp, Owen Sumner, and Lindy Thorp. John Ellick seems to have been in California before, being called also Allick, Alig, Ilig, Ellig. Lightstone's name

in detail, has no special importance or interest, the apparently unprovoked shooting of two Indians by Sears being the only exciting incident. Crossing the Rogue, Klamath, and Shasta rivers successively, the travellers struck the upper Sacramento at the end of June. On the 9th of July they encamped on Cache Creek near Gordon's, where they were met by Sumner, whose father was in the party, and were hospitably treated by Wolfskill, Knight, Gordon, and others. In a day or two the party was broken up. Some on July 12th started for Sutter's Fort.[3]

Clyman continued to record his movements and those of the men who remained with him. His first trip was to Yount's and back. Then he went before the end of July by way of New Helvetia, Livermore's, and San Juan, to Monterey,[4] spent the first days of August with Isaac Graham, and returned to Napa by Santa Clara. After a hunting tour with the Kelseys he visited Yerba Buena; but he lost his inkstand, and the daily record was suspended for a time. At the beginning of December we find him at Clear Lake; and his diary for the winter is filled chiefly with a record of the weather and of his hunting adventures. The hunting was good, but Clyman found little else in the country that pleased him; and he soon began to plan the organization of a company in the spring to return eastward, while many of his asso-

was really Lichtenstein. In *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 86, an account of the arrival is given on the authority of S. U. Chase, in which James Lewis, Thomas Smith, and Nelson McMahon are named, doubtless inaccurately, as members. Chase gives 24 names correctly, and says the party numbered 39. Clyman, in his *Diary*, also says there were 39 men, but names only McMahon, Sears, Frazer, Owens, and Sumner.

[3] In his letter of July 15th, Sutter says: 'All of this people have a descent (!) appearance, and some very useful men amongst them. Some of them will remain here, and the majority will spread over the whole country like usual. A good many will come to Monterey and present themselves to you. I give them passports, and give notice to the govt. A letter informs me that in 6 or 8 weeks another company will arrive.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 220. No such company came.

[4] Aug. 25th–26th, there was a corresp. between Prefect Castro and Judge Escobar about a party of foreigners—doubtless Clyman's—who were to be required to show passports or state their names and business; but it was found they had gone, and Consul Larkin knew nothing about them. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 144; *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., viii. 18–19.

ciates, equally disgusted with California, were already talking of a return to Oregon. These plans were carried out in 1846, as we shall see. The old mountaineer's remarks about men and places, as well as his descriptions of personal adventure, are very interesting. The writer returned to California, where he was still living in 1878.[5] Comparatively few of the McMahon-Clyman company bore names which became prominent in later annals of the country; yet Marshall was destined to be the discoverer of gold; and Chase, Sears, Lightstone, Cochran, and others were locally well known.

The Oregon immigration of 1845, like that of the preceding year, has been described in a diary, which, unlike that of Clyman, has been printed. It was written by Joel Palmer, captain of one of the companies, whose journey from Independence to Oregon lasted from May to October.[6] This company on the way passed, and was passed by, many other similar parties; but it forms no part of my task, even if it were possible, to explain their movements or relative positions at any particular time. Colonel Kearny with some 300 U. S. dragoons passed over the route to the South Pass and back, theoretically perhaps to protect the emigrants, and practically to eat up the grass and consume the water at all the best camping spots in advance of them. One of his officers, Philip St George Cooke, saw fit to record the tour in print; and his narrative brims over with philosophical reflec-

[5] *Diary of Col Jas Clyman's Overland Journey from Missouri to Oregon and California in 1844–6*, MS., 148 p. This is a literal copy made in 1871 by R. T. Montgomery. The original is in the form of 9 small memorandum books. The diary extends from May 1844 to April 1846, when the writer started on his return. A tenth volume, describing the return, has been lost. *Clyman's Note Book*, MS., 27 p., is an abridgment of the same original made by Ivan Petroff in 1878. It contains some additions which will be noticed in the annals of 1846.

[6] *Palmer's Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Columbia River*, etc. Cincinnati, 1852. 12mo, 189 p. That portion narrating the trip from Independence to Fort Hall, the only part bearing indirectly upon the Californian immigration, from May 6th to Aug. 13th, is on p. 12–44.

tions to the entire exclusion of useful information.[7] Let it suffice to regard the route to Fort Hall as a great national highway, along which ox and mule trains passed westward during the season, not with the frequency or regularity or convenience of the more modern railroad trains, but yet without hardships and dangers so excessive as to prevent the travellers from being born and married and buried on the way.

Very few, comparatively, left the Missouri River with the intention of going to California; but more were tempted to swerve from the way when they reached Fort Hall. Says Palmer: "While we remained in this place great efforts were made to induce emigrants to pursue the route to California. The most extravagant tales were related respecting the dangers that awaited a trip to Oregon, and of the difficulties and trials to be surmounted. The perils of the way were so magnified as to make us suppose the journey almost impossible. . . On the other hand, as an inducement to pursue the California route, we were informed of its shortness when compared with that to Oregon; as also of many other superior advantages it possessed. These tales, told and rehearsed, were likely to produce the effect of turning the tide of emigration thither. Mr Greenwood, an old mountaineer, well stocked with falsehoods, had been despatched from California to pilot the emigrants through; and, assisted by a young man by the name of McDougal from Indiana, so far succeeded as to induce thirty-five or thirty-six wagons to take that trail," in addition to the fifteen wagons that had been fitted out expressly for California.[8] Sutter, who had received letters from Hastings,

[7] *Cooke's Scenes and Adventures in the Army: or Romance of Military Life.* Phil. 1857. 12mo, p. 282–390, etc. They passed the emigrants on May 25th–26th, the author noting a wedding by which a pair of blankets was made to do double duty; and again met them on July 8th on the return march, when the author met Capt. Joe Walker on his way to Cal. Palmer, *Journal*, p. 18, 31, notices the same meetings.

[8] *Palmer's Journal*, 43–4. 'What the result of their expedition has been I have not been able to learn;' but he adds in a note that the emigrants, 'not finding California equal in point of soil to their high-wrought expectations, have made the best of their way to Oregon'! The same writer, p. 10, speaks

and expected "a very large company of more as 1,000 souls," wrote in July, "I am very glad that they meet with some good pilots at Fort Hall, people who went over there from here to pilot emigrants by the new road, which was found right down Bear Creek on my farm."[9] Most of those who came to California state, in the narratives to be noticed later, that they started originally for Oregon.

The second company to arrive in California, being the first offshoot of the Oregon immigration at Fort Hall, may be called the Swasey-Todd company, from the names of its latest survivors, or it might be termed the Snyder-Blackburn party, from the names of its best-known members, as it appears to have had no regular captain. It was composed of twelve or thirteen young men, who, with their pack-animals, determined to press on in advance of the teams.[10] I give their names in a note, chiefly on the authority of Swasey, who was in 1884 a resident of San Francisco.[11] There is a degree of uncertainty respecting the exact relations of this advance party and the main company, since most witnesses, members of the latter, whose narratives I shall notice presently, say nothing of any such division; but I suppose the truth to be that a portion of the teams managed to keep up with

of a party of Germans from St Louis, 4 men, 2 women, and 3 children, with 2 wagons and 8 mules, who started for California and travelled with Palmer's company to Ft Hall. See *Hist. Or.*, i. 552, this series, for a public meeting in Or. in June 1846, at which testimony against Cal., and the methods of turning the stream of immigration thither, was taken from 6 of the victims.

[9] *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 220.

[10] Mrs Healy, in *Ide's Biog.*, 33–4, says 'a party of young men concluded to "pack through," that is, to go on horseback—pack themselves and their baggage on horses;' and she remembers the names of 6. Palmer, *Journal*, 44, names McDougal as one of the most active in promoting the California movement at Ft Hall.

[11] Members of the Swasey-Todd company of 1845: William Beale, Wm Blackburn, Wm B. Gildea, Francis Hoen, Thomas Knight (?), John Lewis, George McDougal, Hiram Rheusaw, Thomas (?) Smith, Harry Spiel, Jacob R. Snyder, Wm F. Swasey, Wm L. Todd.

Rheusaw is also called Renshaw and Rusoff. Thomas Knight was not strictly a member of this advance party, having a team with the main body, which he went back to meet on the summit. Miss Ide names Keyes as one of this party, but I think he must have been with the teams. There is also a list in the *Napa Register*, June 1, 1872.

the horsemen until they reached the mountains.[12] At any rate, McDougal and his men left Fort Hall on or about August 13th; kept in advance of the main body; crossed the sierra by the Stevens, or Truckee, route, without special adventures; and reached New Helvetia late in September.[13]

The third company of the year was one respecting which I know only the fact of its arrival, and what is to be learned from a letter of Sutter to Larkin dated October 8th. He says: "Yesterday Mr Sublette of St Louis arrived here with his party consisting of fifteen men. He passed both of the companies of emigrants,[14] who have crossed the most difficult passes and are close by. Mr Sublette is a brother-in-law of Mr Grove Cook, and a man of considerable property. He intends to establish himself here when he likes the country. A good many of these emigrants have cash more or less, some of them several thousand dollars in gold. Not one company has arrived before in this country which looked so respectable as this. I have now a great chance to buy plenty of well-broken American oxen and wagons from the

[12] Knight, *Early Events*, MS., 3-4, says that his party, with fifteen wagons, went on to the Truckee, from which point he with McDougal and Snyder went on before to Sutter's, whence he returned to meet his party on the summit, where he found that his wagon and other property had been burned by the explosion of a keg of powder. Miss Ide, *Biog.*, 40, mentions the explosion near the lake, and also the fact that the wagon belonged to a member of the advance party. Swasey, *Statement*, MS., 1-2, says nothing of this; but in conversation to-day (April 23, 1880), thinks that Knight may be right.

[13] According to the *New Helvetia Diary*, MS., 3 et seq., the best possible authority, Gildea with Greenwood and a few others arrived September 27th, more came on the 28th, and 11 on the 30th, having left their wagons in the mountains. Sept. 30th, preparations to send back aid for those in the sierra. Oct. 2d, part of the new arrivals left the fort on a hunting tour. Sutter, *Diary*, 6, also has the date of arrival Sept. 27th; and says that on the 30th he sent aid—that is, by Knight on his return. Swasey testifies that according to his memoranda he arrived Sept. 26th, though Snyder always insisted it was on the 23d. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841-8*, MS., 112, and Belden, *Hist. Stat.*, MS., 42, mention the arrival, and name some members of the company.

[14] The allusion must be to two portions of the Grigsby-Ide company. In *N. Helv. Diary*, MS., 5-6, are the following entries: 'Oct. 7th, to-day a party from the U. S. arrived, having with them Mr Sublette of St Louis. They report 60 wagons in the mountains.' Oct. 10th, part of Sublette's party start for S. F. Four of them got passes.

young men, which prefer horses so that they can travel in the country."[15] None of the fifteen are known by name. Some of them are perhaps in the list of the next company, and others probably in the general list for the year. Sublette and three men, not of his original company, were met by Bryant in July 1846 on their way east.

I now come to the fourth company of immigrants, passed on the way by Sublette's, the main body left at Fort Hall by Swasey and his companions in August. I call it the Grigsby-Ide company, John Grigsby having been, according to some authorities, the captain, and William B. Ide not only a prominent member, but also somewhat famous a little later. There were about fifty men, whose names, so far as I can ascertain them, are given in a note.[16] Many of

[15] Oct. 8th, S. to L. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 315. In Jan., Sublitz—probably the same man—was at Yerba Buena with some of his company; and notwithstanding Sutter's praise, he was pronounced by Leidesdorff a 'great Blaggard.' *Id.*, iv. 6. In 1844 Clyman had met Mr Sublette on the plains with a party largely composed of invalids travelling for their health. Knight speaks of having met Sublette somewhere on the plains. Ide met on the summit 'a pack-train on their way to some fort.'

The following men are shown by different records to have been in Cal. in 1845, most of them at Sutter's Fort; but the exact circumstances of their coming are not known. Some doubtless came by sea, but others probably overland, and the list probably includes most of the Sublette party. W. D. Barry, A. J. Bolan, Elij. Bristow, Abner Bryan, Clemens, Wm Dodson, C. Dornte, Eustis, Sam. Gibson, Jac. Herman, Hess, Jackson, Julian, John H. Kelley, Dan. Leahy, McDonald, Jas McDowell and family, McKenzie, Thos Middleton, John Neal, G. R. Nightengell, H. O'Brien, Wm O'Connor, Noah Peters, Sanford, Chas Savage, Felix Scott, Wm Sigler, Stanley, Nic. Tometty, Hen. Trow, J. Washburn, Lewis Wigman.

There is a possibility that another small party, an offshoot from the Oregon immigration, arrived this year in addition to the six recorded in this chapter. In this connection I should note that Mrs Maggie M. Hunt, a daughter of James McDowell, the well-known pioneer of Yolo Co., furnishes through John Bidwell a partial list of the party that came with her father, as prepared by Geo. W. Bell. The list is as follows: Geo. W. Bell, Wm Bennett, Dr Boyle, Jas Cameron, J. Colwell, English and family, Hen. Everts, Dolphus Hannah, Sam. Hawkins, Dr Zac. Hawkins (died on the way), Dav. Ingals and fam., Hen Marlin, Wm McClure, Thomas B. Reed, Simpson, Jos. Smith (nephew of the Mormon prophet, who came to Cal.), Jas Stevens and fam., Rich. Stevens and fam., Dr Welsh and fam., Whitaker, White and family, and Rich. Wylia. In the Oregon immigration of 1845—see *Hist. Oregon*, i. 525 et seq., this series—the reader will find names resembling many of these. It is not certain that any one of them came to Cal., but possibly a few did so.

[16] Grigsby-Ide immigrant company of 1845: Anderson (?), (Wm R. Bassham, Jarvis Bonney, Truman Bonney, Julian Bradshaw, Buffin (?), Thomas H. Burgess, Geo. Carter, Michael Coleman, Wm C. Cooper, Thos

these men brought their families; and of men, women, and children, there were doubtless over one hundred souls in the company. Under the guidance of the Greenwoods, they left Fort Hall about the middle of August, and proceeded slowly, without other mishaps than the loss of some cattle and the burning of a wagon with its load, down the Humboldt, across to the Truckee, and into the mountains. The work of crossing the sierra with the teams was of course a tedious one; but the winter snows had not yet begun to fall, and Ide, bringing his Yankee genius to bear on the problem, is said to have devised new methods

Crafton (boy), Davis (?), Benj. Dewell, Wm B. Elliott, Sam. Field (?), Isaac A. Flint (?), John Gibbs, R. Grant (?), Caleb Greenwood, John Greenwood, James Gregson, C. C. Griffith, James A. Griffith, Frank F. Grigsby (?), G. W. Grigsby (?), John Grigsby, Hess (?), Dav. Hudson, Wm Hudson, Dan. Ide (boy), James Ide (?), Lemuel Ide (boy), Wm Ide, Wm B. Ide, A. Kinney (?), S. Kinney (?), Robt C. Keyes, Thos Knight (?), Pat. McChristian, Henry Marshall, John Marshall, Meeres (?), G. R. Nightengell (?), Harvey Porterfield, Potter (?), Charles Roether (?), Wm R. Roulette, Horace Sanders, Felix Scott (?), John Scott, Wm W. Scott, John Sears, Eugene F. Skinner, G. M. Smith (?), Thomas (?), Fern. Tustin (boy), Wm I. Tustin, Wilmot (?), Geo. Williams (?), Joseph Wood, Wright (?), Dav. York (boy), John York, W. E. York (boy).

No list was made in early times, so far as I know. Besides the half-dozen boys mentioned above, there were doubtless many others. Those men who were accompanied by their families were apparently: Anderson (?), Bonney, Buffin (?), Davis (?), Elliott (7 children, including several sons, some of them grown), Griffith, Grigsby, Hudson, Ide, Kinney (?), Meeres (?), Potter (?), Roulette, Scott (?), Skinner, Thomas (?), Tustin, and York; but it will be noticed that nearly half of these are among the doubtful members. Of the 56 men named in the list, 35 are named by several authorities, and there is no room for doubt about them, 15 of the number giving bonds for good behavior at Sonoma in Nov. Of the 23 names marked as doubtful, two, Field and Flint, also gave bonds, but do not seem to have been remembered by anybody as members. G. M. Smith is named at the fort in connection with the party, but not positively as belonging to it. These, with Felix Scott and the two Kinneys, whose presence at Sutter's Fort is recorded, may therefore have come in Sublette's or some other party, though Miss Ide remembers families named 'Keeny' and Scott in the Grigsby-Ide company. Eight names—Anderson, Buffin, Davis, Grant, Meeres, Potter, Thomas, and Wilmot—rest only on the memory of Miss Ide (Mrs Healy); and some if not most are probably erroneous, or at least belong to men who went to Oregon instead of Cal. The two Grigsbys I suppose to have been sons of Capt. John Grigsby, though I have no positive evidence. It is not clear that James Ide came to Cal. Four—Nightengell, Roether, Williams, and Wright—are mentioned by newspapers or county histories as having come in this party or with members of it. Hess is named in the *N. Helv. Diary*, and is remembered by Bidwell. Thos Knight may be properly enough included in this or in the Swasey-Todd party. The fact that many went to Oregon the next year in parties of which no lists are extant makes it difficult to fix these names accurately. The matter is however cleared up as far as possible in the biographical sketches given elsewhere.

which greatly lessened the difficulties. It was at different dates and in small parties from the 10th to the 25th of October that they came down Bear Creek to Johnson's and made their appearance at Sutter's.[17] Here the company broke up in a few days, some going south, but most either remaining in the Sacra-

[17] In *New Helvetia Diary*, MS., the entries on the subject are as follows: Oct. 8th, 'Visitors of the party from the U. S. came to the fort, bringing with them letters from different friends in the U. S.' These were probably members of the relief party from the fort. 10th, 'Two emigrants from the hind comp. of 15 wagons came in to-day for provisions, and immediately left again.' 11th, 'R. Gildea with his party from the wagons. Dr Carter also.' 12th, Bonney and family. 14th, Bonney went back with a horse. 15th, 'G. M. Smith came in from the mts with some 2 or 3 more from the wagons and report the wagons most on to the plains.' 17th, '5 wagons from the mts arrived last night about 12 o'clock.' 19th, 'Last night, 1 more wagon belonging to Mr Hess; to-day 2 more belonging to Mr Todd and Mr Roulette—4 or 5 wagons more are expected immediately.' 20th, five more wagons. Several of the men engaged to work at the fort. 21st, several more. 23d, a German family from the U. S. 24th, 3 more wagons. 25th, 4 wagons, those of Ide and Skinner. 30th, Ide started up river. 31st, Skinner and Tustin shingling the hatter shop. Sutter, *Diary*, 6, notes the arrival of a large party with 60 wagons on Oct. 7th; but there is perhaps an error, as this was the date of Sublette's arrival. Dewell says he reached Johnson's on Oct. 7th; Marshall at Sutter's on Oct. 20th; Ide at Sutter's soon after Oct. 25th; and others late in October, without specifying the day.

Ide, Biographical Sketch (Claremont, N. H.), 1880, 16mo, 240 p., is a book to be more fully noticed in the annals of 1846. Chapters iii.–iv., p. 28–50, are devoted to a description of the overland journey, chiefly from the recollections of Mrs Sarah E. Healy (Ide). The Ide party, 13 in number—father, mother, daughter, two grown-up sons, two small sons, an adopted boy, and four men who drove the teams for board and passage—with 165 cattle, left home in Illinois in April and joined the train at Independence, bound like the rest for Oregon. The crossing of the sierra is somewhat minutely described; and attention is particularly given to Ide's skill and energy by which the teams were brought to the summit in two days. They found the spot where the Stevens company of 1844 had encamped and left their wagons; and then 'our emigrants on coming to this plain all made a rush for the long-sought California; ambitious to be first—not waiting much for one another; the best teams leaving the rest; every one looking out for himself only. Some went to one part of the country and some to another.' The Ides soon went up the valley with Peter Lassen. Thomas Knight, *Early Events in Cal.*, MS., came from St Louis with Burgess, joining the Batchelder co. for Oregon at Independence in April. James Gregson, *Statement*, MS., p. 1, etc., came with his wife, a sister of the Marshalls, from Illinois, bound for Oregon. Benjamin Dewell, *Napa Reporter*, Oct. 12, 1872, came from Indiana for Oregon, and left Independence May 6th. John Brown, the captain, was succeeded by Grigsby at Laramie. Wm B. Elliott, *Santa Rosa Democrat*, Feb. 5, 1876, left Missouri with wife and 7 children in April. Wm J. Tustin, *Recollections*, MS., 1–2, came from Illinois in April with wife, child, and ox-teams for Oregon. Henry Marshall, *S. José Pioneer*, Aug. 10, 1878, *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 474, came in the Welch co. with Gregson and others to Ft Hall. In *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 32, this company is incorrectly represented as coming from Oregon. See also *McChristian's Narrative*, MS. All these authorities give some slight details of the journey.

mento Valley, or going to the Napa and Sonoma valleys. Of the latter, about twenty appeared at Sonoma in November, when older settlers signed guarantics for their good behavior, George Yount becoming security for most, but the names of J. B. Chiles, William Benitz, and Manuel Torres appearing on a few of the papers.[18] Some of this company went to Oregon in the spring; and of those that remained many took a prominent part in the troubles of 1846.

In December came the fifth company of the year, Frémont's explorers, who crossed the mountains in two parties by widely different routes. Immediately after completing his report on the exploration of 1844, as already noted,[19] Frémont had hastened to St Louis, and organized a company for a third expedition. In May or June he left the rendezvous, near Independence, with about a hundred men, including a few of his old companions, and proceeded to Bent's fort. From this point he started in August with about sixty men, including half a dozen Delaware Indians. He ascended the Arkansas River to its source, explored the country in a north-westerly course to Utah Lake, and spent over a week at the end of October in an exploration of Great Salt Lake. The few details accessible respecting these operations have no direct bearing on the history of California.

At the end of October the explorers entered what is now Nevada, in the region of Pilot Peak; and on November 5th, at a spot called Whitton Spring, near the head waters of the Mary, or Ogden, or Humboldt, the company was divided. Frémont with a small party took a southern route through the unexplored regions since constituting the counties of Elko, Eureka, Nye, and Esmeralda; and reached Walker Lake on the 23d.[20]

[18] Nov. 19th–27th, the original bonds in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 152–75.

[19] See chap. xix. of this volume for Frémont's 2d expedition.

[20] The stations along this route where observations of lat. and long. were taken were, Whitton Spring, Crane branch of the Humboldt, head of s. fork of Humboldt, Connor Spring, Basil Creek, Boiling Springs, Moore Creek, Secondi Spring, Sheep Mt., Lake Walker. *Frémont's Geog. Mem.*, 56–7.

The main party in the mean time—under the guidance of Walker, who had been met somewhere on the way as he was likely to be at any time or place in the great basin—followed the emigrant trail down the Humboldt to its sink, and thence turned southward to Walker Lake, where they rejoined Frémont on the 27th.[21]

After two days the parties again separated, with an agreement to meet on the other side of the sierra, at the forks of the main river flowing into Tulares Lake, about which place of rendezvous I shall have more to say presently. The main body, perhaps under the command of Theodore Talbot, guided by Walker, and accompanied by E. M. Kern as topographer, remained at Walker Lake to recruit their animals until December 8th, when the southward march was resumed. By a route somewhat to the right or west of Walker's in 1843, they reached the head of Owens River—so named for a member of the company—on the 16th; followed that stream down to the lake, on the shores of which they were on the 19th–21st; continued southward past Little Owens Lake, and round Owens Peak, through the original Walker Pass of 1834, and down the south branch to the forks of Kern River, so named later for the artist of the party, where they encamped on the 28th. This was where they expected to meet Frémont, and here they waited for him three weeks.[22]

Meanwhile Frémont left Walker River on November 29th with fifteen men, reached the Salmon Trout, or Truckee, on December 1st, crossed the summit by the emigrant trial on the 5th–6th, and then, leaving the trail to the right, descended by a more southern route into the valley,[23] and on the 10th was welcomed

[21] *Kern's Journal*, 477–80. The editor has confounded the two parties, representing Frémont as having followed the river.

[22] *Kern's Journal*, 480–4, with a full diary of the march from day to day.

[23] Martin fork and Hamilton Creek are named Dec. 7th–8th with latitudes. I suppose them to have been named for members of the company; but Martin —or at least one Martin—was with the other party. *Frémont's Geog. Mem.*, 28–30, 57, is the only definite authority for Frémont's trip. Routes shown on Preuss' map of 1848. *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 31st cong. 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 17, 944.

at Sutter's Fort, whence after a stay of four days he hastened southward with aid for Walker's party.[24] Progress up the San Joaquin Valley was slow, on account of the cattle that were being driven along; but on December 22d they reached Kings River, or Tulares Lake River as they called it, or River of the Lake as Frémont had called it in 1844. Here they expected to find Walker's party, and on this stream they waited, following it meanwhile far up into the mountains and back, until the 7th of January.[25]

The two parties thus encamped and waiting for each other at the end of December 1845 on Kings and Kern river respectively, numbered about sixty men, whose names I give in a note as completely and accurately as I have been able to obtain them from miscellaneous sources.[26] They served in California, as we shall see, through the next year, and most of them

[24] Dec. 10th, arrival; Dec. 12th, 14 mules furnished; Dec. 13th, start to join Walker. *Sutter's Diary*, 6; *New Helvetia Diary*, MS., 22–3. Frémont, *Geog. Mem.*, 16, says he started on the 14th. Dec. 10th, Sutter to Vallejo, announcing Frémont's arrival with part of his company to obtain supplies and spend the winter in a mild climate. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 176. Dec. 22d, S. to Larkin. Frémont has gone to meet Walker and will visit Monterey on his return. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 405. Jan. 4, 1846, sub-prefect at Yerba Buena to prefect. Has heard of the arrival of commissioners to fix the boundary between Mexico and the U. S. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 251. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 152–6, speaks of Sutter's absence at the time of F.'s arrival, and of the latter's dissatisfaction at Bidwell's—and later Sutter's—inability to furnish mules, etc.

[25] *Frémont's Geog. Mem.*, 16–19, 57.

[26] Frémont's company of 1845: Francis Allison (?), Auguste Archambeau, Henry Brant, Chas J. W. Braune (?), Thos E. Breckenridge, Francis Briggs (?), John G. Campbell, Kit Carson, Wm Chinook, James Connor, Crane, F. Creutzfeldt (?), Phil. Courteau (?), Jerome C. Davis, Denny, Duchêne (?), Sidney Duketel (?), Fabbol, J. C. Frémont, Alexis Godey, Sam. Goldsmith (?), Guthrie, Haler (?), Hamilton, Geo. Haslitt (?), Thos Hill, Hubbard (?), Wm Hughes, Ed M. Kern, Henry King, Basil Lajeunesse, Louis Lapierre, McCrady, Marquet (?), Thos S. Martin, Lucien Maxwell, Risdon A. Moore, A. Morin, J. J. Myers, Rich. Owens, Poinsett (?), Raph. Praule, Charles Preuss, Reddick (?), Rhett (?), Eugene Russell, John Scott (?), Jas Secondi, Wm Sigler (?), Stepp (or Steppenfeldt), Stradspeth, James Swanich, Charles Taplin, Theodore Talbot, Torrey (?), Joseph R. Walker, Wetowah, White, Whitton, and Marion Wise.

Not more than half of these 60 names can be proved correct, though at least 50 of them are probably so. A few are definitely named as members of the expedition in *Frémont's Geog. Mem.* and *Kern's Journal;* many are indirectly mentioned by Frémont, who applied their names to localities; and some are remembered by Martin and others, or are accredited to this expedition by newspaper writers with some probability of accuracy.

returned to the east in 1847. All might properly enough be named in my lists of pioneers. The mistake of Frémont and Walker by which they failed to meet each other, confounding the two streams, was not an unnatural one when the circumstances are considered; nor did it involve any such degree of stupidity as partisans have sometimes imputed to one or the other explorer. Walker had traversed the valley several times, and had crossed both rivers; but it had been his fortune to cross Kings River at seasons and places where there was little or no water running; and he believed Kern River, heading in the mountains near his pass, to be the only large affluent of Tulares Lake, having no doubt of its identity with Frémont's River of the Lake.[27] Frémont had also crossed both streams, and had found them to be of considerable size; but he crossed Kern River far south of Lake Tulares, of which he did not regard it as a tributary, but of another lake at the head of the valley;[28] and he had no doubt that Walker's original pass was near the head of his own River of the Lake. Both men agreed to this theory at their conference east of the sierra. No other conclusion was consistent with Walker's statement that his river was the first of any size south of the San Joaquin; and having reached this conclusion, nothing was easier than to name a place of meeting.[29] Thus the error was mainly Walker's, and the result, fortunately involving no loss of

[27] His error is proved by the fact that when he reached Kings River in Jan. 1846 he believed it to be the S. Joaquin. *Kern's Journal*, 485–6.

[28] *Frémont's Report*, 252–3. See also his map.

[29] That is: Frémont had but to follow up the first large river after crossing the S. Joaquin; and Walker had but to follow down the first river after passing round the point of the mountain. Frémont in 1844 had intended to go through Walker Pass, *Report*, 248, 254, and there is nothing in his narrative to show that he did not believe himself to have done so; but it is necessary to conclude that the two men, on comparing the notes and map of the one with the recollections of the other, had decided not only that Frémont's pass of 1844, which had also been traversed by Walker probably, was farther south than Walker's original pass of 1834 and 1843—as was indeed true, though the difference was less than they supposed—but that the Kern River, flowing into a lake distinct from the Tulares, was also south of the original pass. This removes all difficulties, and agrees substantially with Kern's not very clearly expressed ideas.

life, is known to the reader. I leave the explorers on their respective rivers until needed for the annals of 1846. Frémont's official report of this third expedition has never been published, and the gentleman has never seen fit to fulfil his frequent promises to furnish material for my use; therefore I have been obliged to draw upon other sources of information, the most important of which I specify in the appended note.[30]

The sixth and last party to enter California in 1845 was that of Lansford W. Hastings. This man, as we have seen, had visited the coast in 1843, and returning to the states, had delivered lectures, and written a book in which he painted California in glowing colors. as a field for American settlers and conquerors. His book was not published early enough to have much effect this year; and his other efforts do not seem to have been very effective, as nearly all the emigrants of the year started for Oregon in spite of his advice. In July, however, he had a company of twenty-two men bound for California direct, more than half of

[30] The chief authority is the *Journal of Mr Edward M. Kern of an exploration of Mary's or Humboldt River, Carson Lake, and Owens river and lake, in 1845*. The journal extends from Nov. 5th to Feb. 13th, and describes the movements of the main party. The author gave his name to Kern County and Kern River. Next in importance is the *Geographical Memoir upon Upper California, an illustration of his map of Oregon and California, by John Charles Frémont, addressed to the Senate of the U. S.* Washington, 1848, 8vo, 67 p. [*U. S. Govt Doc.*, 30th cong. 1st sess., Sen. Miscel. Doc. no. 148]. Also editions of Washington, 1849, 8vo, 40 p.; New York, 1849, 8vo, 29 p., with *Frémont and Emory, Notes of Travel*, also published London, 1849, 1856; and Philadelphia, 1849, 8vo, p. 1–26, with additions from different sources. The memoir is by no means a connected account of the expedition, but contains incidental allusions to the narrative, with tables of latitude and longitude, dates, etc. A résumé of the exploration is given in *Warren's Memoir to accompany the map of the Territory of the U. S., etc., 1859*, p. 48–50. The author notes an edition of Frémont's narrative then in press; but so far as I know, it has never appeared. *Martin's Narrative of Frémont's Expedition to California in 1845–6*, MS., 58 p., is a very complete and interesting account of the expedition, and of the events which followed it, dictated for my use to E. F. Murray in 1878, by Thomas S. Martin, by Sta Bárbara, a man who came and went with Frémont's party, but returned to California in later years. See also an account in *Lancey's Cruise of the Dale*, 34–6. Many of the authorities on Frémont's operations in 1846, to be cited later, contain allusions to his arrival in 1845; and I might add a very long list of references to books, pamphlets, and newspapers, on Frémont's life and services, including this trip; but this could serve no good purpose, as these references will have to be given elsewhere.

whom decided finally to stay at home.[31] They started, ten in number, from Independence about the middle of August, far behind the last of the Oregon trains; and between forts Laramie and Bridger were obliged to make a long détour to avoid hostile savages. From Fort Hall they followed the usual trail. Besides being late, this company was inadequately supplied with food, and its members, dependent for the most part on the rifle of Smith—'Old Bony' the hunter—were very near starvation in the mountains.[32] "If they had arrived one day later, they would have been cut off by the immense quantity of snow," wrote Sutter.[33] But by good luck they escaped starvation and the snows. They came out at Johnson's rancho in two parties of six and four respectively, and arrived at New Helvetia on Christmas. A full list of their names is appended, Semple being most famous and tallest of the number—six feet eight inches, according to the newspaper that announced his departure for California.[34]

I conclude this chapter with the usual annual list of new-comers. It includes many whom we shall find

[31] A list of their 23 names is given in the *Independence Mission Expositor*, July 6, 1845. 'Men of the right stamp for such an undertaking, and leave right willingly for the plains. Apparently regardless of all dangers, they venture forward, buoyed up with hopes of success, and stimulated by deeds of daring, by the desire of bettering their condition and that of their friends who have gone before them. The season of the year for such a jaunt *is* unusually late; they seem to think not, and appear determined to show to the world that nothing need prove an obstacle to our crossing the plains. We give the names of the company and their late residences.' *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 7. In *Id.*, lxix. 18, is a notice of 5 or 6 returned and disgusted Californians who passed through Boonesville, Mo. I have no idea who they could have been.

[32] *Biog. Sketch of Napoleon B. Smith*, by 'Fides,' 1875, MS., 17 p. Presented to me by John A. Swan. This is the most detailed account of the trip extant. See also sketch of Henry C. Smith in *Livermore Enterprise*, Dec. 4, 1875; *Stockton Independent*, Dec. 4, 1875; *Halley's Centennial Book of Alameda*, 560.

[33] *Sutter's Diary*, 6, announcing the arrival on Dec. 25th. Arrival also recorded Dec. 25th, in *N. Helv. Diary*, MS., 25–6. Lawyer Nash arrived on the 26th.

[34] Members of the Hastings company of 1845: A. H. Crosby, Helm Downing, L. W. Hastings, Wm N. Loker, W. M. Mendenhall, J. H. Nash, Robert Semple, Henry C. Smith, Napoleon B. Smith, and Ira (or J. B.) Stebbins. These names are given in a letter of Sutter to Vallejo on Dec. 26th. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 180; and also, with 13 who did not come, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 7. Mendenhall is also called William and Henry as well as Philip.

taking a prominent part in the stirring scenes of the next two years, and not a few whose names have been well known in later times. Almost all remained in the northern part of the department; and few if any took steps to become Mexican citizens. Those who wished for land hoped to obtain it without that formality. How they were received by the Californian authorities will be told in another chapter. The whole number of foreigners whose names appear for the first time in this year's records is over four hundred, and this without including the muster rolls of the U. S. craft; but the number of pioneer residents named in the appended list is one hundred and seventy.[35] This number might be largely increased, and legitimately

[35] Pioneers of 1845: Hiram Acres, Charles Albin, Francis Allison, Horace G. Austin (?), O. de Grande Barque (?), James Barrett, W. D. Barry, Wm Bartel, Wash. A. Bartlett, Wm R. Bassham, Theo. E. Baugh, J. G. Baxter, Narcisco Bennett, Alex. Beritzhoff (?), Susan Biggerton, 'Billy the Cooper,' Joseph Black, Wm Blackburn, Wm Bowen, C. J. W. Braune (?), Charles Brown, John H. Brown, Abner Bryan, Buchanan, Thomas H. Burgess, Charles L. Cady (?), Geo. Carter, S. U. Chase, James Clyman, Thomas Cochran, Charles Cook, Thomas Crafton, Philip Crosthwaite, Alex. David, Jerome C. Davis, Joseph Davis, John W. Dawd, Denny, Benj. Dewell, Jacob Döpken, Helms Downing, J. Dupas, St Vrain Durand, John Ellick, Wm B. Elliott, Lazarus Everhart, Wm Fallon, C. J. Fellows, Wm Fisher, H. T. Flanning, Fred. W. Franz, Louis Gasquët, John Gibbs, Marion Gibson, Sam. Gibson, Wm B. Gildea, Nic. Gordon, James M. Green, James Gregson, Calvin C. Griffith, James A. Griffith, Frank W. Grigsby, Granville W. Grigsby, John Grigsby, Julian Hanks, Thomas Harding, Wm Hardy, Geo. Haslitt (?), Jacob Herman, Gilman Hilton, Francis Hoen, T. W. Hubbard (?), David Hudson, Wm Hudson, Dan. C. Hugenin, Dan. Ide, James Ide, Lemuel Ide, Wm Ide, Wm B. Ide, Jackson (?), Ed. Johnson (?), Julian, John H. Kelley, Robert C. Keyes, Thomas Knight, Theodore G. Kohler, Milton Ladd, Basil Lajeunesse, Dan. Leahy, Lawton Lee, John Lewis, Frank Lightstone, Wm N. Loker, Pat. McChristian, Redding McCoy, McDonald, Alex. McDonald, Geo. McDougall, James McDowell, McKenzie (?), Alex. Majors (?), Henry Marshall, James W. Marshall, John Marshall, Wm Marshall, Thomas S. Martin, W. M. Mendenhall, Thomas Middleton (?), John B. Montgomery, John E. Montgomery, Wm H. Montgomery, John H. Nash, John Neal, J. M. Nichols (?), G. R. Nightengell (?), Sam. Norris, Wm Northgrave, Geo. W. Nutter, Wm O'Connor, Albert Packard, John Parrott, Mary Patterson, J. D. Perkey, Perry, Noah Peters, Harvey Porterfield, Wm Reynolds (?), Hiram Rheusaw, Wm Rodford, Geo. Rodman, Geo. Rodgers, Charles Roether, Horace Sanders, John Scott, Wm W. Scott, Frank Sears, John Sears, Robert Semple, Fred. C. Smith (?), Henry C. Smith, James Smith, Napoleon B. Smith, Sam. Smith (?), Thomas Smith, Thomas J. Smith, Wm M. Smith, Jacob R. Snyder, Henry Spiel, Fred Starke, Ira Stebbins, Swanich, Wm F. Swasey, Anthony Sylvester, Wm Thompson, Lindy Thorp, Wm L. Todd, Henry Trow, Sam. Turner, Fernando Tustin, Wm J. Tustin, Geo. Wallace, J. Washburn (?), Wm T. Wheeler, Lewis Wigman, Wm C. Wilson (?), John York, David York, Wm E. York. For biographical notices of all these men, see Pioneer Register at end of these volumes.

enough, by adding all of Frémont's explorers who served in California from 1845 to 1847, and also the naval forces serving on the coast for the same period, many of the sailors and marines doing garrison and other duty on shore; but I have thought it best to omit both classes here, as being sufficiently noticed elsewhere. Ide, Marshall, Parrott, and Semple are the men of 1845 who became most widely known.

The registered foreign population in 1840 has been given as 380.[36] In later statements females must be excluded for lack of reliable data. In the period of 1841–5 new-comers numbered 420, and the foreign male population at the end of 1845 may be regarded in round numbers as 680, the number of departures and deaths during the half-decade being approximately 120.

[36] See pp. 115–17, this volume.

CHAPTER XXV.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

1845.

FOREIGN CONSULATES—LARKIN, LEIDESDORFF, FORBES, GASQUET, AND LATAILLADE—BRITISH SCHEMES—NOTHING BUT SUSPICIONS—HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—SUICIDE OF RAE—SCHEMES OF THE UNITED STATES—BUCHANAN TO LARKIN—PLANS OF MARSH AND WEBER—IMPENDING WAR—ARREST OF SMITH—ORDERS FROM MEXICO—PICO'S PROCLAMATIONS—MILITARY PREPARATIONS—KIND TREATMENT OF IMMIGRANTS—MEXICAN ORDERS FOR EXPULSION OF AMERICANS—CASTRO PERMITS THEM TO REMAIN—AFFAIRS ON THE SACRAMENTO—SUTTER'S WELCOME TO NEWCOMERS—THE RUSSIANS WANT THEIR PAY—SUTTER WISHES TO SELL OUT—DIARY OF NEW HELVETIA.

THOMAS O. LARKIN continued to perform the duties of U. S. consul, duties which consisted mainly in furnishing aid to destitute American seamen, and writing to the secretary of state on the country's general condition in respect of commercial and political affairs.[1] In October he went to San Francisco and made an attempt to bring the assailants of Captain Libbey to justice;[2] but otherwise none of his diplomatic correspondence with Californian authorities requires notice. In October he appointed William A. Leidesdorff as vice-consul at Yerba Buena, which appointment was recognized as valid by General Cas-

[1] *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i., ii., passim. Many of the communications on special topics are noted elsewhere. The financial accounts of his office for the year are found in *Id.*, ii. 24, 34-5; *Id., Doc.*, MS., iii. 150; *Monterey, Consulate Arch.*, MS., i. 1-15; ii. 10-18; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 178; *Larkin's Papers*, MS. Hospital expenses for the year were about $800, and other expenses about $500; while his fees amounted to less than $200. He pretended to regard his position as a very burdensome and unprofitable one.

[2] See chap. xxiii. of this volume.

tro, who really had nothing to do with the matter; but not by Pablo de la Guerra, administrator of customs, who was supported in his refusal by Governor Pico. Meanwhile Leidesdorff was instructed to go on with his duties on board vessels, and get along on shore as best he could until his appointment should be confirmed.[3] In October, also, there was sent to Larkin from Washington an appointment as confidential agent of the U. S. government, which he did not receive till the next year.[4]

James A. Forbes did nothing as British vice-consul which has left any special trace in the archives; but in addition to his consular duties he assumed the management of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment at Yerba Buena, after the death of Rae. Louis Gasquet, acting consul of France under an appointment of earlier date, arrived in March by the *Primavera* to take possession of his office. His salary was about $4,000, for which in 1845 he made some inquiries about the past trouble between Micheltorena's cholos and the crew of the French whaler *Angelina*, also making an effort to recover some deserters from the *Héroine*.[5] On August 26th Cesáreo Lataillade was appointed vice-consul of Spain to reside at Monterey; but his *exequatur* was not received from Mexico until the next year.[6]

In his communications to Secretary Buchanan and to eastern newspapers, Larkin chose to represent the

[3] Oct. 29th, Larkin to Leidesdorff, with appointment. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 66. Oct. 30th, Id. to prefect and Castro. *Id.*, i. 68-9. Nov. 1st, Castro approves. *Id., Doc.*, MS., iii. 371. Nov. 20th, 27th, Guerra and Pico disapprove. *Id.*, iii. 400, 409. Dec. 1st, Larkin to Pico. *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 72. Dec. 6th, Id. to Guerra. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 106-7. Jan. 20th, 1846, Larkin to Leidesdorff. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 74.

[4] Oct. 17th, *Buchanan's Instruc.*, MS.

[5] March 16th, arrived at S. Diego. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 92; *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 126; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 52. July 18th, affair of the deserters. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 144. July 10th, Larkin to sec. state. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 26.

[6] Aug. 25–6, 1845, appointment and exequatur. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 173; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 11. Sept. 2d, Pavon to Guerra. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., viii. 10.

maintenance of an English and French consulate in California—where neither nation had any commercial interests to protect, or the slightest apparent need of consular service, costing a salary of $4,000 to Gasquet and $1,000 to Forbes—as a very suspicious circumstance. Indeed, Forbes was allowed to attend to his own private business and that of his company, rarely visiting Monterey. "These consuls have nothing to do, apparently; why they are in service their governments best know, and Uncle Sam will know to his cost."[7] This was an extravagant view of the matter, but it pleased the government at Washington, and the American press to some extent, to accept the suspicion as a legitimate one, and to believe that Gasquet and Forbes were plotting to wrest from Uncle Sam his prospective prey.[8] So far as French schemes for obtaining California are concerned, Gasquet's presence was the only ground of fear known at the time or since brought to light.

The fear that England would seize the country rested on a slightly better foundation; for in the communications cited Larkin announced that the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company had presented a bill for arms and munitions supplied to the Californians in their late struggle; that Forbes raised his consular flag for the first time and fired a salute on hearing of Micheltorena's overthrow; and that now the Mexican army about to invade California was "without doubt" sent at British instigation, and to be paid with British gold! Truly, these were alarming circumstances, if in the troubles between California and Mexico the

[7] June–July, L.'s letters. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 24–6; *Id., Doc.*, MS., iii. 335–7; *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, quoted in *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 203.

[8] Buchanan, *Instructions*, MS., pronounces the appearance of the consuls 'well calculated to produce the impression that their respective governments entertain designs on that country which must necessarily be hostile to its interests. On all proper occasions you should not fail prudently to warn the govt and people of Cal. of the danger of such an enterprise to their peace and prosperity—to inspire them with a jealousy of European dominion, and to arouse in their bosoms that love of liberty and independence so natural to the American continent'!

British lion was disposed to roar on both sides. The status of the English scheme in 1844 is already well known to the reader.[9] Many of the bond-holders were in favor of taking Mexican lands in payment; and some were in favor of locating those lands in California. The government, so far as can be known, had nothing to do with the matter, and offered no encouragement; but the men interested doubtless hoped that, if they could secure a broad tract of land and establish on it a large colony of former British subjects, they would eventually obtain from the government such recognition and protection as might be needed, and that perhaps California might become a British province. So far as evidence goes—I have no power to penetrate court secrets—this expectation was the sum and substance of the English bugbear; and there were many tedious and difficult steps to be taken before it could be realized. The year 1845 brought no new developments, except that an Irish priest applied in Mexico for a grant of land to be settled by a colony of Irishmen, and has been accused of having acted at the instigation of the English government. This McNamara project was perhaps an outgrowth of Wyllie's plan, of which we hear nothing more;[10] but it belongs more properly to the annals of the next year. An article in the French papers, quoted by the *London Times*, in which it was stated that Santa Anna had been on the point of ceding California to England for 25,000,000 piastres, brought the subject up in parliament in March, when, in reply to questions by Wortley, Sir Robert Peel for the actual government, and Lord Palmerston for the past, explicitly denied that the rumor had any foundation in fact.[11] There was

[9] See chap. xix. of this vol. for corresp. of Wyllie and Hartnell.

[10] In 1845 Wyllie was sec. for foreign affairs at Honolulu. See his corresp. with Com. Sloat and Admiral Seymour, in *Honolulu Polynesian*, ii. 99-100.

[11] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, lxxii. 430; lxxviii. 430–2. In *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 147–8, is an article from the *N. Y. Courier* on the evident intention of England to possess Cal., including a letter from Caleb Cushing on the past history of the matter. No evidence is presented with which my readers

in California the next year a project discussed by certain men—and it is not unlikely that it was begun before the end of 1845—to obtain an English protectorate; but there is no definite evidence on the subject, which will be fully considered later.

In relation to the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company, there is the same lack of records that has been noted before, but it does not appear that the hunters came at all this year. The most prominent event in this connection, however, was the suicide of William G. Rae, the company's agent at San Francisco, which occurred on the morning of January 19th. Rae, after having made a will and taken an opiate, deliberately blew out his brains with a pistol-shot, in the presence of his wife.[12] As to the motives of this act, the inquest revealed nothing beyond the fact that Rae had been for some time in low spirits. It is supposed, however, that his depression grew out of financial troubles, and his failure to manage the company's business successfully; and that it was aggravated also by the excessive use of intoxicating liquors.[13] Other motives, both domestic and political in their nature,

are not already familiar. The *Monitor Constit.*, Apr. 16, 1845, contains extracts from Amer. papers on reports that documents showing Sta Anna's negotiations with England had fallen into the power of his foes at Vera Cruz.

[12] *Rae, Investigacion Judicial sobre el Suicidio del agente de la Compañía de la Bahía de Hudson en Yerba Buena, 19 de Enero, 1845*, MS. This is a record of the inquest held the next day. It appears that about 8 A. M., Wm Sinclair, a servant, and Mrs John Fuller were attracted by loud words to Rae's room, where they found him with his coat off and a pistol in his hand, declaring his intention to kill himself. Mrs Rae fainted, but Sinclair succeeded in seizing the pistol before it could be discharged, and hastened to call Hinckley. Rae, however, obtained another pistol, probably from his coat in another room, and accomplished his purpose, being dead when Hinckley and the rest arrived. It was shown that he had taken a strong dose of camphorated tincture of opium, or paregoric, just before the act. The witnesses were Sinclair, Mrs Fuller, Hinckley, John C. Davis, John Rose, Wm Reynolds, and Nathan Spear, who also acted as examining surgeon. Jas A. Forbes produced Rae's will, or instructions for the disposition of the company's property, which had been delivered to him the day before, though dated Jan. 20th. The verdict was death by suicide.

[13] Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, 271–5, speaks of him as a hard drinker, especially after business reverses. Mrs Rae, *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., says nothing of the suicide or its causes, but states that the company's business was in a bad state, it being impossible to collect debts. Oct. 3d, Forbes complains of the impossibility of collecting the $15,000 due the company. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 67–70.

have been ascribed with some plausibility. It is said that the Scotch *bon-vivant* had succumbed to the attractions of a native Californian woman, which fact naturally led to a quarrel with his wife; and the situation was complicated by the fact that it was to his wife's father, Dr McLoughlin, that he owed his position.[14] Larkin believed at the time and later that the suicide resulted mainly from the part Rae had taken in the revolution then in progress. He had aided the Californians with arms and munitions belonging to the company, and had been present on the field of Santa Teresa. Now Micheltorena seemed sure to succeed; and his vengeance was likely to complete the ruin of the company's establishment, for which he, by reason of his unjustifiable and unsuccessful interference, would be held responsible.[15] After Rae's death Forbes took charge of the establishment at Yerba Buena; but there was little to be done except to prepare for its abandonment, which took place the following year, when McTavish came down on the *Vancouver* in March 1846, as agent with instructions to sell the company's house, settle all business, and return to the Columbia by the next vessel, with the remains, family, and effects of Rae.[16]

I come now to the plans of the United States respecting California, or rather to what was said about

[14] Davis, *Glimpses of the Past*, MS., 72, tells us that Rae, whom the writer knew intimately, was a very sensitive man, and was driven to his death by shame and mortification when the scandal become public. Hittell, *Hist. S. F.*, 90, also alludes to this matter, probably on the authority of Leese.

[15] June 6th, L. to sec. state. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 23. Also statement of L. in *S. F. Alta*, Aug. 27, 1854. Robert Birnie in an *Alta* of 1865 confirms Larkin's statement, and denies that family troubles had any influence. Sutter, *Person. Remin.*, MS., 67–8, says no one knew why Rae killed himself. 'He said to me one day in a fit of melancholy, "It is just fit weather to cut one's throat."' In the *Alta*, ubi sup., the finding of Rae's body on Aug. 26, 1854, by workmen employed in digging for a sewer on Commercial St between Montgomery and Kearny is mentioned. The coffin had a glass plate, and bore Rae's name. It was reënterred in Yerba Buena cemetery. In *Barry and Patten's Men and Mem.*, 23, the finding is put in 1852. I have much doubt about the identity of the remains found.

[16] *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 51; *Honolulu Friend*, iv. 161; *McKay's Recoll.*, MS., 4.

them; for 1845 brought no modifications in the plans themselves. American writers spoke in the most glowing terms of the country's natural advantages and glorious destiny.[17] They declared its separation from Mexico inevitable, were certain that England was straining every nerve to win so valuable a prize, and equally sure that the United States must have it—though there were some who hoped to see the end attained by purchase rather than by a repetition of the Texan jugglery. The works of Hastings and Frémont having been noticed in connection with the visits that gave rise to them, as also that of the Russian, Markof, there are no other books of 1845 on California that demand attention; but I give in the appended note some quotations which reflect the spirit of the times on the matter now under consideration.[18]

[17] Yet there were exceptions. In the *Southern Quarterly Review*, viii. 199, we read: 'Whether Cal. will ever become of any great importance in the history of the world, or advance to any conspicuous position either agriculturally, commercially, or politically, is susceptible of the greatest doubt...In itself it has little prospect beyond a nerveless imbecility...Scarcely a country in the world is cursed with a soil more hopelessly sterile. Everything is burned up from want of rain.'

[18] Waddy Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico*, N. Y., 1847 (preface signed Feb. 1846), chap. xxv., p. 232–41, formerly U. S. minister in Mexico, says: 'I had been consulted whether in the event of a revolution in Cal. and its successful result in a separation from Mexico, our govt would consent to surrender their claims to Oregon, and that Or. and Cal. should constitute an independent republic. I of course had no authority to answer the question.' California 'is literally a waif, and belongs to the first occupant...Capt. Suter is the real sovereign of the country if any one is...I have no doubt his force would be more than a match for any Mexican force which will ever be sent against him...I am well satisfied that there is not on this continent any country of the same extent as little desirable as Oregon, nor any in the world which combines as many advantages as Cal...If a man were to ask of God a climate, he would ask just such a one as that of Cal., if he had ever been there...The richest mines of gold and silver have been discovered there!. I will not say what is our policy in regard to Cal. Perhaps it is that it remain in the hands of a weak power like Mexico, and that all the maritime powers may have the advantage of its ports. But one thing I will say, that it will be worth a war of 20 years to prevent England acquiring it, which I have the best reasons for believing she desires to do, and just as good reasons for believing that she will not do if it costs a war with this country...I want no more territory, for we have already too much. If I were to make an exception, it would be to acquire Cal. But I should grieve to see that country pass into the hands of England...I am by no means sure that another sister republic there...will not be best for us...Whenever the foreigners in Cal. make the movement, it must succeed.' The author did not believe there would be a war on account of the Texas matter.

The *N. O. Courier* says 'Cal. is destined erelong to be annexed to the U. S.;'

And I can do no better than to quote in my text a letter of James Buchanan, secretary of state under President Polk, to Thomas O. Larkin, written in October, at the same time that Lieutenant Gillespie was sent to California. "The future destiny of that country," says Buchanan, "is a subject of anxious solicitude for the government and people of the United States. The interests of our commerce and our whale-fisheries on the Pacific demand that you should exert the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts which may be made by foreign governments to acquire a control over that country. In the contest between Mexico and California we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities

on which the *N. O. Tropic* comments: 'If any evidence were wanting to show the spirit of aggression and national plunder which has seized upon the minds of a portion of our people, the foregoing paragraph supplies it in abundance... What we feared has come to pass; and before the details of the annexation of Texas are settled, we see influential journals calling out for the annexation of Cal. And how, pray, is this proposal to be brought about? The country, one of the best in the world, is represented in glowing colors, and American citizens are induced to emigrate. That thousands will accept the invitation, it requires no seer to tell. The American population will soon be sufficiently numerous to play the Texas game! The standard of revolt will be raised—the govt will be overthrown—the cry of "liberty" will be raised in this country, and thousands of the young and adventurous will fly to the relief of their *oppressed* countrymen in Cal.! Mexico will be unable to reduce her refractory province to obedience, and another "Lone Star Republic" will spring up on the shores of the Pacific. A little while longer the "Republic of California" will be knocking at our doors; and we shall have the absurd cry of reannexation. It will be all right of course; it will only be "extending the area of freedom"—but will the spirit of robbery stop in its rapacious career?' etc. *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 162.

'We lay it down as an axiom—to be enforced by war if necessary—that when Mexico ceases to own Cal. it must constitute an integral part of the American Union.' *N. Y. Courier*, in *Id.*, lxix. 147. 'Albert M. Gilliam, late U. S. Consul at Cal., is of opinion that it must soon fall into the hands of the American race, and that a railroad direct from S. F. might be made to great advantage.' *Id.*, lxix. 203. The same number contains Larkin's letter of July, taken from the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, in which he gives a description of current affairs calculated to promote immigration and create fears of English designs. He incorrectly represents the Californians as preparing to resist an expedition to be sent against them at English expense and instigation. In *Id.*, lxix. 244–5, is an article from the *Baltimore Patriot*, in which the writer, evidently Dr Wood of the U. S. navy, says: 'I think I can foresee in the inevitable destiny of this territory one of the most efficient fortresses from which new and liberal are to combat old and despotic institutions. Circumstances known to me here assure me that Great Britain, as the watch-dog of despotism, sees the same thing, and is ready to arouse every energy to impede such a result. If the view I present is correct, it would indicate our policy in case of belligerent relations.'

against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power as a sister republic." While the exercise of compulsion or improper influence to acquire territory would be repugnant to the sentiments of the president, "he could not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European power. The system of colonization by foreign monarchies on the North American continent must and will be resisted by the United States." This is in reply to Larkin's communications of July, and the writer agrees that the presence of Forbes and Gasquet affords grounds for grave suspicions. He urges Larkin to incite the Californians against foreign designs, and continues: "Whilst I repeat that this government does not under existing circumstances intend to interfere between Mexico and California"—there was as my reader knows no present controversy between the two, though it had suited Larkin's purposes to represent the contrary—"they would vigorously interfere to prevent the latter from becoming a British or French colony. In this they might surely expect the aid of the Californians themselves. Whilst the president will make no effort and use no influence to induce the Californians to become one of the free and independent states of this Union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico any just cause of complaint. Their true policy for the present in regard to this question is to let events take their own course, unless an attempt should be made to transfer them without their consent either to Great Britain or France. This they ought to resist by all the means in their power, as ruinous to their best interests and destructive of their freedom and independence." Buchanan concludes by appointing Larkin a confidential agent of the government, expressing

confidence in his patriotism and discretion, recommending caution so as not to alarm the other foreign agents, and referring him to Gillespie, with whom he is to coöperate.[19]

The prospect of a war with Mexico, as a means of obtaining California, was hardly alluded to in the writings which I have cited, though the annexation of Texas was approved by congress in March; the territory was formally admitted as a state in December; and Mexico had repeatedly threatened war on this ground. It was not generally believed at the end of the year, in the United States, that there would be war, Mexican threats being regarded as mere bluster. It was even thought that Slidell, the newly appointed minister, would succeed in fixing the national boundaries amicably, and that he went to Mexico authorized to pay a round sum for California.[20] Should this project fail, then California must come into the Union by the Texan filibustering methods.

In California, meanwhile, the Americans had nothing to do but wait—politically speaking. Many of the new-comers of the last two years were ready enough to revolt; but so kindly were they treated by the Californians, as we shall see presently, and so obviously unfounded were the rumors of intended oppression occasionally circulated, that no pretext for a rising could be found.[21] The only attempt at organized action on the part of foreign residents during the year was one which, though not clearly explained, was apparently not intended to have any revolutionary meaning. It was a call issued at San José, March 27th, to all foreigners residing in northern California, who were invited to assemble at the pueblo the 4th of July. It was written by Marsh and signed by twenty-

[19] Oct. 17th, *Buchanan's Instructions.* Original MS.

[20] *American Review*, Jan. 1846, iii. 82; *Niles' Reg.*, Dec. 1845, lxix. 244.

[21] A Mexican writer in the *Dic. Univ.*, viii. 157; *Guerra, Apuntes*, 353, pictures the Americans as having been scattered through Cal. awaiting the signal to commence a war of usurpation. This was by no means true of all or even most.

three names.[22] The object, as expressed in the document itself and as explained by Weber, was to promote union among the foreigners, and to prevent their taking sides—especially different sides—in Californian quarrels, as they had done in the late troubles. Weber adds that the organization was designed ultimately to result in wresting northern California from Mexican rule, and making it, like Texas, an independent state. It is not likely, however, that the plan had yet assumed so definite a form. The main idea evidently was to prevent foreigners from wasting their strength and to prepare the way for united action whenever it might be deemed necessary. I can hardly believe that Marsh and Weber were planning an actual revolt, though there were many who favored such a course. The meeting of July 4th was not held; or if so, was not largely attended, and accomplished nothing that is known. That Marsh's brain was teeming with the politics of the future is shown, as also the general drift of his schemes and those of others, by the appended extracts from a letter to Larkin.[23]

[22] 'The undersigned, in common with all other foreigners with whom they have been able to communicate personally, being very desirous to promote the union, harmony, and best interests of all the foreigners resident in California, have thought that this desirable object can be best attained by a meeting of some individuals from each of the different districts of the northern part of the country. We therefore hereby invite all persons of foreign birth, whether naturalized or not, to send two or more of their number to represent them in a meeting to be held in the pueblo de San José on the 4th day of July next. It is considered to be very desirable that Monterey, Sta Cruz, Yerba Buena, Sonoma, and the district of the Sacramento should be fully represented. In the mean time we think it will be obvious to every man of sense on reflection that the foreigners ought carefully to refrain from taking any part either in word or deed in any movement of a political nature that may take place in the country (amongst native Mexicans). Pueblo of St Joseph. March 27, 1845. John Marsh, Charles Mª Weber, Wm Gulnac, Peter Daveson, John Burton, Geo. W. Bellomy, James W. Weeks, John Daubenbiss, Thomas G. Bowen, Benj. Washburn, Danell Milner, Peter Hegarty, Geo. A. Ferguson, James Rock, Thomas Jones, Willard Buzzell, H. M. Pierce, John Hames, Wm Knight, Daniel Fisher, George Fraezher, Tomas Cole, Guillermo G. Chard.' Fac-simile from the original in possession of Weber, in *S. Joaquin Co. Hist.*, 19. Also printed in *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 13–14; *S. José Pioneer*, March 6, 1880. The same works contain letters of Gen. Castro of April 12th, 15th, appointing Weber a captain of auxiliary infantry, one of which is also in *Halleck's Mex. Land Laws*, MS.

[23] 'It seems that the attention of the world is at last being attracted towards Cal. and Oregon. I agree with you entirely that the two countries must ultimately be united to form one independent nation; but I believe they

The war threatened by Mexico in consequence of the annexation of Texas was a prominent topic in California, though, as we have seen, it did not enter very largely as yet into current American speculations respecting the future of that country. Perhaps the Californian people had not much greater faith that there would be a war than was entertained in the states; but the authorities were Mexican, and as such had to believe officially all that Mexico threatened, besides really sharing to a considerable extent in the popular indignation against the United States for the policy observed in Texan affairs. I need not repeat here what has been said of Mexican measures of the year concerning California,[24] though most of these measures were adopted with sole reference to defence against American invasion; but I may state that there came from the supreme government repeated warnings that war was to be declared, with the corresponding orders to put the department in a state of defence; and that rumors to the same effect arrived even in advance of such definite orders.[25] It should also be

will first be united to form an integral part of the great and glorious republic, etc. It must all be united, not only Cal. and the region between this and the Columbia, but it must extend far north of that river, to the 49th parallel at least...I am informed by intelligent persons from the Wallamette, that the inhabitants there were desirous to unite with Cal. Last winter some of the principal men of Cal. expressed a wish to me to unite their destinies permanently with those of the people of Oregon, and wished to know whether in my opinion a proposition of the kind would be well received. I thought it would be acceptable. If you should think proper, it might not be amiss to feel Alvarado's pulse a little on this subject. I merely suggest this. Well, then, suppose a union between Cal. and Oregon—that nature itself has clearly pointed out, and the course of events will, I think, render inevitable—the cupidity of the H. B. Co. and the ambition and intrigues of the British govt will be exerted in vain to prevent it.' He then pictures the glorious future of the country, with its metropolis on the bay—perhaps at S. José—speaks of the numerous immigrants coming, thinks the current abuse of Cal. by interested parties in Oregon can do no harm, and promises to write on Cal. for the eastern papers, as Larkin had suggested. Aug. 12th, M. to L. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 247.

[24] See chap. xxii. of this vol.

[25] April 1st, García Conde to com. gen. Texas annexed; war necessary; be on guard to avoid surprise and resist invasion. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 2–3. April 3d, Cuevas to gov., on the arrest of Stephen Smith; hostilities to be expected from the U. S.; use all precautions. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 41–2. May 14th–19th, reports of war between U. S. and Mex. brought unofficially by the *María Teresa*. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 53; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., vi. [479]. June 7th, Mexican decree for raising a corps

recorded that Stephen Smith of Bodega, being at San Blas in March, was arrested as he was about to sail in the *Julia Ann* on a charge of being concerned in a scheme to declare California independent under the protection of the United States. There being no proofs against him, he was released and permitted to return home, where the authorities were directed to watch him.[26]

In consequence of rumors brought by the *María Teresa*, a junta of officers was held at Monterey the 24th of May, at which the most patriotic sentiments were expressed by Alvarado and others, and Castro was authorized to send a vessel to Acapulco for news and aid.[27] José M. Castañares was soon sent on this mission, as we shall see. On August 7th the assembly was convoked in special session to consider a communication from General Castro, with reports that war had probably been declared. The reports had been brought to San Francisco by a U. S. man-of-war, which vessel was said not to have fired the usual salute, a circumstance in itself deemed suspicious. After reference to a committee and six days of delib-

of 'defensores de las leyes é independencia.' *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 31–2, 178; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 280. July 9th, min. of rel. to gov. on same subject. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 162; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 7–8. July 16th, García Conde to com. gen. The govt is resolved to declare war; will initiate the measure in the chambers to-morrow; will excite popular patriotism. Prepare troops for active service. *Id.*, xviii. 21–3. July 10th, orders to gov. and gen. to prevent the entry of immigrants. *Id.*, xviii. 8. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 152. July 19th, orders to Castro and Vallejo to 'proceed forthwith to put all towns of the dept in a state of defence.' *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 46; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 144. July 16th, Cuevas to gov. See that the defensores render due service, so that the national army may be available in the Texan affair. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 9. July 23d, men to be raised for war. *Id.*, xviii. 11. Aug. 22d, stock, produce, etc., on the coast to be removed to a place of safety. A close watch to be kept. *Id.*, xviii. 10. Aug. 27th, unite the forces for a march to the frontier. *Id.*, xviii. 11. Sept. 4th, payment of the defensores to be stopped. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 103. Dec. 24th, gov. authorized to arrest any persons whose conduct seems to require it. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vii. 33; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 14. Some of these orders were of course general routine ones, issued to other departments as well.

[26] April 6th, Aug. 6th, Cuevas to gov. June 11th, Parga at Tepic to Gov. Corona. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 40–2; *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 65. I have no other evidence that Capt. Smith left Cal. at all.

[27] *Amigo del Pueblo*, July 30, 1845. A full report with names of 27 signers.

eration, the assembly decided that war was imminent, and authorized the governor to organize and arm the militia, calling on the general for funds from his two thirds of the revenues[1] and to dispose of the officers in active service as might be required; and when an official announcement of war should be received, to call on the people to defend their homes, consulting the general respecting a plan of action. This resolution was published by Pico in a bando of August 27th, perhaps after Castro had received the orders dated in Mexico on April 1st, though this is not certain.[28] With this bando was published an appeal to the people to be firm and united in defence of their country, a document which contained a special exhortation not to forfeit under any circumstances the Californian reputation for hospitality, by any act of oppression toward foreigners residing peacefully in the country.[29] There were some slight efforts made to organize the militia, about which we know only that before the end of August they resulted in a quarrel between Alvarado and the civil authorities of Monterey district.[30]

Early in September came the Mexican despatches of June and July, including a reglamento for militia organization, and a definite announcement that war would be declared immediately. At the same time there arrived Andrés Castillero as a commissioner to make preparations for the reception of a military force

[28] Aug. 7th, 11th, 13th, acts of the assembly. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 108–12, 280. Aug. 27th, Pico's bando in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 107; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 151. Aug. 30th, Pico to Vallejo, ordering him to organize his regiment and be ready for the news of war. Great confidence expressed in the colonel's zeal and patriotism. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 115. Aug. 10th, Jones writes: 'Castro is still at the capital raising a force composed of all the robbers and cut-throats he can collect. He has had the audacity to report that Mexico is at war with the U. S.' *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 243.

[29] Aug. 27th, Pico to the people. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., 20; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 106. 'Fellow-citizens! United we shall be able to save our country in its time of need.'

[30] Aug. 28th–30th, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 109, 112–13, 119. It appears that the right of enlisting men belonged to the civil authorities, and Alvarado forced some men into the ranks against their will. Castro came to Monterey and restored harmony.

that was soon to follow under Iniestra.[31] Pico published these orders in due form September 9th–13th; declared the decree of August void so far as it conflicted with the new reglamento respecting the organization of the defensores; and issued a new proclamation to the people, calling upon them, in the usual flowery and extravagant terms, to 'fly to arms' for the defence of their beloved patria against the attacks of a foreign usurper. The flight to arms was by no means instantaneous or universal; but a few young men were enrolled as defensores despite the lack of a cordial understanding and coöperation between the governor and general.[32] At the end of the year all were waiting, more in curiosity than terror, for the news that war had been declared, for the appearance of the invaders, or for the coming of Iniestra's Mexican army. Meanwhile Castro had made a tour in the north to learn the attitude of foreign residents, to receive assurances of patriotic zeal from the magnates of Sonoma and New Helvetia, and to confirm, by superior orders, Vallejo's military jurisdiction over the whole linea del norte.[34]

[31] Sept. 13th, Castillero to Pico, with Iniestra's instructions. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 37–8.

[32] Sept. 9th, Pico publishes the printed circular and reglamento of June 4th, 7th. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 31–2; *Reglamento de Defensores de la Independencia y de las Leyes, 7 de Junio, 1845*, MS.; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., vi. 38–40. Sept. 9th, Pico's procl. to the people. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 141; *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 92. Sept. 12th, Pico to general and to prefects, enclosing Mexican order of July 10th on the prevention of immigration, of which I shall speak again. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 152; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 8. Sept. 13th, Pico to gen. and prefect, enclosing reglamento, and exhorting them to active coöperation. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 148–9.

[33] Some unimportant records of Oct., including methods of enlistment, quarrels about the military *fuero*, local complaints of abuses. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 59; viii. 13–17; *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., xi. 10; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 157; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 2; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 188. Oct. 8th, Pico's bando establishing registers for the enrolment of defensores. 13 articles. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iii. 117–18. Published at Monterey Dec. 24th. Torre, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 128–9, tells us that all munitions of war were removed from Monterey to Alizal rancho either as a precaution against the Americans or against Pico.

[34] Nov. 11th, Castro delegates his powers to V. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 151. Sept. 29th, Larkin to sec. state. 'The gov. has ordered the militia to prepare for war with the U. S.; the farmers are likewise ordered to drive their cattle away from the coast; neither of which has been done, nor do I suppose they will be. The general has here about 150 soldiers, mostly boys

Notwithstanding the bitter feeling entertained in Mexico against Americans, the imminence of national hostilities, and the warlike nature of the orders sent to the north, immigrants to California from the United States were still received with the greatest hospitality and kindness, though in most cases they entered the country illegally, and in many were not backward in declaring their disregard or contempt for all Mexican formalities of law. The supreme government had perhaps some ground for blaming the Californian authorities for the manner in which they enforced the laws, or failed to enforce them; but the immigrants had no cause of complaint whatever. There was not in 1845 the slightest sign of disposition to oppress foreigners in any way. There were rumors, fomented by men who desired an outbreak, and circulated among new-comers on every route, of an intention to drive out all Americans; but these rumors were unfounded, and were credited only by the ignorant, who did not come personally in contact with the natives, and who never could understand that the Spaniards, as they were called, had any rights in their own country. "The Spaniards were becoming troublesome"!—is a common remark of old pioneers, who justify their action of the next year by dwelling on the growing jealousy and hatred of the people toward Americans; but all evidence to be drawn from correspondence of the time shows that not only were the people still friendly, but that the authorities, far from being hostile, were even more careless than in former years about enforcing legal formalities in connection with passports, naturalization, and land grants.

In April, Castro, appointing Weber a captain of militia, calling upon him to aid in the defence of the country against foreign aggression and Indian

pressed into the ranks; others whom he pressed the alcaldes sent home to their parents.' *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 27. Dec. 26th, P. Duran to Pico, writes: 'Por lo que toca á la política yo voy de acuerdo con los doctores políticos que creen que no tardaremos en ser objeto de conquista estrangera.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 63.

raids, and directing him to investigate the views of resident foreigners and the legality of their entry, was emphatic in his declaration that peaceful, law-abiding foreigners would be fully protected.[35] In June, he assured Larkin of his willingness to allow the entry of Americans from the Sandwich Islands, although their passports were not in accordance with the latest instructions from Mexico.[36] And in August, as we have seen, Pico, in calling upon the people to arm in defence of their country against the United States, declared that under no circumstances must foreign residents be treated otherwise than with the hospitality characteristic of Californians.[37]

In September, however, with a more positive announcement of impending war, and news of a Mexican force en route for California, there came a positive order from Mexico—and a very proper order under the circumstances, it must be confessed—that the entry of American immigrants from Oregon and Missouri must not be permitted.[38] The orders were duly cir-

[35] April 12th, C. to W. *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 14; *Halleck's Mex. Land Laws*, MS. 'If any of the foreigners who participated in the movement of Sutter should desire to settle permanently in Cal., and feel doubtful of the protection of the govt, you may freely offer to all whom you may find useful and industrious all the guaranties they may desire for establishing themselves in this department, and for living securely in the exercise of their respective occupations. You will also inform them that the friendly feeling of this office toward them is already secured to them,' by the treaty of S. Fernando; 'and you may assure all those referred to in that document, as well as any other foreigners residing on the frontier, that they shall receive all the protection within the scope of my authority.'

[36] June 6th, L. to sec. state. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 23.

[37] Aug. 27th, Pico's procl. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 106.

[38] Order of July 10th, published in Cal. Sept. 12th. The min. of rel. says to Pico: 'The introduction into the department of families which, from the Missouri and Columbia are settling in the new Oregon'—that is, the diversion of the Or. immigration to Cal.—'must produce inconveniences which, by their nature, cannot fail to cause a subversion of order, to complicate our foreign relations, and to create other embarrassments which will retard the progress of the constitutional régime. The president has his attention fixed on that department; desires to consolidate in it peace and union; and to remove all obstacles in the way of so praiseworthy an object. Believing, therefore, that among other means to that end one should be that of preventing the entry of said families, he orders me to say this to you, in order that you may issue the most positive orders to that effect.' *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 152; *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 8. Sept. 9th, Alvarado to Pico. Sutter has granted passes—on what authority the writer knows not—to 40 Americans just arrived (the McMahon co.). Vigilance is needed. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi.

culated among local officials; but no attempt was made to enforce them against the immigrants known to be on the way, and who soon arrived. In November, however, Castro, with Andrés Castillero, and perhaps Prefect Manuel Castro, made a tour of observation in the north, largely with a view to ascertain the number and disposition of the foreigners; and during this tour the immigrants were summoned to appear before the general, which Elliott, Gibbs, and Lewis did as representatives of those who were in the Sonoma and Napa valleys. On being asked for their passports, they said they had none, and explained, through Leese as interpreter, that on leaving the United States their destination had been Oregon, for which no passports were necessary. Castro then had read to them the Mexican order of July 10th, to which they replied that the alleged breaking-off of friendly relations between the two republics had been after they left the states; that their intentions were in every way pacific; and that to return across the mountains in winter was utterly impossible. If allowed to remain, they promised to submit to the laws in every respect, and to go away in the spring if their petitions for licenses to settle were not granted. "Therefore," says Castro in his decree dated November 6th at Sonoma, "conciliating my duty with the sentiment of hospitality which distinguishes the Mexicans, and considering that most of the said expedition is composed of families and industrious people, I have deemed it best to permit them, provisionally, to remain in the department"—on condi-

89. Sept. 18th, Pico to Castro. Has ordered the prefect to prevent the entry of foreigners; cannot go north himself on account of other duties. *Id.*, viii. 11. Oct. 23d, Sutter to sub-prefect, acknowledging the receipt of instructions to prevent the entry of foreigners, will cheerfully comply to the best of his ability, but asks that some members of the last company be given passes! *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 202. In his *Diary*, 6, Sutter says the orders were received Oct. 21st, and read to the assembled immigrants on the 23d. Also in *N. Helv. Diary*, MS., 10–11. The meeting was adjourned to the 27th, but no meeting is recorded on that date. Oct. 14th, J. C. Jones writes to Larkin from Sta Bárbara, to look out for trouble, as the Mex. govt has declared that on the commencement of war all American ships and other property will be immediately seized. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 331.

tion of their assembling at Sonoma under the vigilance of Vallejo and the local authorities, obeying the laws, giving bonds for good behavior, applying within three months for a regular license to settle, and promising to depart if this is not granted. They accepted these conditions; and, as we have seen, about twenty of the number appeared to give the required bonds before the end of the month.[39]

Meanwhile, one of the foreigners was sent to the Sacramento to assemble those of his companions who had remained in that region; and at New Helvetia on November 11th Castro issued another order similar in purport to that of the 6th, but even more favorable to the immigrants, since they were not—unless their case was covered by the other order—required to give any bonds, and might with a pass from Sutter go to Sonoma or San Juan in quest of employment. Sutter was exhorted to use great prudence in keeping the foreigners united and submissive; and to present accurate reports of all new arrivals, to whom the privileges granted were not to extend without new orders.[40] Thus we see that the immigrants, Americans

[39] *Castro, Órden del comandante general sobre permanencia de emigrados de los Estados Unidos, 6 de Nov., 1845*, MS. Bonds of the foreigners—Yount being bondsman for most, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 152–75.

[40] Nov. 11th, Castro's order in favor of immigrants. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 150. Nov. 3d, news at Sutter's Fort of arrival of Castro and Alvarado at Sonoma. *N. Helv. Diary*, MS., 15. Nov. 9th, a man arrived with a letter from Leese to the immigrants. Nov. 11th, the party arrived with escort of 15 men; Leese and Prudon, but not Alvarado nor Manuel Castro. Castro departed 12th; Leese and Prudon 13th. *Id.*, 15–16. Nov. 5th, Sutter, speaking of the Mexican order and expecting Castro's arrival, urges Larkin to come up to aid his countrymen and their families, 'but if it is not in your power or in the power of a man-of-war to protect them, I will do it. All are protected here, and before I will suffer an injustice to be done them, I will die first'! *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 369. Nov. 12th, L. writes to S. and to the immigrants, from Yerba Buena, that it is not convenient for him to come north, though he would do so if sure of meeting Castro, without whose presence he could do nothing. He advises them to select a committee to visit him at Monterey, in company with Marsh. *Id., Off. Corresp.*, MS., i. 52–3. Nov. 11th, Pico to min. of rel. Immigrants coming in great numbers. Fears that he shall not be able to stop them. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 97. March 4, '46, Larkin to Buchanan. The general went to the Sacramento to see the strangers, and bade them welcome to Cal. *Larkin's Off. Corresp.*, MS., ii. 42. Hargrave, *California in '46*, MS., relates at considerable length that some time in 1845 all the foreigners north of the bay were summoned to assemble at Sonoma, ostensibly for an election, but really either to ascertain their number or to induce

as well as others, were most kindly treated in 1845, and that under circumstances which might have palliated, if not justified, a certain degree of harshness, had there been any hostile feeling on the part of Californian authorities. I may add that during the winter, according to the testimony of all concerned, the generosity of the Vallejos at Sonoma and Napa in relieving the wants of destitute families was by no means surpassed by that of Sutter at New Helvetia.

Sutter had returned in March, as we have seen, from his brief imprisonment at Los Angeles, none the worse in any way for his participation in the late revolution, since all his old powers had been confirmed by the new authorities; and his loss of time and money may be regarded as counterbalanced by his 'general grant' from Micheltorena, which the new government in a sense tacitly confirmed by taking no steps, so far as is known, to annul it.[41] Immediately after his return, Sutter made a successful campaign against the Indians who had murdered Thomas Lindsay, and who were committing depredations among the rancheros' cattle, killing twenty-two of their number, and losing only one of his twenty-two men.[42] During his absence in the south a report of his death came to New Hel-

them to vote and thereby put them under some obligations as having performed acts of citizenship. Both Hargrave and Fowler, *Bear Flag*, MS., 1, note the coming of an officer to count the foreigners capable of bearing arms. Col. Vallejo's letter to Ex-president Bustamante on Nov. 22d, elsewhere noticed, *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 157, contains much about the coming of overland immigrants and the impossibility of stopping them with any force available in Cal. He speaks of Castro's visit and measures.

[41] Of course Micheltorena had no right to grant such powers, nor would confirmation by the new govt have been of any legal force; but Sutter was left undisturbed in the possession of his supposed powers, and the grantees may be supposed to have acquired from this state of affairs some rights in equity if not in law. In his letter of Nov. 22d to Ex-president Bustamante, Col. Vallejo said: 'Most of the best lands on the northern frontier have passed into foreign hands through D. Juan A. Sutter, who was authorized to that effect by Gen. Micheltorena, as is shown by a document in his possession signed by the said general; so that a multitude of Americans coming without legal passports, not naturalized, and absolutely unqualified to occupy landed possessions, hold immense quantities of the richest lands in this part of the department solely by the title issued by Sutter under the authority cited.' *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 157.

[42] April 9th, S. to A. Pico. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 173.

vetia, whereupon, if we may credit his own version, "on the whole Feather River and Sacramento was an awful mourning for me, and all were very sorrowful, as they look upon me now as their father, benefactor, and protector," though "some ungrateful white men were on the point of taking things into their own hands here, and were glad that I was dead so that they might have a chance to rob and plunder. It was high time that I arrived here."[43] The only attempts to interfere with Sutter's official prerogatives during the year came from the sub-prefect at San Francisco, to whose communications he paid no attention, asserting that no civil authority existed or was needed at New Helvetia, and that he would receive orders only from Castro or Vallejo as his military superiors.[44]

The existence of Sutter's establishment was a great convenience to the immigrants, most of whom remained there for a time after their arrival, and many were employed on the estates until they could do better elsewhere. And while there is no lack of complaints that the captain was disposed to drive a close bargain with the new-comers, the preponderance of evidence is to the effect that all were warmly welcomed and kindly treated at New Helvetia. In later years Sutter and his friends have sought to create the impression that he aided the strangers from motives of charity, and with loss to himself; but nothing could be further from the truth. The advantages of an increased immigration, not only as augmenting the value of lands and the profits of trade, but in affording an opportunity to purchase desirable wagons and other property at low prices in exchange for live-

[43] June 28th, S. to Larkin. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 203.

[44] Nov. 15th, S. to sub-prefect, refusing to correspond with him, 'this establishment being a military post for the defence of the frontier, conquest of savage Indians, and watching of emigrants that come across the Rocky Mountains, and not a town.' *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 212. Dec. 1st, sub-prefect to prefect. *Id.*, i. 494. Dec. 8th, Id. to Id. Thinks S. intends to quit the country for Oregon with his cattle, leaving the country upset by the 'llanquis' (Yankees !). *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 23. Nov. 17th, juez at Sonoma complains that S. is sinning against religion and the nation's laws by performing the marriage ceremony. *Id.*, i. 226.

stock, were as obvious to Sutter at the time as they are to us now. Like Marsh and others, he greatly exaggerated the number of immigrants en route, and his letters were full of sanguine expressions respecting his future prospects.[45]

[45] April 21st, S. to Larkin. Expects 900 souls from Or., and many from the U.S.; urges that they be sent to occupy the S. Joaquin Valley, as the cheapest way to keep the Indians in check; will send some more Indian children when he makes another raid; 'this year I will have a good harvest, thank God in heaven.' Original in *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 215. July 22d, S. to L. A long letter on his prospects. Will sow 800 fan. of wheat. 'I will force the affair once, and when it turns one year good out not only all my debts will be paid, but I will have a very large amount over.' Will bring water from the American Fork for irrigation and mills. The Russians will give him a contract for all the grain and other crops he can raise. If he had some needed articles to the extent of $5,000, he could make a fortune in two years. Trapping bids fair to be profitable, though a great many of his furs are wrongfully obtained by others. His enemies, Flügge, Weber, Marsh, and others, are doing their best to injure his credit. 'This year I pay a considerable amount of my debts, the half to the H. B. Co., a good amount to the Russians, and at least half to Mr Thompson and others, in furs.' Wishes L. to come up and examine the prospects, evidently hoping to get from him some pecuniary aid. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iv. 228. July 31st, long list of articles which L. is asked to furnish—on credit of course. *Id.*, iii. 232, 234. Aug. 12th, Marsh to Larkin. Expects 2,000 immigrants with Hastings—mostly of good character and some property. 'God speed them. I had rather none would come than that they should be like a portion of some of the former companies.' *Id.*, iii. 247. Sept. 11th, S. to L. A good many small debts will be paid soon and part of the large ones. 'One good year more and I shall be clear of debts.' Cotton does well in the valley. *Id.*, iii. 287. Sept. 27th, still in need of many things. *Id.*, iv. 301. Oct. 2d, Sutter's praise of the immigrants who have arrived this month (?), of whom he sends a list (not given). *Id.*, iii. 310. Oct. 8th, arrival of Sublette's party. 'A great chance to buy plenty of well-broken oxen and wagons... My establishment will gain a great deal by this emigration. I employ a good many mechanics; a first-rate doctor will remain here, likewise a clerk;' 3 blacksmiths at work, but needs iron, etc. Owners of land in the valley should give a part to new settlers; 'it will be our greatest interest and make our lands valuable.' 'Next year in this month we shall have 1,000 and thousands of emigrants here,' who should be given lands in the Tulares. New-comers well armed and 'will fight like lyons.' After the rains the new city will be 'foundated.' Prudon is to leave the court of Sonoma and build a hotel here. Twenty splendid ploughs made here; would like to have forty running at once. A saddler at work on 20 sets of harness. 'If I have a little luck this next year the people will be astonished at my farming business.' *Id.*, iii. 315. Nov. 5th, seems to have paid most of his indebtedness to Larkin, and to have been promised some iron on credit. 'It is true I have a good many people employed at present, but all are useful and necessary.' Dr Gildea's services particularly useful. *Id.*, iii. 369. Jan. 1, 1846, Sutter to Prudon. A long letter in French, mainly devoted to urging Prudon to use his influence with Vallejo to permit the entry of cargoes for the valley free of duties. 'Your position [as Vallejo's secretary] gives you great chances, and if you knew how to make good use of it, we might soon become rich.' Several ships are expected, and crowds of immigrants. Prospects for trade good but for the cursed custom-house. Expects machinery for some steamboats; also a printing-press on which he will print a newspaper. Is building a grist-mill; a

Crops at New Helvetia were good this year; and other branches of industry were in a comparatively prosperous condition—so much so that Sutter was enabled actually to pay off a few of his smallest debts, to make good his credit with Larkin for a small amount in iron and other needed goods, and to deliver to the Russians a considerable quantity of grain. The Sutter-Suñol correspondence, from which I have drawn many interesting items for past years, extends also over 1845, confirming by its general tone the conclusion to be drawn from the letters to Larkin already cited, namely, that Sutter eked out his slight payments to creditors with magnificent promises for the near future. To Suñol he continued to send Indian laborers, with requests for new credit, and threats to make Marsh and Weber pay dearly for their 'insolence and roguery' in attacking his solvency; but finally, by sending down some wagons purchased from the immigrants, he so far appeased his creditor that the latter appears not to have acted on his threat to bring the matter before the authorities.[46] We know nothing of the amount of the Suñol and other minor debts, but the aggregate must have been enough to dampen the enthusiasm of a less sanguine speculator. There was one debt of over $4,000 due to the Hudson's Bay Company since 1840, to secure which Forbes took the launch *Sacramento*, which, however, Sutter was allowed to use during the season, the plan being to secure it against attachment by other creditors.[47]

shorter road from the mountains has been found; there will be a railroad within 5 years! Copy in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 28–34; *Id., Correspondencia*, MS., 157–64.

[46] *Sutter-Suñol Corresp.*, MS., 27–33. As many as 30 Indians were sent down at a time, but they did not give very good satisfaction. S. declares he has always been a benefactor to the country, and has received nothing but ingratitude. Some mill-stones bought of Gilroy were delayed for a year or more at Sta Clara, through the interference of Marsh and Weber. A negotiation with Pacheco of some importance also came to naught. Forbes was appealed to by Sutter to keep Suñol quiet, but declined to assume any responsibility.

[47] Oct. 3d, Forbes to Pico. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 67-71. This is a complaint against the local authorities of S. F., who had permitted Célis to

The chief indebtedness was of course that to the Russian American company for the purchase of the Ross and Bodega property in 1841. Notwithstanding Sutter's wheat payments of this year, and the small ones of former years, the debt was still a little more than the original price of the property purchased, or $30,000. The enthusiastic captain was well pleased with his success in thus having so nearly maintained the financial statu quo, and he was already planning to assume, after paying off the trifling balance of $30,000, the contract, formerly held by the Hudson's Bay Company, for supplying the Russians at Sitka with all the agricultural produce they needed, thus making an immense fortune! But the agents of the company were cold-blooded individuals, who chose to regard the whole matter in a very different light. They called upon the Californian authorities to aid them by enforcing payment of the debt; and finally entered into an agreement by which the Mexican government was to assume and pay Sutter's indebtedness, and thus acquire the company's mortgage on New Helvetia. The agreement never went into effect, because, presumably on account of the war that soon broke out, it was not confirmed in Mexico.[45]

The motive of the government in contemplating the purchase of the Russian mortgage was a desire to get possession of Sutter's establishment, the importance of which, in case of war, and especially if a large military force should be sent from Mexico, was apparent. I do not suppose that the Californian authorities, or the Mexican comisionado, really believed that Mexico would pay for New Helvetia, or that if it were obtained the Americans could be successfully resisted; but they were under obligation

detain the *Sacramento* as security for another claim. Corresp. in the case of Célis vs Sutter, Aug. 1845 to Feb. 1846, as remitted to the prefect. *Castro, Doc.*, MS., ii. 1–10. This debt explains Sir Geo. Simpson's allusion to Sutter during his visit in 1841. See chap. ix. of this vol.; also *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 325–7.

[45] For some particulars of this matter, see chap. vi of this vol. The amount of the debt in 1845 was about $31,000.

as officials to "save their responsibility" by acting for the best interests of their government, and on the theory that the nation would support them with money or troops. It was therefore their duty to do all in their power to acquire Sutter's Fort. Accordingly Castillero and Castro, on their northern tour in November, broached the subject to Sutter. There is much uncertainty about what was said at the interview of November 11th. Sutter himself states that they made him a definite offer of $100,000, or the mission of San José, for his establishment; and that he, after consultation with his friends, declined the offer because the proposed sale, though advantageous to him, would leave the settlers and immigrants unprotected.[49]

[49] *Sutter's Diary*, 6; *Id.*, *Petition to Congress*, 5; *Id.*, *Personal Remin.*, MS., 132–8. He says that the visitors were accompanied by Leese and Prudon from Sonoma, and escorted by about 30 (15) men; that they at once broached their business of buying the fort; that he was much surprised, never having thought of selling, but consulted Reading, Bidwell, Hensley, and Loker, who thought the price a good one, but asked, 'What is to become of us?' 'This determined me; I was bound they should have protection; but for this I should have accepted the offer; often have I regretted that I did not accept it; and for this great sacrifice I have been paid with nothing but ingratitude'! The captain accompanied the visitors for 20 miles on their departure next day; and all were overtaken by Hensley with 50 horsemen, fearing that Sutter was being kidnapped! Prudon came back and urged an acceptance of the offer, stating at last that Castro had authorized him to unite both offers, giving both the $100,000 and the mission estates! According to the *N. Helv. Diary*, MS., Castro started Nov. 12th; Prudon started to overtake him Nov. 13th; and Hensley arrived from Hock Nov. 14th, going back next day. See also Ross Browne, in the *Overland*, xv. 344. 'Castillo was empowered to pay as much as $100,000; and actually offered Sutter in addition several fine tracts of mission lands now worth millions. But Sutter, with an unselfish devotion to our interests which has never been properly appreciated, rejected all these tempting offers, preferring to unite his fortune with the Americans.' Swasey, *Cal. in '45–6*, MS., 3, and also in various newspaper articles, speaks of the offer; but seems not to have had any personal knowledge of it. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 145–6, mentions Castillero's visit; states that the approach of the visitors caused great alarm, it being feared that Castro had come to attack the fort; tells us that Castillero had hard work to get a word in private with Sutter on account of Castro's jealousy, but succeeded in signifying his approval of Sutter's conduct in aiding Micheltorena; but he says nothing of any offer—being doubtless pretty well aware that none was made. The coming of Castillero and Castro was not in reality unexpected; for as we have seen, it had been announced at the fort on Nov. 3d. Nov. 5th, Sutter, writing to Larkin, said he had no objection to Castro's coming, though he thought it would be prudent to leave his force at Sonoma to avoid alarming the settlers. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 369. On Nov. 6th Castro had not only announced his coming, but had sent a messenger to assemble the foreigners. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., ii. 45. Sutter and Bidwell ignore this part of the visitors' business. Nov. 14th,

Were there no evidence on this matter beyond Mr Sutter's statement, as indeed there is none on his side, it would be necessary perhaps to conclude that he has told the truth; that Castillero and Castro, going far beyond any powers or means they could have possessed, did make what Sutter regarded as an offer for the property; and that it was declined by the captain, not in the interests of the American settlers—for such a plea, advanced later for a well-known purpose, is to any one acquainted with the circumstances and the man an utter absurdity—but because he lacked faith that payments would be promptly made. There is, however, some further evidence, leaving no doubt in my mind that Sutter's statement is false, and that the offer was made if at all by himself. Notifying Larkin of his interview with the commissioners, he wrote: "No doubt their visit will be to our mutual benefit. I am now on the most friendly terms with Don José Castro, and with Señor Castillero."[50] A flat refusal to accede to their wishes would hardly have led to a state of things so satisfactory. Bidwell states that "Sutter was inclined to dispose of his fort and land." About ten days after the visit Vallejo wrote to Ex-president Bustamante as follows: "It would be very desirable to close that door of communication between the U. S. and this country, even at some sacrifice. Castro and Castillero having made propositions to Sutter for the purchase of his establishment, he said that he would cede it to the government for $100,000. I grant that this is a high price to pay for a few pieces of cannon, a not very scientifically constructed bastion, some fosses or moats, ten or twelve adobe houses, and corrals of the same material; but the security of the country is what is to be paid for, and that is price-

Sutter notifies Larkin of the visit, and of his having fired 7 guns at the arrival and departure. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 374; also *N. Helv. Diary*, MS., 15–16. In his *Person. Remin.*, he has it 21 guns.

[50] Nov. 14th, S. to L. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 374. Torres, *Peripecias*, MS., 32–4, tells us that Castillero opened negotiations without any authority; but Sutter's demands for ready money were so excessive that nothing could be done. Sutter proposed the sale first through Prudon.

less."[51] Again, Sutter himself wrote on January 1, 1846, to Victor Prudon as follows: "I was astonished to hear down there," at Yerba Buena, "the report that I had sold my establishment to the government. It appears that ces messieurs have not kept it secret. What do you think of it? Do you believe that the government will buy it? I would like to be sure of that, so that I might take necessary measures. In case the government decides to make the purchase, do you think it would be possible to obtain a part of the price on account sufficient to pay a part of my debts? I could give possession of the establishment after harvest. I believe the government will do well not to neglect this matter, for next fall there will be many immigrants from the United States."[52] And finally, Sutter wrote to Castro early in 1846, "believing that the government will buy my establishment, I will put all in the best condition" for the Mexican garrison which Castro is advised to send for service against the immigrants![53] In view of the fact that Sutter's statement is entirely unsupported, of his strong temptation to misrepresent the matter, and of the inherent improbability that he would refuse or the Mexicans make such an offer—I have no doubt the reader will deem the evidence conclusive that no such offer was made or refused, but that Sutter, instead of refusing in the interest of American immigrants, was eager to sell for his own interest. As we have seen, Castillero

[51] Nov. 22d, V. to B. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 157, p. 9–10. It is to be noted that it is not a mere question of veracity between Sutter and Vallejo. The other, writing at the time, with no possible motives for misrepresentation, mentioned this matter with many others in a long letter; while Sutter told his story later, with a well-known motive to enlist the sympathies of Americans, and obtain compensation from the govt.

[52] Jan. 1, 1846, S. to P., in *Vallejo, Corresp.*, MS., 157–8; *Id., Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 25–6. The letter is a long one, the writer treating of a great variety of matters besides the one in question. It must be admitted that it is only a copy; but it contains abundant proofs of its genuineness as a whole; and I have no doubt of its accuracy so far as this matter of the sale is concerned, though in one or two other respects it may have been tampered with by the copyist—not by Gen. Vallejo's consent, I must add, as some reader might possibly suspect from the titles heading this note.

[53] S. to C. Original letter in *Castro, Doc.*, MS., ii. 98–9.

and Castro adopted another and cheaper method of accomplishing their object, by recommending to their government the purchase of the Russian mortgage—though Sutter does not appear to have known anything of this scheme.[54]

In connection with affairs at New Helvetia, an important diary should be noticed here. It is a daily record kept at the fort by Swasey, Bidwell, and Loker, as Sutter's clerks, and during a part of the time by Sutter himself, from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848. It deals chiefly with the arrival and departure of employés, visitors, and immigrants; and is of the greatest value as a record of exact dates, as a source of information about hundreds of early pioneers, and as a contemporary journal of local affairs. I owe its possession to the kindness of William F. Swasey of San Francisco, one of the authors, and a man deeply interested in all that relates to the pioneer history of California.[55]

[54] Apr. 23, 1846, the Mex. govt tells Pico that the subject of acquiring Sutter's Fort has been deferred. No details as to the nature of the proposition. *St. Pap., Miss. and Col.*, MS., ii. 411–14.

[55] *New Helvetia, Diary of Events 1845–8, by Swasey, Bidwell, Loker, and Sutter*, MS., 1881, 212 p. Copy from original. There are unfortunately some long blanks in the record of 1846–7.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LOCAL ANNALS OF THE SOUTH.

1841-1845.

POPULATION—SAN DIEGO—LAST OF THE PRESIDIAL COMPANY—MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS—RANCHOS—MISSION SAN DIEGO—SAN LUIS REY—PADRE IBARRA—WASTING-AWAY OF THE ESTATES—SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO—PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE ARGÜELLO—SAN DIEGUITO, SAN PASCUAL, AND LAS FLORES—LOS ANGELES DISTRICT—STATISTICS—CITY AND SUBURBS—LOCAL EVENTS—PREFECTURE AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—CRIMINAL RECORD—RANCHOS—SAN PEDRO—SAN GABRIEL—DECADENCE UNDER MAJORDOMOS—SAN BERNARDINO—AGUA MANSA—SAN FERNANDO—MISSION RENTED—SANTA BÁRBARA DISTRICT—PRESIDIO AND TOWN—SUB-PREFECT AND JUECES DE PAZ—RANCHOS—MISSION—INVENTORIES AND RENTING—SAN BUENAVENTURA—SANTA INÉS—PADRE MORENO—THE COLLEGE—PURÍSIMA—PADRE ABELLA—SMALL-POX—RUIN AND SALE.

SOUTHERN California in the half-decade of 1841–45, the territory and period embraced in this chapter, gained in white population about 500 souls, or from 2,850 to 3,350. The ex-neophyte Indian population fell off about 1,500 souls, or from 5,100 to 3,600, of which latter number 1,880 were still living in the ex-mission communities, and 1,720 were scattered in towns and on ranchos. It must be understood, however, that these figures, while carefully founded on all the data extant, are much less exact than population statistics of earlier years.

The last trace of the old presidial organization at San Diego is a report of Alférez Salazar in November 1842, to the effect that he had a total force of fourteen men without arms or ammunition. Earlier in

the year Mofras found a few soldiers and an officer at the pueblo, also a few cannon half buried in the sand amid the ruins of presidio and castillo. In October the prefect commissioned José A. Estudillo to bring away in carts all the useful guns and balls from the fort; but in the Jones affair of November, Captain Phelps of the *Alert* saved Estudillo all trouble by spiking the guns and throwing movable articles into the bay.[1] After 1842 there is nothing in the records on company, officers, or military finance except an occasional complaint that there were neither soldiers nor arms for defence. But fortunately there was but slight need in this half-decade for military operations either against disloyal norteños or savage raiders. The Indians committed comparatively few and slight depredations, and rancheros were left to tend their herds for the most part in peace. Respecting the population of the district, excluding Indians, estimated at 150 in 1840, we have nothing but Mofras' figures of 100 in 1842, and the fact that there were about 70 men capable of bearing arms in 1844–6. I suppose that this population in 1845 may have been 350 souls; and the ex-neophyte population 600 at the missions and pueblos, 1,000 including the ranchos, and perhaps 1,500 or more including those living as fugitives in gentile rancherías. All this, however, rests on a very slight basis.

The half-decade was a period of tranquil prosperity, but uneventful even when compared with the past monotony of existence at this least bustling of the California towns. A classified summary is appended

[1] Nov. 7, 1842, Salazar to Vallejo. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 303; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 325–6. Oct. 26th, prefect's orders to Estudillo. *Savage, Doc.*, MS., iii. 45. May 28, 1841, com. of frontier calls on juez to return the 11 muskets and bayonets lent for defence. *Los Ang. Arch.*, MS., ii. 58–9.

June 1842, Ind. have risen; only 5 men at S. Diego, 3 of them being foreigners; all the rest absent on their ranchos. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., iv. 125. July 1844, juez sends a list of 71 citizens capable of serving in a civic company, not including foreigners or Indians. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 4. Sept. 1845, reference to 53 names of men in the jurisdiction able to bear arms. *Id., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, ii. 83. July 1846, the municipality has 73 men between the ages of 15 and 60 years. *Id.*, i. 159.

of events and institutional progress.[2] Sectional strife was temporarily at an end; San Diego was the first to welcome Governor Micheltorena; was spared a

[2] Chronologic summary of events at S. Diego: 1841. May–June, a reported rising of the Ind. of the Sierra de Jamur on the frontier, leading to corresp. between alcalde, prefect, and gov., with orders, precautions, and complaints of lack of men and arms; but no casualties nor definite results. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 32, 43; xii. 57; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 13; *Fitch, Doc.*, MS., 160. Douglas proposed an estab. of the H. B. Co. here. This vol., p. 216. Dec., arrival of Bishop García Diego. *Id.*, 196, 332. Dec. 20th, a tumult at La Playa resulting in one or two deaths. No further details. It was probably a quarrel between sailors or Indians. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 82. 1842. Visit of Duflot de Mofras and his investigations in Jan. This vol., 224, 250, 253; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 332–3. April–June, troubles with the Ind. of Jacum. The prefect thinks the inhab. have provoked the troubles by unwise conduct, but orders further examination and authorizes defensive measures—that is, the borrowing of some arms from Capt. Fitch. *S. D. Arch.*, MS., 287–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 125, 129; this vol., p. 338. Death of Capt. Zamorano. Vol. iii., p. 320. Oct. 29th, Nov., Capt. Phelps of the *Alert* spikes the guns of the fort in connection with Com. Jones' exploits at Monterey. This vol., p. 320, 324, 340. Arrival of Gov. Micheltorena and his troops from Mexico in August. *Id.*, 289–93. Whales taken in the bay. *Hayes' Em. Notes*, 433 1843. Oath to support the bases orgánicas, or new Mex. constitution in Oct.; also elections. *Hayes' Doc.*, MS., 170; this vol., 359–61. 1844. July, a militia company to be organized under Capt. Andrés Pico. *Id.*, 407. Doubtful record that the guns of the fort were again spiked by the crew of a whaler. *Id.*, 433. 1845. Efforts to open S. Diego as a 1st-class port and establish a custom-house. *Id.*, 519, 557. Elections in Oct. *Id.*, 540.

Civil and municipal govt and list of officers: 1841. Rosario Aguilar, juez de paz (1st, principal, or proprietary); Jesus Moreno, juez de paz (2d, suplente, or interino), appointed the preceding Dec. by the prefect at Los Angeles and approved by gov. in Feb.; Aniceto M. Zavaleta, secretary; Fran. M. Alvarado named as depositary of funds in May; Manuel Verdugo and José M. Alvarado, jueces del campo, appointed by juez in Feb. at prefect's order. Jan., a list of all vagrants required by prefect. *S. D. Arch.*, MS., 268. Feb., $18 due Fitch on duties illegally collected but not paid for want of municipal funds, to be paid by a monthly rebate of F.'s taxes. *Id.*, 269. March, a new game of cards, more like 'monte' than 'thirty-one,' is becoming popular and must be stopped. *Id.*, 275. Prefect recommends a bando against all games of chance, including raffles. *Id.*, 269. March–June, municipal receipts $28, expend. for clerk's salary $10, and expenses $36.50; in the treasury $5.50. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 19. April, sentence could not be executed for want of food for prisoners. No 'public works;' one prisoner hired out at 12 reales for 15 days. *S. D Arch.*, MS., 276. May, Andrés Ibarra and Rafaela Serrano by prefect's orders must pay tax on their dram-shop or the liquors are to be confiscated and deposited. *Id.*, 270. An Ind. was fined 12 reales for playing a game of chance. A man sent to collect it at the Indian's expense compromised the matter with the culprit (!), but later had to give up two horses with $10. *Id.*, 277. Prefect orders juez to collect $20 fine and $12 duty on otter skins from Osuna, to pay J. A. Estudillo the rent of a room for the juzgado, and keep the rest for arms and ammunition in case of Ind. troubles. *Id.*, 270. June, murder of Lieut José A. Garraleta by his wife Juana Gastelum across the frontier. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., i. 75; iv. 14. June–Aug., munic. receipts $25, expend. $41. *Id.*, vi. 60. Dec., Robinson, a storekeeper, fined $3 and put in chains for refusing to serve on the patrol. *Id.*, vi. 84. A sailor of the *Primavera* fined $5 for cutting another of the *California*, besides paying $18 to the injured party *S. D. Arch.*, MS., 288.

1842. José Ant. Góngora juez de paz; José M. Alvarado suplente. Gón-

citizens, promoted to the governorship. Indian depredations as I have said were comparatively slight, and not only were the dozen or more ranchos reoccupied by their owners, but more than twenty new grants were made by Alvarado, Micheltorena, and Pico. Prominent happenings were the bishop's arrival and that of the governor, the visit of Duflot de Mofras, and Phelps' exploit at the time of the American invasion. At the end of each year a juez de paz, popularly known as alcalde, was appointed by the prefect at Los Angeles to manage local affairs for the next year; and the successive incumbents of the office were Aguilar, Góngora, Ortega, Marron, and Alvarado. In July 1845 San Diego was deemed worthy

Pedrorena; heirs of Miguel Pedrorena claimants. Cañada de los Coches, 400 varas, granted in 1843 to Apolinaria Lorenzana; Lestrade claimant. Cuca, ½ league, granted in 1845 to María Juan de Los Angeles, who was the claimant. Cuyamaca, 11 leagues, granted in 1845 to Agustin Olvera, who was the claimant. Encinitos, 1 league, granted in 1842 to Andrés Ibarra, who was the claimant. Guajome, 1 league, granted in 1845 to Andrés and José Manuel; Andrés et al. claimants. Guejito y Cañada de Palomía, 3 leagues, granted in 1845 to José María Orozco; claimant George W. Hamley. Laguna, 3 leagues, granted in 1844 to J. Manriquez; claimant Abel Stearns. Nacion, 6 leagues, granted in 1845 to John Forster, who was the claimant. Pauba, 6 leagues, granted in 1844–6 to V. Marago (?) and Luis Arenas; claimant Louis Vignes. Pauma, 3 leagues, granted in 1844 to J. A. Serrano et al., who were the claimants. Rincon del Diablo, 3 leagues, granted in 1843 to Juan B. Alvarado, whose heirs were claimants. San Bernardino, 4 leagues, granted in 1842, 1845, to José F. Snook, whose widow was the claimant. San Dieguito, 2 leagues, granted in 1845 to Juan M. Osuna, whose heirs were claimants. San Jacinto, 4 leagues, granted in 1842 to José A. Estudillo, who was the claimant. San Jacinto y San Gregorio, granted in 1843 to Santiago Johnson; Louis Robidoux claimant. S. Juan Capistrano, mission granted in 1845 to John Forster, who was cl.; Mision Vieja, or La Paz, to Agustin Olvera, cl. Forster; Potreros de S. Juan Cap., Forster; and a lot to A. Rios in 1843. Santa Isabel, 4 leagues, granted in 1844 to J. J. Ortega and Edward Stokes, who were the claimants. Santa Margarita and Las Flores, granted in 1841 to Pio and Andrés Pico, who were the claimants. In March 1841 the Picos asked to exchange Temécula for Sta Margarita, paying for improvements on the latter. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. y J.*, MS., iv. 5. Temécula, 6 leagues, granted in 1844 to Félix Valdés; Louis Vignes claimant. Julian Manrique claimed the land under an earlier grant. See *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 35, 39; *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., ii. 109. Temécula, ½ league, granted in 1845 to Pablo Apis (Ind.) who was the claimant. Tia Juana, abandoned by Arguello on account of Ind. hostilities, and 'denounced' by J. A. Aguirre in 1843. Arguello protesting. The courts decided in Aguirre's favor, but Gov. Micheltorena gave Arguello 6 months time to renew his possession, which he apparently accomplished. *Hayes' Em. Notes*, 517-22. Valle de Pamo, 4 leagues, granted in 1843 to J. J. Ortega and Edward Stokes, who were the claimants. See land com. records in *Hoffman's Reports*. All the grants mentioned above were finally confirmed. See also *S. Diego Index* MS., 119–23, for reference to doc. on land grants, including pueblo lots.

of being made a partido of the Los Angeles district, of which Captain Argüello was appointed sub-prefect, proceeding with the least possible delay to quarrel with the juez de paz.

At Mission San Diego Father Vicente Pascual Oliva continued his ministry in 1841–5, and from 1843 managed also the meagre remnant of temporalities, Juan María Osuna having served as majordomo in 1841 and probably until the padre took charge in April 1843. Mofras gives the number of Indians in the community as 500 in 1842, and an official report of 1844 as 100. The mission retained the ranchos of Santa Isabel and El Cajon until 1844–5, and apparently an interest in certain portions later. It was the father's boast that he increased the value of the property, though there were only ten head of cattle when he took charge. Of events there are none to be recorded.[3]

Padre Francisco Gonzalez de Ibarra served at San Luis Rey until his death in 1842 at the age of 60 years. Mofras speaks of the deplorable condition of this friar whom he saw "forced to sit at the administrator's table and listen to the ribaldry of majordomos and vaqueros who would have thought themselves lucky a few years before to have been the father's servants."[4] After his death Padre Zalvi-

[3] May 1841. Osuna majordomo at a salary of $240. The padre reports the mission unable to pay the salary. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ix. 10–12. Possibly therefore O. left the place before 1843. May 7th, José Fidel, a mission Ind., accused of stealing cattle, which he denied. The authorities 'took the precaution to apply an arbitrary punishment of some azotes,' when he confessed and was sentenced to work 48 days for Alvarado and pay a fine of $6. *S. D. Arch.*, MS., 276. July, an Ind. complains that the majordomo keeps him at the mission, though he has the papers to prove himself a free man. Also that the maj. owes him $19 which he will not pay. *Hayes' Miss. B.*, 353. 1842. Mofras' statement of population. *Explor.*, i. 320. 1843. This mission and others turned over to the padres by Micheltorena's order of March 29th. This vol., p. 369. 1844. Estado of southern missions dated March 18th. S. Diego has 100 Ind. and no means to support them. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 14; this vol., p. 422. June 1845. P. Oliva's report on the condition of the mission. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 188–9; this vol., p. 548.

[4] Francisco Gonzalez de Ibarra was a native of Viana, Spain, born in 1782. He became a Franciscan in the province of Búrgos, came to Mexico in 1818, and to California in 1820. Regarded at the time of his arrival as a promising

dea came from San Juan to take his place, serving until after 1845. This mission had 650 Indians in 1842 and 400 in 1844, the establishment at Las Flores being included in both cases. José A. Estudillo served as majordomo until required under Micheltorena's order to turn over the property to Zalvidea in April 1843; but the padre immediately put everything in charge of a new majordomo in the person of Joaquin Ortega, who in turn was succeeded by Juan M. Marron in July 1845.[5] The destruction of mission prop-

missionary, active and of fair talent. Payera's report of Dec. 31, 1820, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 126–7. After visiting S. Luis Obispo he became minister of S. Fernando, where he served from 1820 to 1835, when he retired to Mexico. He came back in time to perform the burial service for Padre Cabot in Oct. 1836; but nothing more is known of him till 1839, from which date he served at San Luis Rey until his death in 1842. His death was a sudden one, from apoplexy. The date is only known from the statement by Estudillo. *Datos*, MS., 35, who remembers that his father the majordomo took charge of $3,000 or $4,000 left by the padre, giving it up to the Los Angeles authorities. Moreover Ibarra was seen by Mofras in Jan., *Explor.*, i. 343, and is not mentioned in any later record than 1842. At S. Fernando he was known as an efficient manager, and was not an unpopular man. He was nicknamed Padre Napoleon from his disposition to boast and insist on the superiority of everything at his own mission, and also for the independent style in which he criticised the acts of the authorities in secularizing the mission and disposing of its lands. Mrs Ord remembers him as jolly and full of fun. Julio César says he was well liked by the Ind. at S. Luis, and was called by them Tequedeuma, indicating a plain, unassuming man. Robinson only, *Life in Cal.*, 34–5, speaks unfavorably of him as 'a short, thick, ugly-looking old man, whose looks did not belie his character,' nicknamed El Cochino for his meanness; but he had an immense quantity of hides and tallow which he would not part with on what seemed to the supercargo fair terms, and this circumstance may have had some effect on the latter's criticism.

[5] 1841. J. A. Estudillo majordomo, according to many records. April, valuation of property: vines $3,000, trees $100, fence $100, house $100, total $3,300. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 1. March and April, gov. through prefect orders that two arbitrators go to Sta Margarita and appraise the value of property there, for which the Picos are to pay the Ind., the consent of the latter being taken before a magistrate. *Hayes' Miss. B.*, 348; *S. D. Index*, MS., 137. I think the preceding valuation of $3,300 may refer to Sta Margarita. May, five Ind. sent to the juez at Los Angeles for stealing Pico's cattle, after they had already worked in chains at the mission for a month and received 50 lashes from the majordomo, who had no right to punish prisoners. *S. D. Arch.*, MS., 276–7. July, order to collect all the scattered Ind. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 80–1. July 26th, decree of gov. releasing a S. Luis Ind. from his condition as neophyte. *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 52. Oct., receipts $24, expend. $6; Nov., recpts $11, expend. $5; Dec., recpts $7, expend. $4; Jan. 1842, recpts $39, expend. $302; Feb., recpts $21, expend. $8. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ix. 12–13. 1842. See plans and views of S. Luis in Mofras' and Robinson's works. The former is in some respects very inaccurate, but has been often reproduced. 1843. April 22d, Estudillo turns over the property to P. Zalvidea, and the latter on the same day to Joaquin Ortega. *Dept. St.*

erty was constant, and is said to have been especially rapid under the administration of Ortega, who of all the vast herds and flocks possessed by this establishment in earlier times turned over to his successor only 250 cattle and about the same number of horses. Meanwhile all the mission ranchos had passed into private ownership.

At San Juan Capistrano Father José María Zalvidea served as minister until the latter part of 1842, when he went to San Luis Rey as before mentioned, and San Juan had no padre for the rest of the period. The padre had about $2,000 in Spanish *onzas* buried at the mission, which treasure gave rise to some rather curious controversies.[6] In 1840, as we have seen, Father Zalvidea had been put in temporary charge of

Pap., Ben., MS., ii. 40–3; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 46, 56; this vol., p. 369, 371. May, Ortega complains that the mission has no resources, grain for only two months, no implements or clothing. The gov. in reply authorizes him to buy or borrow implements, and places $800 at his disposal to clothe the Ind., half going to the Pala Ind. *Ib.* June, contract of P. Zalvidea with J. M. Osuna and José Lopez, by which the former receives 89 and the latter 50 head of mission cattle on shares, the mission to get half the increase. *Marron, Pap.*, MS., 1. 1844. Very little property left, with 400 scattered Ind., administered by P. Zalvidea in his dotage. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., 14. 1845. July 20th, the property is turned over by Ortega to his successor Juan María Marron, whose salary is $300. Inventory, 279 horses, 20 mules, 61 asses, 196 cattle, 27 yoke oxen, 700 sheep, some implements and other effects of slight value. *Estudillo, Datos*, MS., 40–1; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 59; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 62; *Marron, Pap.*, MS., 1–2.

[6] Janssens, *Vida*, MS., 169–75, gives a full account. The money had been intrusted to him by the padre to avoid the importunities of borrowers, and he had buried it in his room. Having to go to Monterey on official business, J. told the padre where the money was before starting. In the north he heard that he was accused of having fled with the coin, and in returning he had some difficulty in avoiding arrest. At S. Juan, Zalvidea on hearing the rumors declared J. innocent, but in doing so incautiously revealed the hiding-place, and the money was soon dug up by thieves. Bandini was summoned, and succeeded in recovering most of the coin, but kept the matter quiet in the interest of certain parties implicated in the theft. The only other version is that of Juan Bandini in a long letter of July 8, 1842, to José de la Guerra, in *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., v. 124–9. He says he was summoned by the padre, anxious about his treasure in view of Janssens' departure, and in the presence of witnesses dug up the money, which was found to be six ounces short. At Zalvidea's request he took charge of the amount and gave it to Abel Stearns for safe-keeping; but soon he found himself the object of accusations. It seems that he was charged with so arranging the matter as to be able to keep the money in case of the padre's death; and Father Duran wrote a very bitter and insulting letter, which filled Don Juan with wrath, and in the letter from which these facts are taken he announces his purpose to come to Sta Bárbara for satisfaction, and to have it settled whether he is a *picaro* or Fr Narciso an *impostor*.

the temporalities, and had appointed Janssens majordomo. This management lasted until past the middle of 1841, though meanwhile preparations were being slowly made for the complete emancipation of the Indians that had been promised, and the whole establishment was drifting to ruin.[7] There was no lack of applications for grants of the few mission ranchos; and citizens of the district petitioned for the privilege of becoming settlers at the proposed town. About the middle of June the prefect, by the governor's orders, sent Agustin Olvera as a comisionado to distribute the San Juan lands among the ex-neophytes, about 100 in number, and some forty petitioners de

[7] Janssens in his *Vida*, MS., 164–8, gives many details of his appointment and experience, claiming to have accomplished great things during his management, bringing back refugees, building fences, repairing the ditches, clothing the Ind., and accomplishing all kinds of reform, greatly to the joy of the padre and of all concerned, though some of the neighbors ridiculed his zeal, and predicted that all his efforts would go for nothing. And such proved to be the case, for soon orders for the delivery of cattle began to come in which J. refused to obey, and then came the order to form a pueblo after J. had vainly applied for a lease of 6 years, binding himself to return the property in an improved condition, and assuring the gov. that there was no real necessity for selling the mission estates. Very likely Janssens exaggerates the value of his services. He claims that the final secularization was effected by himself as representing Bandini.

Jan. 1st, gov. approves majordomo's act in effecting a loan to purchase needed articles. *Janssens, Doc.*, MS., 52. Jan. 21st, P. Zalvidea to gov., has bought 800 cattle with the sum allotted for worship and padre's support, and has sent them to the Ciénega to be pastured. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 47. Jan. 22d, neophytes complain that several men are trying to get grants of mission lands. The padre asks that this be stopped. *Id.*, 48. March 14th, prefect orders that Janssens be prevented from taking Ind. from S. Juan, which he has no authority to do. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 44–5. March 22d, Zalvidea asks that Argüello and Estudillo be ordered to remove their cattle from Trabuco and the Mision Vieja. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 53. June 7th, gov. orders maj. to deliver to Sant. Argüello 30 fillies on account of pay due him. *Janssens, Doc.*, MS., 52. June, José Sepúlveda has a claim to only the Ciénega de las Ranas rancho, and not to El Toro and Niguil. Toro belongs to Trabuco. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 46; *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 50–1, 62–4. July 5th, majordomo says that worms have destroyed all the crops, and the Ind. have left the mission. Asks that aid be obtained from S. Luis where there is abundance. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 46–7.

May 10th, gov. decides, at the request of S. Diego vecinos, to dissolve the S. Juan community. The prefect and jues de paz are to see that the Ind. have their lands assigned provisionally pending permanent regulations from the govt. The prefect to send a comisionado to act with the administrator and see that the Ind. have the same rights as those de razon. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 54. May 21st, prefect publishes the order of May 10th. *S. Diego Index*, MS., 137; *Hayes' Miss. B.*, 126. June 7th, Jesus Moreno appointed to inform vecinos that their petition has been granted, and they are to come to S. Juan on the 14th, to take temporary possession. *Id.*, 127–8,

razon, only a small part of whom ever came to occupy their lots. At the end of July regulations were published, and soon, probably in August or September,

121–2. Probably lands were assigned on the 14th. June 30th, petition to be admitted as new settlers at S. Juan from A. Janssens, Feliciano Rojas, Teodosio Yorba, José Cañedo, José M. Cañedo, Juan M. Cañedo, José A. Serrano, José Cristan, Severiano Rios, Miguel Verdugo, Eugenio Arce, José A. Yorba, Antonio Coronel, and Francisco Ocampo. Granted in a marginal note by prefect. Other similar petitions, and July 12th, a list by Agustin Olvera (who was apparently the commissioner) of all who received lands, from 100 to 300 varas each, as follows: Andrés Pico, Tomás Gutierrez, Ricardo Peña, José Lopez, Cárlos Silvas, Juan M. Marron, Jesus Moreno, Ramon Silvas, Ramon Argüello, Sant. Argüello, Sant. E. Argüello, José A. Estudillo, Narciso Botello, Juan Bandini, Agustin Olvera, Joaquin de los Rios, José Alipas, Rosario Aguilar, Blas Aguilar, Antonio Valenzuela, and the 14 already named, besides 5 free neophytes. Also list of the neophytes, each family receiving 100 varas, and each individual 50 varas, the whole amounting to 9,775 varas. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 43–53. The Ind. had the preference, and chose the eastern valley. *Hayes' Miss. B.*, 121–2. July 11th, Manuel Castañares, apparently a special comisionado, reports to the gov. that the only property belonging to the ex-mission was 5 yoke of oxen; apparently no assets and no debts. There were still living in community 26 married men, 7 widowers, and 5 single men, a total of 38 besides 4 gentiles; no. of women and children not given. C. says he assembled the people on the 10th; told them the govt was about to give them their liberty, appointed Julian captain and alcalde, but told them till the documents should come they must live as before. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 216–17. July 29th, gov. to the encargado, announcing that Bandini has orders to emancipate the Ind., examine accounts, etc. *Janssens, Doc.*, MS., 5–6.

July 29th, regulations issued by Gov. Alvarado. 'Articulos que provisionalmente deben observarse en el nuevo arreglo del establecimiento de S. Juan Capistrano.' Lands to be held as already assigned by the prefect's comisionado. Crops to be distributed according to comisionado's judgment until each native can cultivate his own land. Live-stock and implements, not being sufficient for distribution, to be kept by com. and furnished as needed. Orchards and vineyards devoted to worship and the padre's support, and to be rented by the govt in accord with the padre. Manufacturing implements, etc., to be kept in the rooms where they now are for use of Ind. workmen. Sheep may be intrusted to some person who will receive ⅓ of the increase, and will deliver the wool for use in the weaving establishment. One third of blankets, etc., manufactured to be delivered to padre for use of poor and old Ind. Of the buildings ⅓ will serve for the padre's dwelling, ⅓ for some Ind. families, and ⅓ to the com. in which to accommodate travellers, or to be rented to families de razon and the rent applied to repairs. No buildings, even in ruins, to be sold without authority of the govt. The govt to assign lands outside of those granted to the settlers for *ejidos* and *propios* of the pueblo. No Ind. can work for a private individual without a *boleta* from the com. expressing the name of the employer. Any lands abandoned by either Ind. or gente de razon for a year will belong to the pueblo and may be rented at a moderate rate, the original owner having the preference. The govt to appoint a juez de paz to be subject to the cabecera of the district. 17 articles in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 48–51.

Oct. 12th, Bandini's report. He visited S. Juan, and assembling the Ind. found that 70 desired a pueblo and 30 old men and women opposed the change. After B.'s reading and explanation of the regulations some of the latter changed their minds, and B. formally declared the ex-mission a pueblo (no exact date). He found that Janssens had been inciting the Ind. against the change and

Juan Bandini was sent to supervise the formal foundation of the pueblo, named San Juan de Argüello in honor of Don Santiago and his family. Bandini remained until March 1842, in charge of the slight remnants of community property; then for a month or two Zalvidea, with Janssens as juez interino, managed affairs; but the padre soon went to S. Luis, and Agustin Olvera was made juez de paz. From this time not much is known of pueblo annals, except that half a dozen families of gente de razon and twenty or more of ex-neophytes lived quietly, if not very prosperously, at San Juan, under Olvera as juez in 1842–3, Rosario Aguilar in 1843–4, Emigdio Véjar in 1844–5, and John Forster from July 1845. Finally in December the ex-mission buildings and gardens were sold to Forster and McKinley by order

scheming to retain his place as majordomo; therefore he removed J., ordering him to present himself with his unintelligible accounts to the govt, and appointed Santiago E. Argüello to take the place. At this time only the ex-neophytes and 4 or 5 families de razon, who had lived at S. Juan for some time, had occupied their lands. There are now 325 sheep and 146 horses. Bandini resigns his office and recommends Argüello for a successor. The resignation is accepted in a marginal note. *Id.*, 51–2. Jan. 2, 1842, Bandini had reconsidered his resignation at request of govt and taken up his residence at S. Juan. The pueblo badly demoralized, scoundrels having entered under pretence of being settlers, and vice and crime being prevalent. No man here fit for juez de paz. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 38–42.

March 7, 1842, Bandini had surrendered everything to Zalvidea, who has appointed Janssens, and B. has recognized J. as 'encargado de policía.' *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 101–2. March 18th, Janssens' appointment as juez interino approved by prefect. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 185. May 30th, Bandini's resignation accepted. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 51. April 23d, Agustin Olvera appointed juez de paz of S. Juan de Argüello with Santiago Rios as suplente. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 108; *Id., Pref. y Juzg.*, iii. 64. Dec. 10th, Olvera and Rios reappointed for 1843 by prefect, *Id.*, 107, but in Jan. Olvera declines to serve. *Id., Ang.*, MS., vii. 33. Yet Olvera was not excused, and was serving in June 1843, when he sends a list of settlers who have failed to occupy their lands, with other matter, and again asks to be relieved. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 53–4. Rosario Aguilar appears to have been appointed, since in Aug. he pleads incapacity and asks to be replaced. *Id., Ang.*, vii. 88.

Jan. 1844, Aguilar ordered to surrender the juzgado to Emigdio Véjar. *Id.*, viii. 4, 6, 16. In the report on southern missions in March 1844, S. Juan is said to be abandoned for want of a minister, and its Ind. demoralized and dispersed. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 14. July 11th, 1845, Véjar ordered to give up the juzgado to John Forster. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 63, 65. Dec. 4th, sale of the mission buildings, furniture, and gardens to John Forster and James McKinley for $710. This vol., p. 549–53; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 66; *Unb. Doc.*, MS., 390–1. Some old men acquainted with the facts say that the mission was not sold at this time. *Hayes' Miss. B.*, 121.

of the government, the first named of the purchasers remaining in possession for many years.

Respecting the other pueblos of the district, Las Flores, San Dieguito, and San Pascual, we have a few meagre items for the years 1841–2, just enough to indicate their continued existence. After 1842 nothing appears in records of this period, though San Pascual certainly and Las Flores probably were not wholly abandoned until after 1845.[8]

The population of the Los Angeles district may be supposed to have increased in 1841–5 from 1,800 to 2.000, of which number perhaps 1,250 lived in and about the town, and 750 at the ranchos and ex-missions. There was besides an ex-neophyte Indian population, in community and scattered, of 1,100 in the district.[9] During this period, and especially in the last two years, the records show some efforts on the part of citizens and authorities to encourage public improvements, to beautify the streets and buildings, and to render the city more worthy in appearance of its position as metropolis of California. It must be confessed that results were somewhat meagre, yet

[8] Tadeo and José Barrena jueces de campo for S. Dieguito, April 1841. *Hayes' Doc.*, MS., 149. Feb.–April 1841, 1842, encargados of S. Dieguito and S. Pascual appointed by juez of S. Diego. *S. D. Arch.*, MS., 283. Pio Pico encargado of Las Flores in 1842. *Id.; Hayes' Doc.*, MS., 156. In Feb.–April 1841, there was much dissatisfaction among the Ind. of Las Flores with the Picos. The juez went to see them and explain that Pico still had authority, but he appointed 3 Ind. alcaldes here, and also at S. Pascual and S. Dieguito, much to the satisfaction of the Ind. Pico required them to fence their land to keep out his cattle! *Hayes' Miss. B.*, 347. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 343, says there were 400 Ind. at Las Flores in 1842. There are no later figures. Oct. 1841, suicide of an Ind. girl at S. Pascual. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 73. In February J. A. Yorba applied for a lot 500x400 varas at Las Flores 'called also San Pedro,' but the grant was refused, as the land would not support more people than were already there. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 153–6.

[9] The most definite authority is a padron of 1844, which gives the pop. as 627 men, 500 women, 720 children, or a total of 1847, and 650 Ind., or 2,497 in all, not including the Ind. at S. Gabriel and S. Fernando or the gentiles. *Los Angeles, Ayunt. Rec.*, MS., 13. On July 26th of the same year a census is mentioned as showing 401 men. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 111; and in Aug. 1841 294 vecinos are mentioned. *Id.*, 65. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 318, gives the pop. of the district as 1,200 in 1843; and Simpson, *Narr.*, i. 402, says the town alone had 1,500 in the same year.

I have deemed the efforts worth a separate record.[10] Local events of the half-decade as appended in chronologic order, if not of the greatest importance, were at least sufficiently exciting to occupy the Angelinos' attention during a temporary lull in political and sectional controversies.[11] The leading event of 1841 was

[10] 1841. April, the alcalde calls for subscriptions to rebuild the church, Leandry being the comisionado. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 10, 31. 1842. March, the prefect interested in the subject, and thinks the curate's house would be the better for repairs. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 174. 1843. June 3d, keepers of shops and taverns must put a light in front of their places from dusk to 9 P. M. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 64–5. July, an appeal to citizens for funds to build a govt house and barrack. In response A. M. Lugo, V. Sanchez, and L. Vignes gave $500 each in effects; T. A. Yorba $400; J. Temple $300; F. J. Sepúlveda $10; T S. Colima $15; and F. J. Alvarado a bbl of wine. *Id.*, vii. 79. 1844. A social society or club was organized by leading citizens, and named Amigos del País. A lot 100 varas sq. was granted in May, free from taxes. *Id.*, v. 154–5. An adobe building was erected, with reading-room, dancing-hall, etc. After a few entertainments, according to Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 39–41, the members disagreed and the property was put up in a lottery, Andrés Pico being the lucky member. The project of a new cemetery was still agitated as in the past decade, but though the need was recognized and a site of 100 varas had been selected, there were financial difficulties. A subscription was raised, however, and work was pushed forward so that the new burial ground was consecrated by P. Esténega on Nov. 4th. Then the ayunt, formally presented it to the church on condition that there should be no church tax on burials; which the bishop declined, and claimed that by the act of consecration the cemetery became church property. The ayunt. would not accept this view, and resolved to appeal to the govt, meanwhile reserving the right to grant licenses for burial. *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 96–100; *Los Ang., Ayunt. Rec.*, MS., 8. May–Oct., long and complicated discussions on the opening, closing, and straightening of streets, especially the Callejon de Prior. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 83; *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. 164–6, 203–13; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 110. A school under Lieut Medina in prosperous condition this year. This vol., p. 403.

1845. Jan., casas consistoriales to be built on lot between Juan Domingo and Sra Uribe. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. 269. April 19th, et seq., the ayunt., on motion of Regidor Cota, resolves to ask the gov. to order the repair and plastering and whitening of house-fronts in the city; and Gov. Pico issued the decree on the 22d, requiring the work to be done within 3 months, under penalties of fine from $5 to $25. Any lot with ruined walls might be denounced after 2 months. Fines to be applied chiefly to beautifying the town. On July 19th the gov. ordered the fines collected; but on the 25th he put off the matter for a month, and no more is heard of it. *Id.*, v. 297–9; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 53–4; xi. 154–5; *Id., Ben.*, v. 347–50; *Los Ang. Co. Hist.*, 13–14. May–July, more about the streets and Prior's callejon, which he does not wish to be closed as ordered. *Bandini, Dor.*, MS., 56; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 154–6. July 26th, a committee appointed to name streets and number houses. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. 280; *Hayes' Land Matters*, 20. Sept., a priest desired and promised by the bishop; meanwhile the people must depend on the mission. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 149–50.

[11] Summary of events at Los Angeles. 1841. New Mex. caravan, the Chaguanosos, and Peg-leg Smith. This vol., p. 208. Murder of Nicholas Fink mentioned. *Id.*, 200. Fink was a German shoemaker and shop-keeper, who had lived in Cal. 5 years. On Jan. 18th, when his shop had been closed for four days, an investigation showed that he had been murdered and his place

the robbery and murder of a German trader, followed by the prompt execution of the assassins. In 1842, besides the reception of a new governor, we have the

robbed in the night of the 14th. The body was found in the shop, the skull having been broken by a blow from a gun-barrel. Ascencion Valencia, Santiago Linares, and José Duarte were soon known to be the assassins, the latter having aroused suspicion by a statement that he had seen Fink on his way to S. Fernando, and Linares confessing after a quantity of the stolen goods had been found in possession of his sweetheart. There was great excitement in town, guards were posted, citizens were required to be within doors by 10 P. M., and strict precautions were required by the prefect in a series of bandos. The prisoners were confined separately, and besides the volunteer guard, a detachment of 11 soldiers under Lieut Roberto Pardo was obtained from Sta Bárbara. There was a complaint and controversy about the support of these men, but citizens finally contributed for the purpose. Early in March the process was sent by the prefect to the governor, with a memorial signed by 33 citizens asking for prompt action and an extreme penalty. The reply was an order that the murderers be shot by soldiers, citizens arming to maintain order, within three days; and the sentence was executed between 10 and 11 A. M., on April 6th, the governor's proclamation being read publicly, and a force of mounted citizens standing guard for three days to maintain tranquillity. The proclamation was also published at Sta Bárbara. I think there is no foundation for Mofras' statement that the foreigners compelled the gov. to act by threats of summary proceedings. Eulogio Célis was the next year charged by the German chargé d'affaires in Mex. to settle Fink's estate. Details and corresp. in *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 13–17; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 55; xviii. 24; *Id., Ang.*, i. 49, 60; iii. 70–2, 76–9; vi. 16; xii. 65; *Id., Pref. y Juzg.*, iv. 6–8, 19–20; vi. 51; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 7–8, 39; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1076–85; *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., v. 202–4; vi. 15–16; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 280; *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 19; *Hayes, Doc.*, MS., 150; *Botello, Anales*, 184–6; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 323–4; *Arnaz, Recuerdos*, MS., 61.

1842. May, fears of Ind. depredations by distant tribes. This vol., p. 338. Arrival of large party of traders from N. Mex. *Id.*, 342. Arrival of Micheltorena and his battalion in Sept. *Id.*, 290–1. Dec., Gov. Micheltorena takes the oath of office; great festivities. *Id.*, 294–5. Sir Geo. Simpson describes Los Angeles, which he did not visit, as 'the noted abode of the lowest drunkards and gamblers of the country. This den of thieves is situated, as one may expect from its being almost twice as populous as the two other pueblos taken together, in one of the loveliest and most fertile districts of Cal.' *Narrative*, i. 402. Discovery of gold at S. Francisco rancho in March. This vol., p. 296–7. This subject seems of sufficient importance to justify the following summary of documentary evidence. May 3d, prefect appoints Ignacio del Valle encargado de justicia at the gold mines. He may collect fees from all comers, as the land is his, and must report so that the ground may be legally apportioned. Dues on liquors and other effects must be collected as in town. Francisco Zorrilla is named as suplente. *Valle, Doc.*, MS., 57; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 121. Janssens, in a newspaper scrap, describes Zorrilla as a Sonoran *gambusino* who worked for a long time in these mines, and finally disappeared in the rush of 1848. May 6th, Manuel Requena to Barron, says the gold was discovered in March, two leagues had been prospected, the miners were few and without skill, making $2 per day each. *Requena, Doc.*, MS., 4–5. Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 42–4, says the discovery was in April. In *Los Angeles Hist.*, 10–11, it is stated that Francisco Lopez made the discov. accidentally, finding, in pulling some wild onions, a pebble like some that Andrés Castillero had found before and had declared to indicate the presence of gold. Bidwell, *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 215–19, who visited the mines in 1845 when 30 men, chiefly N. Mexicans, were

discovery of gold and a mining excitement. The visit of Commodore Jones and the thieving exploits of the cholo battalion were in 1843 the leading fea-

making 25 cents per day each, describes the methods, and names Jean B. Rouelle as the discoverer. Alvarado, *Descub. de Oro*, MS., describes the accidental finding by two peasants of particles looking like copper, but pronounced gold by Sonoran experts in town. From the first gold brought to Monterey the gov. had earrings for his wife and a ring for his daughter made —the ring having been for a time in my possession. May 13th, prefect notifies alcalde at Angeles of Valle's appointment, and that many people are going to the placeres. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 211, 256–8. May 14th, gov. asks for information which was sent in Aug. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 63, 65; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 32, 36. Same date, prefect to gov. on the subject. *Id., Pref. y Juzg.*, iii. 64. June 17th, Valle's report to prefect. Only a few miners, getting not over $1 per day. Prospects apparently favorable; placer of great extent; small nuggets found. No tax should be imposed yet. 100 men at one time, not over 50 now. Great lack of water. Miners will return with the rains. Good order preserved. *Id.*, iii. 15–17. Oct. 16th, Bandini denounces a mine in the S. Bernardino region, as he had also done a year before. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 117–19; v. 478. Aug. 6, 1843, Alfred Robinson to Abel Stearns from N. Y., sending mem. of gold carried from Cal. in 1842 and deposited in the Phil. mint in July 1843. In archives of Cal. Pioneers, and printed in several newspapers. Stearns in a letter of 1867, *Ib.*, also names Francisco Lopez as the discoverer, and gives the date correctly as March. Wiggins, *Remin.*, MS., 19, claims to have visited the mines in 1843. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 489, mentions them as worked by Charles Baric, and yielding about 1 oz. per day. Apr. 20, 1844, placer mentioned in a letter of Hartnell to Wyllie. *Pico, Doc.*, i. 88. Castañares, *Col. Doc.*, 10, 22–3, reported and exaggerated the discov. in Mex. March 18, 1846, ayunt. appoints a com. to gather information with a view to regulate the working of the 'San Feliciano' placeres. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. 331. June 30, 1846, Larkin writes to N. Y. *Sun* that a common laborer can pick up $2 per day. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iv. 183.

1843. Jan., Com. Jones at Angeles and his entertainment by the gov. and citizens. This vol., 321–2. Some descriptive matter in *Jones' Unpub. Narr.* Micheltorena and his cholo batallon, their troubles and depredations at Los Angeles Jan.–June. This vol., 350–4, 364–5. Oath to the bases orgánicas or new Mexican constitution in Oct. *Id.*, 359. Election for congressmen, Palomares the elector. *Id.*, 361. 1844. A prosperous school in operation under Lieut Medina. *Id.*, 403. Military organization for the impending war with the U. S. in July. *Id.*, 407. Renewed agitation of the capital question, Angeles vs Monterey, Sta Inés as a compromise. *Id.*, 411–12. Reports of the revolt against the gov., and attempts at military organization in Dec. *Id.*, 404, 462, 475.

1845. Jan., the city captured and converted by the northern rebels against Micheltorena under Castro and Alvarado; organization of a foreign company; meeting of the junta. *Id.*, 490–7. Feb., unsuccessful negotiations with Micheltorena; Pio Pico declared gov.; campaign and battle of Cahuenga, downfall of Micheltorena, and treaty of S. Fernando. *Id.*, 497–517. Capital, governor, and assembly at Angeles. *Id.*, 518–22. March–April, arrest of Valdés and Moreno; prisoners' revolt. *Id.*, 522–3. June–July, sessions of the assembly; prefectures reëstablished with Angeles as 1st district. *Id.*, 531–4. July, etc., Indian troubles in the S. Bernardino region; much corresp. and slight results. *Id.*, 543–4. Wilson, *Observ.*, MS., 29, 34–5, says that he discovered and named Bear Lake during this Ind. campaign. Aug.–Oct., sessions of assembly; gov. vs com.-gen.; Pico and J. A. Carrillo; revolt of the garrison in Sept.; elections; Varela revolt in Nov. This vol., p. 536–41. Ignacio del Valle as treasurer; death of J. M. Híjar. *Id.*, 557, 530.

tures of southern annals. 1844 was the tamest year of the five, but the citizens agitated anew the capital question, and expressed some patriotic sentiments against foreign invaders and northern rebels. In 1845 there was a return of the old 'war times' of 1837–8, including two battles, and resulting in Los Angeles being recognized as the capital with a southern governor. Then came a series of local tumults and revolts and the beginnings of what was destined to be the last political controversy, under Mexican rule, between north and south. The prefecture of the second district was held by Santiago Argüello in 1841–3, and by Manuel Dominguez for the last seven months of 1843. There was no prefect in 1844, the system being abolished by Governor Micheltorena, after whose fall it was restored by Pico in July with Los Angeles as the first district and José Sepúlveda as sub-prefect, the governor's presence removing in theory the necessity of a prefect.[12] In 1841–3 municipal affairs were

[12] Prefecture, municipal government, official list, and criminal record of Los Angeles. 1841. Prefect Santiago Argüello; sec. Narciso Botello. Jueces de paz Ignacio Palomares, Ignacio M. Alvarado; sec. Raimundo Carrillo (in Feb. at least). Tax-collector, etc., Basilio Valdés; munic. receipts $754, expend. $695. Salary of the sec. $20 per month. The prefect in letters to Capt. Guerra complains of the scandalous prevalence of concubinage and immorality, not only in town, but throughout the district. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vii. 82–3. Feb., list of 30 vagrants sent to gov. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iv. 3. Many orders of various dates on gambling and sale of liquors. April, Ricardo Uribe, a returned exile, to be sent to Sonoma. *Id.*, ii. 55. Prefect ordered by gov. to pay back from his salary funds taken by him for office expenses from Stearns' fines as a smuggler. *Id.*, iv. 1–2. A soldier gets 25 blows for stealing a horse. *Id., Ang.*, vi. 13. Oct., Sepúlveda, when drunk, attacked Judge Palomares in his home and lost an eye in the affray, for which he was fined $10. The prefect appointed Leandry as a special judge in this case. *Id., Ben.*, iv. 10–11. Dec., list of 18 prisoners, 12 out on bail. *Id., Ang.*, vi. 83.

1842. Prefect Santiago Argüello; sec. José Ramon Argüello from Feb. 1st. Jueces de paz Manuel Dominguez and José L. Sepúlveda y Ávila; no sec. named. Jueces de campo Antonio Ign. Ávila, Macedonio Aguilar, Ramon Lugardo Ibarra, Fernando Sepúlveda (not approved), Felipe Valenzuela, José M. Lopez; encargado de justicia at the gold mines Ignacio del Valle, suplente Francisco Zorrilla. Recaudador, Valdés; receipts $747, expend. $737, the collector's percentage being $59. Botello, *Anales del Sur*, MS., 186, mentions the execution of Antonio Valencia for killing Antonio Águila who was beating his little brother; but I find no other record. Jan., alcalde exiles a woman for adultery. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., vi. 91. Feb., citizens living at old S. Gabriel must be made to come and live in town as soon as the crop is harvested. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 151–2. A. M. Ortega fined by prefect for refusing to act as juez suplente. *Dept. St. Pap., B.*

managed by two justices of the peace, the first judge being successively Ignacio Palomares, Manuel Dominguez, and Antonio F. Coronel. In 1844 the ayun-

P. & J., MS., iii. 72–4. July 7th, Samuel Taggart, for a crime not specified but committed in 1841, is executed by the governor's order, a guard of 20 soldiers coming from Sta Bárbara. His accomplice, Henry Richards, was sentenced to 10 years' presidio in Jalisco. *Id.*, iv. 41; *Id., Ang.*, vi. 133; *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., ii. 246–59. Dec., a woman accuses her cousin of leading a bad life, which she confesses. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 35.

1843. Prefect Argüello till May 16th, when he resigned, Manuel Dominguez assuming the office temporarily on that date and receiving the governor's appointment a few days later. At the same time Botello resumed the secretaryship. Jueces de paz Manuel Dominguez and Antonio F. Coronel till May, Coronel and Rafael Gallardo from May, but the former resigned in Oct. Jueces de campo perhaps same as before; Macedonio Aguilar suspended in Dec. Recaudador Tomás Sanchez; receipts $849.37, expend. $849.25, fees $29.25. *Los Ang., Ayunt. Rec.*, MS., 3. March, case of a woman prostituting herself in a group of soldiers. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 53. June, police regulations issued by prefect. *Id.*, 64–6. June, case of Francisca Sepúlveda, daughter of José, engaged to marry Noriega, an officer of the batallon, but whose grandfather and others by invoking the aid of prefect and juez succeeded in breaking off the match, luckily, as N. later proved himself a scamp. *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 229–31, 233. July, 9 deserters from the batallon to be arrested. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 74. Oct. 11th, Juez Coronel fined Rubio $12 for insulting officers at a tavern; the military commandant against C.'s orders took Rubio and put him in irons and flogged him; whereupon C. resigned his office, deeming his dignity outraged. Perhaps his resignation was not accepted. *Id.*, vii. 91, 94. Dec., death of J. B. Leandry. P. Esténega refuses burial because L. had not paid his tithes; but the prefect decides against the padre. *Id.*, 103. Election of an ayunt. for the next year. Dec. 23d, *Id., Ben. P. & J.*, iii. 113–14; *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., i. 106–9.

1844. No prefect. Alcaldes Manuel Requena, Tiburcio Tapia; regidores Luis Arenas, William Wolfskill, Felipe Lugo, Cristóbal Aguilar; síndico Juan Bandini; sec. Ignacio Coronel. Jueces de campo (now called celadores rurales) José Cármen Lugo, Ramon Ibarra, Tomás Talamantes, Pedro Ávila, Juan Ávila, Tomás Colima, Bernardo Yorba. Agente de policía Gabriel de la Torre. Comisionado de zanjas Vicente Sanchez from April; zanjeros Gaspar Valenzuela, Antonio M. Valdés, José M. Lopez. Munic. receipts $996, expend. $965. *Los Ang., Arch.*, v. 265, and monthly acts passim. Jan. 5th, 1st meeting of the ayunt., Monday fixed for weekly sessions, committees appointed, and other routine business. *Id.*, v. 106–8. Jan. 12th, Lugo claims exemption from service as regidor because he had been suspended formerly as alcalde, but this was overruled by the gov. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 28. Jan. 23d, munic. regulations in 21 articles. *Id., Ang.*, viii. 1. Feb., ayunt. wishes the govt to pay rent for the curates' house used as a barrack. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 30. Aug., complaint that celadores neglected their duties, and a sargento (agente?) de policía was to be appointed at $10 to oversee them. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. 192–3. Nov., ayunt. resolves to divide the city into sections of 500 inhab. each, and to appoint a comisionado to register voters. *Id.*, v. 235–6, 240. Dec. 16th, primary elections had not taken place for lack of voters. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 37.

1845. Sub-prefect José L. Sepúlveda appointed July 12th at $600 salary, which he deemed too little. The assembly refused to raise the salary, and S. seems to have taken the office unwillingly, and perhaps resigned, as the place was offered in Oct. to A. F. Coronel, who declined. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 106; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 167–8; viii. 3. Alcaldes Vicente Sanchez, Juan Sepúlveda; regidores Felipe Lugo, Cristóbal Aguilar, Leonardo Cota, Luis Jor-

tamiento was restored, and the chief alcaldes this year and the next were Manuel Requena and Vicente Sanchez. Jueces del campo, or rural guards, were appointed each year to watch over the enforcement of law in the suburbs and at the ranchos. There was much complaint of immorality, disorders, and theft of live-stock, the criminal record including several murders, and four or five men being executed for crime by the governor's order. About thirty new ranchos were granted in these years to private owners;[13] and the rancheros, notwithstanding the depreda-

dan; síndico Basilio Valdés; sec. Ignacio Coronel. Jueces del campo A. M. Lugo, Macedonio Aguilar, Ignacio Reyes, Antonio Ign. Ávila, Francisco García at S. Feliciano. Munic. receipts to Aug., all expended, $593. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. passim. Jan. 7th, sess. of ayunt., routine business. Stores may be opened on Sunday after mass, but no liquor sold, and bottles to be covered. Sessions to be on Saturdays; fine for absence $5. *Id.*, 268–9, 278; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 37–8. March, Gov. Pico's corresp. on the necessity of doing something to check crime. *Id.*, xi. 143; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., xi. 4–5. March 19th, ayunt. discusses a plan to increase revenues by taxing property; also favors a direct tax for schools. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. 287–91. April. govt has no funds to support the presbyter A. M. Jimenez as parish priest, but a subscription of $168 is raised in June. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. y J.*, MS., ii. 130–1. May, many complaints that prisoners are not properly treated. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 33. May 12th, number of estates, vineyards, etc., to be estimated for purposes of taxation. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 52–3. June, alcalde orders the return to his family of a man who had enlisted. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. y J.*, MS., ii. 119. July, Alcalde Sanchez says that Fran. Sepúlveda and other 'low persons' are circulating a petition for his removal. He desires his acts investigated. *Id.*, 138. Sept., 4 prisoners set to work on the national buildings. *Id.*, 133. Gov. objects to prisoners being sentenced to work for private individuals. *Id., Ang.*, xi. 160. Oct. 16th, gov. orders garrison dissolved, and an aux force of citizens to keep order and guard prisoners. *Id.*, 164.

[13] Ranchos of Los Angeles district 1841–5. (See vol. iii., chap. xxiii., for grants of 1831–40.) Those marked with a * were rejected by the land commission or U.S. courts. Agua Mansa, a part of Jurupa in S. Bernardino region, obtained in 1841 by Lorenzo Trujillo's N. Mex. colony, whose settlement was called S. Salvador. *Hayes' Em. Notes*, 642–3. Aguage del Centinela, granted in 1844 to Ignacio Machado; B. Ávila claimant. Alamitos, sold by Fran. Figueroa to Stearns. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 132. *Alamos y Agua Caliente, 1843, Pedro C. Carrillo, who was the cl. Alisos, see Cañada. Azuza, 1½ l., 1841, A. Duarte, who was cl. Bolsa Chica, 2 l., 1841, J. Ruiz, who was cl. Brea, see Rincon de la Brea. *Cahuenga, 6 l. and ¼ l., 1845, 1843, J. Y. Limantour and José Miguel Triunfo; L. and D. W. Alexander being cl. Cañada de los Alisos, 2 l., gr. in 1842, and extended in 1846 to José Serrano, who was cl. Cañada de los Nogales, ½ l., 1844, José M. Águila, who was cl. Castac, 5 l., 1843, José M. Covarrubias, who was cl. Chino, or Sta Ana del Chino, 5 and 3 l., 1841, 1845, A. M. Lugo and Isaac Williams, who were cl. Ciénega or Paso de la Tijera, 1 l., and 6-7 l., 1843, Vicente Sanchez, who with others was cl. Encino, 1 l., 1845, Ramon, Francisco, and Roque; Vicente de la Ossa cl. Escorpion, 1½ l., 1845, Odon and Manuel, who were cl. Félix, 1½ l., 1843, M. J. Verdugo, who was cl.

tions of cattle-thieves, were prosperous as far as the easy gaining of a living was concerned; that is, as far as they cared to prosper.

Jabonera, asked for by Santiago Martinez for himself and 20 N. Mex. families discontented with S. Bernardino, but decided to be private property. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 112, 23–4. Jurupa, purchased by B. D. Wilson, for $1,000 per league as he states in *Hayes' Doc.*, MS., 11. *Matzultaques, 4 l., gr. 1845, Ramon Carrillo, J. B. Frisbie cl. Merced (old mission), 1 l., 1844, Casilda Soto; F. P. F. Temple et al. cl. Muscupiabe, 1 l., 1843, Michael White, who was cl. Miguel, 3 l., 1842, Juan Ávila et al., who were cl. Potrero de Felipe Lugo, 1845, Teodoro Romero et al.; Jorge Morillo cl. Potrero Grande, 1 l., 1845, Manuel Antonio; J. Matías Sanchez cl. Providencia, 1 l., 1843, Vicente de la Ossa; D. W. Alexander and F. Mellus cl. Puente, 48,000 acres, 1845, John Rowland and Wm Workman, who were cl. The grant was really obtained in 1842, P. Duran protesting in a letter to the Mex. govt against the governor's sale of this and other mission ranches. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1131–2; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 81–3; *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 39. Rincon de la Brea, 1 l., 1841, Gil Ibarra, who was cl. This rancho seems to have been called Cañada de la Brea originally, and the padres feared an intention to make it include the Rinconada de la Puente. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 6–7; *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 56–7. Rincon de los Bueyes, 3-5 l., 1821, confirmed in 1843 to Bernardo Higuera; Fran. Higuera et al. cl. *San Antonio, 4,000 varas, 1842, Nicholas A. Den; R. S. Den. cl. San Antonio, 1 l., 1831 (misprint for 1841 ?), María Rita Valdés, who was cl. La Cañada, 8 l., 1842, José del Cármen Lugo et al., who were cl. San Bernardino, 2 l., 1843, Ignacio Coronel; J. R. Scott and Ben Hayes cl. *San Emigdio, 4 l., 1842, José Antonio Dominguez; F. Dominguez et al. cl. San Francisquito, 2 l., 1845, Henry Dalton, who was cl. San Gabriel Mission. The mission lands were asked for in 1845 by José Ant. García for 33 N. Mex. settlers, but his petition was not granted. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 50. For grants of small lots near S. Gabriel in 1843–5, and finally confirmed to the grantees, see nos 408, 415, 417–19, 424–5, 448, 466–8, 489, of the land com. cases. San José de Buenos Aires, 1 l., 1843, Máximo Alanis; B. D. Wilson cl. San Pascual, 3½ l., 1843, M. Garfias, who was cl. San Pedro cannot be attached for Dominguez's debts, as it was a colonization grant for his family, 1841. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 98–9. Santa Ana del Chino, see Chino. Santa Anita, 3 l., 1841, 1845, Prefecto Hugo Reid; Henry Dalton cl. Santa Gertrudis, no date (part of the main rancho), A. M. Nieto; Z. Sanchez Colima cl. Tajanta, 1 l., 1843, Anastasio Ávila; Enrique Ávila cl. Tejon, 22 l., 1843, J. A. Aguirre and Ignacio del Valle, who were cl. Trabuco, 5 l., 1841. 1846, Sant. Argüello et al., John Forster, who was cl. Yucaipa, refused to an applicant in 1841, as included in the tract of the S. Bernardino colony. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 79.

See record of cases in *Hoffman's Reports*. See nos 376–7, for grants of small tracts to J. M. Ramirez in 1841 and Vicente de la Ossa in 1842, conf. to Daniel Sexton, locality not specified. In *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 2, is a list of some 50 ranchos as classified in 1844 for supervision by the 7 celadores. The ranchos of this list not mentioned (or at least not by the same names) in my lists of 1831–45 are Los Mejicanos (in the S. Bern. region), Rodeo de Los Angeles, Palos Verdes (granted in 1846), Rancho Nuevo, La Mesa, La Osa (probably Providencia), Pacífico, Juan Perez (perhaps Paso de Bartolo), and Juan Pablo y Peralta. On the contrary, the following of my lists do not appear in this: Bolsa Chica, Castac, Ciénegas, Escorpion, Habra, Merced, Ojo de Agua, Paso de Bartolo (Perez ?), Providencia (La Osa ?), S. Antonio, S. José Buenos Aires, Sta Anita, Sauzal Redondo, Tejon, Tujunga, and Virgenes. See also *Los Ang. Co. Hist.*, passim, for much information on rancho history at different periods.

In 1841 some steps were taken to assign the 4 leagues of land belonging

San Pedro continued to be visited each year by many vessels of the trading fleet, offering rich cargoes of inland produce to compensate for its deficiencies as a port, which were fully appreciated by all who had occasion to anchor here. An auxiliary juez at the Dominguez rancho exercised a kind of authority over the region; John Forster was made captain of the port in 1843; and a collector of municipal taxes was appointed by the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles the next year. In 1841 the Hudson's Bay Company proposed an establishment here that was never founded. Mofras touched here in 1841–2, including in his work a chart of the port. The *Tasso's* captain was arrested here in connection with the Jones invasion in 1842: and in 1843 Commodore Jones landed here on his way to the city with no warlike intent. In 1844 the Angelinos tried to obtain a receptor for San Pedro, which they declared to be a much better harbor than that at Santa Bárbara; and in 1845 the assembly took steps to make it a puerto menor, with a receptor at a salary of $500, like San Francisco. Here the exiled governor, Micheltorena, embarked on the *Don Quixote* in this last year of the period.

Father Esténega remained at his post at San Gabriel throughout the decade, having charge not only of spiritual affairs, but generally of temporal interests as well.[14] He was aided by Juan Perez and later

to the pueblo, but little or nothing was accomplished. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. y J.*, MS., iv. 64. March 4, 1844, action of the ayunt. on town lands, which if not cultivated by the owner may be denounced; the govt asked to authorize a tax on the lands; lands granted by the ayunt. cannot be sold. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., v. 126–7. March 11th, holders of lots having no title must present themselves. *Id.*, v. 131. 1845. Machado's complaints that the ayunt. had despoiled him of certain lands. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 56, 65–9.

[14] San Gabriel affairs. 1841. Juan C. Perez majordomo under the padre. The prefect complained that the place had become a brothel, blaming both padre and majordomo. Jan., mission cattle 805 head. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., iii. 72. Feb., Esténega complains of Perez's mismanagement, and Perez of the padre's distrust. The prefect on investigation decides that the majordomo has been at fault, taking $280 more than his salary. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 49; *Id., Ben. P. & J.*, iv. 8–10. May, Esténega complains of encroachments of citizens at Mision Vieja, who are therefore ordered to come to the town. *Id.*, vi. 22–3, 29. June, complaints that two persons have carried away beams and bricks from S. Bernardino. *Id., Ang.*, vi. 36. July,

Manuel Olivera as majordomos; but there was no semblance of prosperity, and a constant if not very rapid decrease of mission property, the padre himself going so far as to sell small tracts of land and superfluous effects, though he bitterly complained of the granting of mission ranchos, and was unwilling to give up the estates in 1845 when their renting was resolved on by the government. The final inventory is unfortunately missing, so that the amount of live-stock and other property is not known; but we may be sure the remnant was very small. At the end of

cook and vaquero discharged on account of poverty of the mission. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 59. Oct., list of effects received and expend. from Feb. The chief items of the former are 100 bbls wine, 47 hides; and of the latter 130 bbls wine and 54 hides. 300 fan. maize to be harvested in Nov. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., x. 2. Nov., arrival of Rowland and Workman from N. Mex., who the next year got the mission rancho of La Puente. This vol., p. 277, 331.

1842. Perez still majordomo. Picture of the mission in *Robinson's Life in Cal.* Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 330, gives the pop. as 500, being followed by Gleeson and others. Francisco Figueroa attempts to sell a piece of land ceded by the padre to his brother in 1834, but is prevented by the prefect. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 182–4; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 65–7.

1843. Perez ordered March 1st to give up the administration of property to P. Esténega. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 42; this vol., p. 369, 371. Hugo Reid was encargado de justicia for a district including the mission from this year. For grants of lots near the mission in 1843–5 to Manuel Olivera, Próspero Valenzuela, Emilio Joaquin, Serafin de Jesus, Arno Maube, J. Alvitre, A. Valenzuela, Michael White, Ramon Valencia, Francisco Sales, Manuel Sales Tasion, and Felipe, see list in *Hoffman's Reports*, nos 408, 415, 417–19, 424–5, 448, 466–8, 489.

1844. P. Esténega assisted by the presbyter Antonio M. Jimenez. The estate in bad condition, with 300 Indians, according to an original report in *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 14. May, a subscription taken for funds to pay for repairing the church bells. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 17.

1845. Juan Perez again appears as majordomo, but in Oct. is succeeded by Manuel Olivera. *Id.*, 55; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 63. April, complaints of scandalous robberies of stock by Indians and vecinos. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 40–1. May, P. Esténega reprimanded for having sold land to Dalton, and admits having disposed of some effects of no use to the Ind. *Id., Ben. P. & J.*, ii. 119; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 187–8; this vol., p. 548. May 7th, José A. García, for himself and 33 New Mexicans, asks for a grant of the mission lands, which is refused. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 50. June–July, Andrés Pico and Juan Manso, comisionados to take inventories for renting the mission, have trouble with Esténega, who refuses to surrender the estate, but yields on an order from Duran, and the property is turned over before July 7th. This vol., p. 549–50. The inventory is not extant. July, Hugo Reid reports the Ind. as alarmed at a statement by Juan Perez that they are to be kept in greater subjection than before, and will never be free; whereupon the administrator (Olivera?) is authorized to assure them that the govt has no desire to keep them in slavery. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 175; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 63.

the half-decade there were but 250 Indians, probably less, remaining in the community.

The branch establishment at San Bernardino seems not to have been reoccupied by a neophyte community after the Indian troubles in 1834. The rancho was granted to the Lugos in 1842, who sold to the Mormons nine years later. In 1841, however, a colony of New Mexicans settled in the same region under the leadership of Lorenzo Trujillo, obtaining a tract of the Jurupa rancho from Bandini, and calling their establishment Agua Mansa, or San Salvador. Nothing is known of events in the early annals of this colony; but in 1845 the settlers became discontented, and made an effort to obtain lands nearer the city.[15]

Padre Blas Ordaz was the minister at San Fernando, and manager of the estate from 1843, Villavicencio's administration having continued to April of that year. There are no statistics to show the rate of decadence in property and population; but I suppose there may have been 300 ex-neophytes in the community at the last. Ordaz claimed to have achieved a degree of success during his exclusive management; and that this establishment was comparatively prosperous is shown by the fact that it was one of the few whose financial embarrassments did not prevent its being leased on favorable terms. Andrés Pico and Juan Manso became the lessees in December 1845, agreeing to pay an annual rent of $1,120.[16]

[15] On the early history of S. Bernardino, see *Hayes' Em. Notes*, 642-3, 650-1; *S. Bern. Times*, July 8, 1876; *S. Bern. Co. Hist.*, 83-4; *Frazee's S. Bern.*, 15-18. Nov. 1841, an applicant for Yucaipa is told that it belongs to the tract of the colony. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 79. May 1845, application for S. Gabriel mission lands. *Ley. Rec.*, MS., iv. 50. Aug., application for La Jabonera. *Id.*, 112, 22-4. Both efforts were successful.

[16] 1841. Nov., statistics of the year showing as the total of receipts for 11 months, $5,854; expend., $8,507; inventory of effects on land Oct. 31st, $6,208. The items are as follows: silver $20, 137 hides $205, 44 arr. tallow $55, 11 arr. lard $22, 98 bbls brandy $4,500, 27 bbls wine $580, 15 fan. beans $37, 300 fan. corn $600, 10 sides of leather $28, soap $160. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., 22-4. 1842. Receipts for April $1,134, expend. $1,998. *Id.*, xi. 47. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 320, 360, found some signs of prosperity, and gives the pop. as 400. Aug. 8th, alcalde orders that if the *salina* is in condition S. Fernando be permitted to take a little salt. *Valle, Doc.*, MS., 60. Discovery of gold on land formerly belonging to this mission. This vol., p. 296, 630-1. Gov. Michel-

Says Sir George Simpson, whose visit was in 1842: "Santa Bárbara is somewhat larger than Monterey, containing about 900 inhabitants, while the one is just as much a maze without a plan as the other Here, however, anything of the nature of resemblance ends, Santa Bárbara in most respects being to Monterey what the parlor is to the kitchen. Among all the settlements as distinguished from the rascally pueblos, Santa Bárbara possesses the double advantage of being both the oldest and the most aristocratic. The houses are not only well finished at first, but are throughout kept in good order; and the whitewashed adobes and the painted balconies and verandas form a pleasing contrast with the overshadowing roofs blackened by means of bitumen, the produce of a neighboring spring. Nor is the superiority of the inhabitants less striking than that of their houses." Then follows a eulogy of the fair Barbareñas.[17] For an estimate of the gain in white population, 900 in 1840, there is but slight basis in contemporary records, but as no circumstances are known to prevent a considerable increase, I put the number at 1,000 at the end of the half-decade. Meanwhile the christianized, semi-civilized, or ex-neophyte Indians had decreased from 1,350 to 1,000, of which number only 730 were still living in the ex-mission communities. As in the other districts, I index and summarize in a note the meagre

torena here on his way north when he hears of Com. Jones' invasion at Monterey. *Id.*, 291, 315–16. 1843. Temporal management restored to the padre. *Id.*, 369, 371. Ant. F. Coronel and Félix Valdés appointed by the gov. as *interventores* for the transfer April 23d. *Coronel, Doc.*, MS., 227. 1844. Report of March 18th, scarcely any live-stock, but some vines. The doc. is unfortunately torn so as not to show the pop. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., i. 14. 1845, battle at Cahuenga. This vol., p. 503–10. Exped. organized against Ind. *Id.*, 543. May, P. Ordaz claims to have administered the estate successfully, paying off all the debts and purchasing 120 head of live-stock, besides making other improvements. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 187. Renting of the estate by Gov. Pico's orders in Dec. This vol. p. 552–3.

[17] *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 379–81. Peirce, *Journal*, MS., 90, also gives a flattering picture of the place in the same year. Mofras gives the pop. of the pueblo and district as 800. *Explor.*, i. 318, 369–70. In *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. and J.*, MS., ii. 14–15, is a list of 56 owners of ranchos, 7 or 8 of whom are foreigners, 4 women, and 2 neophytes.

array of local occurrences.[18] There was nothing to disturb the monotonous tranquillity of existence at this town, unless we note as slight exceptions the festivities attending the bishop's arrival in 1842, a very feeble and short-lived revolt in connection with the movement against Micheltorena in 1844, and a similar rising of the military against the civil authorities in 1845 in the interest of Castro against Pico; but the visits of trading vessels were frequent; travellers by land were always glad to prolong their stay in this hospitable burg; and social diversions were always in order.

The rolls of the presidial company showed a rank and file of 34 to 38 men, involving a nominal expense of $700 to $900 per month, the force actually on duty at the presidio, including inválidos, being from 10 to 15 men, and the actual cost being the varying amount of rations they could get; this in 1841–3, after which there are no definite reports.[19] Captain José de la

[18] Sta Bárbara affairs. 1841. Headquarters of the otter-hunters in this and following years. This vol., p. 209. 1842. Visits of Simpson, Peirce, Mofras, Sandels, and Com. Jones, which resulted in some descriptive matter in print and MS., with a chart in Mofras' work and views of town and mission in that of Robinson, who left Cal. this year. *Id.*, 218–19, 224, 250, 253, 314, 320, 345–6. Arrival of Bishop García Diego in Jan., his grand reception and grander plans. *Id.*, 332–5. 1843. Generous contributions to the bishop's fund. *Id.*, 372–3. In *Robbins' Diary*, MS., 1–13, are found the author's weather records from Jan. to March. 1844. The bishop makes a pastoral tour in the north, and returns to Sta B. This vol., p. 427. May, Gov. Micheltorena opens Sta B. to the coasting trade, and José Ant. de la Guerra become receptor, acting also as captain of the port. *Id.*, 431–2. Nov., revolt of 8 men in support of the Monterey revolt against Micheltorena. Their submission, imprisonment, and pardon. *Id.*, 462, 475–6. Castañares in his letter of Sept. 1st to the Mex. govt, *Castañares, Col. Doc.*, 42, says that Sta B. isles are the resort of smugglers. They should be settled, and a presidio established on Sta Cruz. Streeter, *Recoll.*, MS., 20–33, describes his own successful efforts to resist the small-pox by vaccination, and the evil results of impure virus used by 'another doctor.' Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 273-4, notes a Shakesperian performance got up by W. D. M. Howard and John C. Jones. 1845. Feb., Micheltorena's army here on the way south. This vol., p. 491, 501. Aug. 10th, election of 8 compromisarios, who on Sept. 7th choose two electores de partido. *Id.*, 540; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1161; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 49. Nov., Capt. Flores' revolt and arrest of the civil authorities. This vol., p. 540–2. Thomes, in his *On Land and Sea*, spins some yarns, all strictly true let us hope, of his sailor-boy adventures at this port in 1843–5.

[19] Military items of Sta Bárbara. Company rosters, pay-rolls, etc., in *Dept. St. Pap., B. M.*, MS., lxxxv. 1, 8, 10; lxxxvi. 6, 7; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxvii. passim; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1114–15, 1135–7, 1140; *Guerra, Doc.*,

Guerra y Noriega, old, infirm, and discouraged at the governor's apathy in the matter of military reorganization, retired from active service in April 1842, leaving the command of the post to Brevet Lieut-colonel Gumesindo Flores, and of the company to Alférez Roberto Pardo. Ignacio del Valle was habilitado to July 1841, followed by Pardo; and José Lugo continued to hold the place of second alférez. Flores and Pardo were in command until 1845.

The sub-prefecture was resigned by Raimundo Carrillo in January 1841, and though steps were taken and a trio of candidates recommended for the appointment of a successor, I find no record of any incumbent in 1842–3. On the restoration of the prefectures in 1845, Anastasio Carrillo received the appointment in July.[20] Municipal affairs were managed by a succession of jueces de paz, or alcaldes, in 1844–5, during the suppression of the prefecture, as follows: Fernando Ticó, Joaquin Carrillo, Juan Camarillo, José M. Covarrubias, and Nicholas A. Den, each aided by a second, or suplente.[21] Items connected

MS., passim. Jan. 25, 1842, Flores' appointment as com. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 49–50. April 1st, Guerra y Noriega turns over com. to Flores and Pardo. *Id.*, 219. Capt. José Carrillo (José de la Guerra y Carrillo?) acting as com. in Sept. 1845. *Dept. St. Pap., B. M.*, MS., lxxviii. 51. Juan P. Ayala acting in same capacity in same month. *Cota, Doc.*, MS., 17. Jan. 1841. Guerra to gov. on the necessity of increasing the force, and Alvarado's unfavorable reply of Feb. 7th. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vi. 12–13. April 9th, Guerra says he had 'to send a force to Los Angeles on duty, 'barefooted and badly equipped.' *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1092. July 9, 1842, the com. has ordered the soldiers to retire from service to gain their own living, since there is nothing to eat, and the govt will not force the missions to contribute; but 10 men at request of juez are retained to guard prisoners, etc. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vi. 129. Lieut Manuel Marquez was here in 1843. Jan. 30, 1841, due the company since Feb. 1839, $9,008. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1114–16. Received from missions for 2d half of the year $404. *Guerra, Doc.*, vi. 89. Paid to comp. from the treasury from 1839 to 1842, $10,814. *Id.* In store March 1842, $259. *Id.*, 90.

[20] R. Carrillo's resignation Jan. 15, 1841. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., vi. 50. Trio proposed by prefect to gov., Joaquin Carrillo, José A. de la Guerra, and A. M. Ortega. *Id.*, iv. 5; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 5; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 45. July 12 or 15, 1845, appointment of A. Carrillo. *Id., Ben. P. & J.*, ii. 84, 17; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 64; *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 55–6. July 4th, the assembly makes the Cuesta de Sta Susana the boundary of the partido. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 35.

[21] Pueblo officials and municipal affairs. 1841. Jueces de paz Fernando Ticó and Santiago Lugo, José Moraga síndico, Raimundo Carrillo sec. to Oct., succeeded by Francisco Lopez. Jan. 28th, in reply to the demand of

with the municipal government and administration, though somewhat more numerous and better recorded than in the preceding decade, are of but little moment. A list of some twenty-five private ranchos granted during the five years is appended.[22]

the prefect for a list of vagrants, the juez replies that there are none in his jurisdiction. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 17. March, efforts of prefect to check drunkenness on Sundays. Juez says the evil is exaggerated, and that his regulations are very effective, though some will buy liquor on Saturday to drink on Sunday. *Id.*, 19; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., i. 55; iii. 89. July, a prisoner who has been shut up 9 months for homicide in irons, living on charity, wishes permission to work for food and clothes. *Id.*, vi. 50. Oct., Pedro Ortega kills his wife at Refugio, Miguel Cota being an accomplice. Both arrested. *Id.*, vi. 70.

1842. Jueces de paz Joaquin Carrillo and Antonio M. Ortega, the latter declining to serve and being replaced by Juan Camarillo in March. Tax collector Nicholas A. Den. Dec., José M. Lisárraga—the same man who has been mentioned as a prisoner in 1841—the murderer of Jesus Valdés, has escaped. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 43.

1843. Jueces de paz Raimundo Carrillo and Ramon Valdés appointed in Dec. 1842. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., iii. 107; but Juan Camarillo is the justice named in several records; and Joaquin Carrillo in *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 306. Capt. of the port from this year J. A. de la Guerra. Jan., J. J. Warner obtained permission to hunt goats and seals on the Sta B. islands by paying 4 reales for each otter skin and 2 reales for each seal, into the munic fund, and giving one fourth of the goat skins for the troops. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 317–27. Case of J. M. Dominguez, accused of stealing cattle, and disagreement between juez and gov. on the subject. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 309–10.

1844. Alcaldes José M. Covarrubias and Antonio Rodriguez. *Janssens, Vida*, MS., 177–80.

1845. Alcaldes Nicholas A. Den and Rafael Gonzalez. Agustin Janssens, *Vida*, MS., 177–80, claims to have been elected, but his opponents tried to annul the election and he retired. July 1st, Juan Félix was killed at Refugio by a neophyte named Manuel. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 55; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., ii. 18. Sub-prefect to gov. announces certain scandals and the sending of one of the women concerned to her uncle at S. Luis Rey. *Id.*, 171. She had been living with Pedro Ortega, who had been convicted of killing his wife. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 57–9. Aug., the juez tries to break up a monte game at the house of Widow Cármen Ayala, and is somewhat rudely handled by Hilarion García. *Id.*, 59–61.

[22] Sta Bárbara ranchos of 1841–5. *Alamo Pintado, 1 l., granted in 1843 to Marcelino, María Ant. de la Guerra de Lataillade claimant. Calera, or Pozitas, 1843, 1846, Narciso Fabregat, and T. M. Robbins who was cl. *Camulos, 4 l., 1843, Pedro C. Carrillo, who was cl. Cañada del Corral, 2 l., 1841, José D. Ortega, who was cl. Cañada Larga ó Verde, ½ l., 1841, Joaquina Alvarado, who was cl. Cañada de los Pinos, see Sta Inés. Cañada de Salsipuedes, 1½ l., 1844, Pedro Cordero, John Keyes cl. Cieneguita, 400 varas, 1845, Anastasio Carrillo, who was cl. Corral de Cuati, 3 l., 1845, Agustin Dávila; M. Antonia de la Guerra de Lataillade cl. Cuyama, 5 l., 1843, José Maria Rojo; M. Antonia de la G. de Lataillade cl. Dos Pueblos, 3 l., 1842, Nicholas A. Den, who was cl. In *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 228–31; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., vii. 59–60, is recorded a dispute between Den and the mission in 1843. By arbitration the arroyo de la Cañada de las Armas was made the boundary. *Huertas, 1,300 varas, 1844, Francisco et al.; M. Ant. de la G. de Lataillade cl. Laguna, 1845, Miguel Ávila; Octaviano Gutierres cl. Lomas de la Purificacion, 3 l., 1844, Agustin Janssens, who was cl. Misica

The mission of Santa Bárbara remained under the control of Padre Duran, aided by Padre Antonio Jimeno from 1844 and Padre José María de Jesus Gonzalez, a Zacatecano, from 1843. The number of neophytes varied from time to time, but was 260 at the end of the period. Leandro Gonzalez held the place of majordomo down to 1843, when the temporal management was restored to the padres. The establishment has no recorded annals down to 1845, when the community was broken up.[23] Padre Duran in his

Vieja, see Purísima, Nojoqui, 3 l., 1843, Raimundo Carrillo, who was cl. Purísima, 1845, José R. Malo, who was cl. Purísima (Mision Vieja), 1 l., 1845, Joaquin and José Ant. Carrillo, who were cl. S. Buenaventura (mission), 400 varas, 1845, Fernando Ticó, who was cl. S. Cárlos de Jonata, 6 l., 1845, Joaquin Carrillo et al., who were cl. S. José de Gracia, see Simí. S. Miguel, 1½ l., 1841, Raimundo Carrillo et al., who were cl. Santa Cruz Isl., asked for by Andrés Castillero in 1845. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 134. Santa Inés, or Cañada de los Pinos, or college rancho, 6 l., 1844, catholic church, which was cl. Santa Paula, 4 l., 1843, Manuel J. Casarin; J. P. Davison cl. Santa Rita, 3 l., 1845, José Ramon Malo, who was cl. Santa Rosa Isl., 1843, José Ant. and Cárlos Carrillo; M. Carrillo de Jones cl. In 1844 the grantees ceded the island to Mrs Jones and Mrs Thompson. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 69; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 70. Simí, or S. José de Gracia, 92,341 acres, 1842, confirmed to Patricio Javier and Manuel Pico; José de la Guerra y N. cl. Temascal, 3 l., 1843, Francisco Lopez et al.; M. Arguisola cl. Tequepis, 2 l., 1845, Joaquin Villa; Antonio M. Villa cl. *Todos Santos y S. Antonio, 5 l., 1841, Salvador Osio; Wm E. Hartnell cl. See *Hoffman's Repts.* Grants marked * were rejected by the L. C. or U. S. courts.

[23] Sta Bárbara Mission. 1842. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 320, gives the pop. as 400. 1843. Controversy with Den on boundary of Dos Pueblos rancho. *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., x. 228–31. 1844. Duran's report on southern missions gives a pop. of 287, with difficulty maintained. *Pico (Pio), Doc.*, MS., i. 14. 1845. May, debt reported as $2,765 with no assets. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 53. The assembly authorizes the gov. May 28th to rent the estate. This vol., p. 549. July 25th, inventory by the appraisers Andrés Pico and Juan Manso, with P. Duran. Pop. 264 souls. Buildings reserved for bishop and padres, 33 rooms, $1,500. Storehouse and its contents in goods, implements, etc., $1,552. Cellar with barrels, still, etc. $768. Soap-house and outfit $398. Tannery $250. Smithy $160. Weaving room, looms, etc., $126. Carpenter-shop $34. Majordomo's house $385. Vaquero's outfit $24. Orchard, with adobe wall and 512 fruit-trees, $1,500. Vineyards, 1,295 and 2,400 vines, $1,720. Live-stock at the mission 816 cattle, 398 horses, 9 mules, $3,545. Corrals $265. S. José vineyard, 2,262 vines, 100 trees, $1,335. Cieneguita with fence and crops $300. S. Antonio, a corral $25. S. Marcos with buildings, vineyards, grain, live-stock (140 cattle, 90 horses, 1,730 sheep), $6,956. Total $25,845. Original in *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 7–15. Sept. 15th, Duran to gov. asking to be relieved of the temporal management. The Ind. are respectful to him, but careless and wasteful. He will remain only till the grapes are harvested. *Pico (Pio), Doc.*, MS., ii. 68. Oct. 3d, gov. to Duran, he may intrust the estate to a person of his confidence, or he may rent it. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 26–7. Oct. 28th, Pico's order to rent the mission. This vol., p. 552. Dec. 5th, renting of the mission to Den and Hill. This vol., p. 553. Henry Mellus signed a bond Dec. 11th, and the lease was made out later. *Hayes, Miss. B.*, 373–6. Dec. 16th, gov.'s order to Duran to give

old age had become discouraged; the Indians were careless and improvident; and though there was yet considerable property, the prospect of an increasing debt caused all parties to deem a change desirable. An inventory showed a total valuation, not including land or church property, of nearly $26,000, live-stock comprising 956 cattle, 488 horses, and 1,730 sheep.

The estate was rented in December to Nicholas A. Den and Daniel Hill for $1,200 a year. The principal buildings were reserved for bishop and clergy. The Indians were to retain a part of the buildings, to have lands assigned them, to be at liberty to work for the lessees or for themselves, and to have a third of the rental; but there is no evidence that they got anything beyond the privilege of remaining.

At San Buenaventnra Padre Antonio Jimeno remained till late in 1848, with Padre Francisco de Jesus Sanchez as an associate in 1842–3. In November 1843 the bishop appointed the presbyter José María Rosales as curate, and the church property was turned over to him. Rosales had already lived here for nearly two years and remained until after 1845.[24] Rafael Gonzalez was succeeded as majordomo

up the estate. Produce, food, saddles, etc., to be retained, the produce to be sold to pay debts, including $200 for the comisionados. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 243–5. Dec. 26th, Duran's reply. Has given up the mission. Finds fault at paying $200 for 4 days' useless work. The only produce left is 50 hides and 6 or 7 bbls of brandy. He may present a charge later of $1,000 of his own money spent on the Ind. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 61–2.

[24] S. Buenaventura items. 1841. July 3d, Gonzalez to gov., objecting to the proposed entry of gente de razon as likely to demoralize the Ind. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ix. 51. Sept. 10th, the Ind. complain that they have been given nothing since 1839. Gonzalez asks license to make a repartition on mission account. *Id.*, 50. Dec. 6th, G. explains that he administers heavy punishments only for serious offences, and believes there is no other way. *Id.*, 52. Expenses in Feb. $385; on hand, $1,427. *Id.*, 51. 1842. Gonzales resigns in Feb. on account of his private business. Claims to have kept the mission in good condition for 4 years. *Id.*, 48. Crisógono Ayala was appointed encargado in July and took charge in Sept. *Id.*, x. 10; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 59; but Ramon Valdés, *Mem.*, MS., 30–1, claims to have been in charge continuously from this year. He says there were about 100 men besides women and children. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 320, makes the pop. 300. View of S. Buenaventura in *Robinson's Life in Cal.* 1843. Temporal management to be restored to padres. This vol., p. 369. April 3d, P. Jimeno certifies an inventory minutely itemized with full description of church, etc., but no values. There were 2,382 cattle, 529 horses, 2,299 sheep, 220 mules, and 18 asses; 1,032 fruit-trees and 11,970 vines; credits $2,548, debt $3,090. *Pico*,

in 1842 by Crisógono Ayala; and Ramon Valdés subsequently held the position. In 1843 the property was put in charge of Padre Jimeno, who retained it apparently after he went to Santa Bárbara, as Rosales had nothing to do with the temporal management. The only event of the period was the occupation of the mission in 1845 by Castro and Micheltorena in the campaign which resulted in the latter's downfall. Circumstances leading to and accompanying the final renting of the estate were similar to those noted in the case of Santa Bárbara; but the inventories are not extant. The lessees were José Arnaz and Narciso Botello, and the rent was $1,630. The neophyte population in 1845 I put at 200, but it is a guess rather than an estimate, as there are no contemporary figures. Nor are there any statistics of property later than 1842, though the rent paid serves as an indication of the value as compared with Santa Bárbara.

Padre José Joaquin Jimeno remained in charge of Santa Inés, with Juan Moreno as associate from 1842 and Francisco de Jesus Sanchez from 1844. Padre Moreno died at the end of 1845.[25] The leading event

Pap., Mis., MS., 67–76. Ayala still majordomo. *Id.* Nov. 8th, bishop's appointment of Presbyter Rosales. He was to have a garden with servants and $50 per month from the mission fund. *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., x. 225–7. 1844. The mission still in tolerable condition with plenty of resources. Rosales had nothing to do with the property. This vol., p. 421–2. July 15th, gov. to Sta B., alcalde. He must seek to induce the free Ind. of S. Buenaventura to leave the community lands, and settle near Sta B., to stop the continual complaints of robberies, etc. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 86. 1845. Ramon Valdés majordomo. *Id.*, xiv. 40. José Moraga proposed for juez de paz (?) in Nov. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. and J.*, MS., ii. 170. The opposing forces of Castro and Micheltorena at the mission in Feb. This vol., p. 498–502. Renting of the estate in Dec. *Id.*, 553. Valdés, *Mem.*, MS., 30–1, says the property was in good condition, yielding enough to support the Ind., when turned over to the lessees. In *Unb. Doc.*, MS., 331, Stephen C. Foster is named as one of the original lessees who withdrew in 1846.

[25] Juan Moreno was born Jan. 27, 1799, at Montenegro, la Rioja, Old Castile; but became a Franciscan in Mexico, being ordained as sub-deacon at Toluca in 1821. He came to Cal. in 1827, and his missionary service was at Sta Bárbara in 1827–9; at Sta Cruz in 1829–30; S. Juan Bautista in 1830–2; S. Miguel in 1833–42; and Sta Inés (having charge also of Purísima, and probably living there a part of the time) in 1842–5. Except that he was a quiet, patient man, well liked by all, we know very little about him. Asísara, an Indian of Sta Cruz, *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 90–113, says he was very skilful in throwing the riata, and was very proud of his success in lassoing bears. Of his property at S. Miguel in 1838 he writes to Capt. Guerra, 'Le

of the period was the foundation of the colegio seminario de María Santísima de Guadalupe de Santa Inés de Californias in 1844, as recorded elsewhere.[26] Miguel Cordero continued to act as administrator of the mission estate until in 1843 it was restored to the management of the padres. The ex-neophyte population in 1845 was 270 souls. According to the inventories of 1841 and 1845, live-stock decreased from 12,000 to 2,000 animals; and the total value of property from $49,000 to $20,000, and perhaps more, since the first inventory seems not to have included lands, as the last did. There were charges of a reckless distribution of the cattle among favorites of the government.[27]

noticio que ya no chupo porque no tengo; vea Vd si es fuerte apuracion esta!' He served as a professor in the Sta Inés college; and he was buried by the rectors and alumni on Dec. 28, 1845. *Sta Inés, Lib. Mis.*, MS., 27.

[26] See this vol., p. 425–6, with full reference.

[27] Sta Inés record. 1841. Miguel Cordero became administrator Jan. 15th, having acted ad int. before. The inventory of transfer from Francisco Cota shows a total valuation, exclusive of lands and church property, of $49,115, with a debt of $975. Buildings, implements, and effects in store $12,287; live-stock (10,295 cattle, 525 horses, 1,704 sheep, 28 mules, 49 pigs, 4 asses) $34,086; 987 fruit-trees $987; credits $1,828. Cordero's receipts to end of June $1,477, expend. $1,173. July, C. ordered to kill 500 fat cattle on govt account. Oct. et seq., C. has trouble in getting possession of the Purísima property. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ix. 1–6. Francisco Cota appointed juez de paz in Dec. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 35. 1842. Valentin Cota temporarily in charge in Cordero's absence in Nov., at which time there was trouble about the delivery of 300 cattle to Célis on the gov.'s order. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., v. 305–6; *Cota, Doc.*, MS., 16. Manuel Gutierrez seems to have had some authority in Sept. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, vii. 11. Pop. 250, according to Mofras. *Explor.*, i. 320. Jan., gov. orders $80 to be expended on the church. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 47. May, the music-teacher Luis to be placed at the disposal of P. Jimeno. *Id.*, 56. July, owners of Sta Rosa and Álamos ranchos must permit the cutting of timber for the mission. *Sta B., Arch.*, MS., 41. Sta Inés was the southern limit of Vallejo's command over the línea del norte. This vol., p. 292. 1843. Temporal management restored to the padres. *Id.*, 369; but there are no details or inventories. May 30th, gov. grants to the Carrillos the irrigable lands of Mision Vieja in company with the Ind. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 58. 1844. Founding of the seminary as noted elsewhere. A report of Duran says the mission is still in moderately good condition, with 264 Ind. *Pico (Pio), Doc.*, MS., 14. The assembly to meet at Sta Inés, but never did so. This vol., p. 412. 1845. May, debt of the mission $1,151, no assets (?). *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 25. July 22d, inventory by Pico and Manso as appraisers. Pop. 270 souls. Buildings, implements, and effects in storehouse $7,943. Lands, gardens, 692 fruit-trees, 5 sitios of grazing land, $5,240. Live-stock, 496 cattle (besides 965 due from 7 private individuals), 193 horses, 1,608 sheep, 15 mules, 3 asses, and 33 swine, $5,093; credits $1,736. Total $20,288. Debt $2,848. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 89–100. But an entry in the *Sta Inés, Lib. Mis.*, MS., 39, states that Pico and Manso acted without the coöperation of the padre, who did not sign the inventory. In *Id.*, 38–9, is an entry to effect that Carrillo and Covarrubias, the grantees of Jonata rancho,

At last the estate was rented in December 1845 to José María Covarrubias and Joaquin Carrillo for $580 per year.

The venerable Padre Ramon Abella, last survivor of the Fernandinos who came in the last century, served as minister at Purísima for a few months before his death in 1842; and subsequently the mission was under the spiritual care of Padre Juan Moreno and the presbyter Miguel Gomez, though both resided most of the time at Santa Inés.[28] José Antonio de la Guerra was the administrator in 1841–2, and is

with the connivance of the gov. had not kept their agreement with the mission. They were to pay $600 and a number of cattle, and to leave land enough to support the cattle. Nov., Joaquin Carrillo proposed as juez de paz. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., ii. 170. Lease of the mission in Dec. This vol., p. 553.

[28] Ramon Abella was born May 28, 1764, at Monforte, Aragon, Spain; and became a Franciscan at Zaragoza on March 6, 1784, coming to the Mexican college in 1795 and to Cal. in 1798. His missionary service of 44 years was at S. Francisco in 1798–1819, S. Cárlos in 1819–33, S. Luis Obispo in 1833–42, and Purísima in Feb.–May 1842. He was rated by his superiors as one of the most zealous and ablest friars in the country for missionary work proper, and fitted for any office, but somewhat unfitted for temporal management. *Autobioy. Autog. de los Padres*, MS., *Sarría, Inf. de 1817*, MS., 71, 117; *Payeras Inf. 1820*, MS., 135–6. As early as 1804 he wished to quit the country. In 1807 and 1811 he made entradas among the gentiles, of which his narratives are extant. See list of auth. vol. i. On July 22, 1814, at S. Francisco, he buried the last Indian who remembered the foundation of the mission in 1776, Biridiana, a woman of 63 years, born on the very site of the mission. *S. F. Lib. Mis.*, MS., 74. He was present at the founding of S. Rafael in Dec. 1817; and there is hardly a mission register in Cal. in which his name does not appear. In 1826 he professed obedience to the republican government, though refusing to take the oath. Before leaving S. Cárlos he became sick and infirm; and his term of service at San Luis Obispo was one of illness and discouragement, nearly approaching dotage at the last. In 1836, he was brooding over impending death, lamenting the unhappy fate of the missions and friars, and wishing that he could get the money due him so that he might pay his debts and secure a passage to some other country. In 1838 he declared his neophytes to be the most wretched and poverty-stricken beings on earth, and himself as needy as any. In 1839 he went to Purísima for a time, refusing to live at S. Luis unless Angel Ramirez with his open immorality and 'genio dominante' should be removed. Why he was sent to take charge of Purísima in 1842 it is hard to imagine, unless it was to humor a whim of his own. While at this mission he declared that he had been robbed of all he brought from S. Luis; and P. Jimeno, in a letter of March 9th, *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., charged the administrator and others, 'who were not Indians' as pretended, with the robbery, and with having treated the old padre 'with the greatest ingratitude, inhumanity, and vileness.' Rafael Gonzalez, *Mem.*, MS., 5–8, who had an interview with Abella at Purísima, describes him as having acted in a very strange manner, evidently insane or in his dotage. His last days were spent at Sta Inés, where he was buried on May 24, 1842, in the church near the presbytery on the epistle side about two varas from the church wall. *Sta Inés, Lib. Mis.*, MS., 25–6.

accused of having dissipated what was left of the mission property of any value, the remnants being put in charge of the Sta Inés administrator in 1842, and all turned over to the padres in 1843.[29] Subsequently there was no resident padre, but a subordinate majordomo was probably left in charge by Padre Moreno, who from Santa Inés visited his flock from time to time. In 1844 the small-pox killed most of the 200 Indians and broke up the community. In 1845 I suppose there may have been 50 ex-neophytes living in the vicinity. What was left of the estate, except church property, was sold to John Temple for $1,110.

[29] Purísima affairs. 1841. José M. Valenzuela turned over the mission to José Ant. de la Guerra, his successor, on July 1st. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., xi. 23. It appears that in Sept.–Oct. Guerra was ordered to deliver the property to Cordero of Sta Inés, but refused to do so unless paid $700 for which he claimed to be personally responsible to creditors of the mission. *Id.*, ix. 5. In Dec., Francisco Cota was appointed juez for the ranches of this region. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 66. 1842. In Feb., Guerra made the delivery to Cordero as required, but the latter declares that the property, except 'unos cuantos muebles inservibles,' had disappeared, and that G. had killed and scattered the live-stock on pretext of orders from the govt. *St. Pap., Miss.*, ix. 6. P. Jimeno also accuses Guerra of having robbed the mission of everything, and claims to have irrefutable proofs. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vii. 16–17. In April, Diego Fernandez is addressed as majordomo, and is informed that the mission's yearly quota of presidio supplies is 20 fan. maize, 10 fan. beans, 40 arr. lard, 10 arr. tallow, 70 pairs of shoes, and $25 of soap. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., x. 1. June, the gov. appoints an encargado at $10 per month. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 58. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 320, gives the pop. as 60 Ind. 1843. Estate turned over to the padres. This vol., p. 369. No particulars. 1844. Duran reports 200 Ind., no live-stock or cultivated lands, a vineyard of medium extent, administered by P. Moreno, very infirm, aided by Gomez, recently ordained as a clergyman. *Pico (Pio), Doc.*, MS., 14. Aug., the small-pox had killed most of the Ind. and was still raging. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vii. 17–18. 1845. April, P. Moreno denies that the padres have disposed of any property, but the govt has sold all the lands. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 185. June, Ind. ordered by gov. to reoccupy the mission within a month or the property will be sold. This vol., p. 549. Dec., mission sold to John Temple for $1,110, including buildings, two vineyards, etc., church property reserved. This vol., p. 552–3.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LOCAL ANNALS OF THE NORTH.

1841-1845.

POPULATION OF THE NORTH AND OF CALIFORNIA—MONTEREY DISTRICT—EVENTS AT THE CAPITAL—MILITARY ITEMS—PREFECTURE—MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS—LIST OF RANCHOS—SAN CÁRLOS—SAN LUIS OBISPO—A NEW PUEBLO—SALE OF EX-MISSION PROPERTY—SAN MIGUEL—SAN ANTONIO—SOLEDAD—SAN JUAN DE CASTRO—SANTA CRUZ—VILLA DE BRANCIFORTE—SAN FRANCISCO DISTRICT—POPULATION—EVENTS—PUEBLO MATTERS—SUB-PREFECTURE—MILITARY—GROWTH OF YERBA BUENA—NEW CUSTOM-HOUSE—LAND GRANTS IN THE NORTH—MISSION DOLORES—SAN RAFAEL—SOLANO—PUEBLO OF SONOMA—ROSS AND BODEGA—NEW HELVETIA—SAN JOSÉ MISSION—PADRES MURO, GUTIERREZ, AND QUIJAS—SANTA CLARA—PADRE MERCADO—PUEBLO OF SAN JOSÉ.

NORTHERN California, or the two districts of Monterey and San Francisco, forming the territorial basis of this chapter, may be regarded as having had a population of 3,550 gente de razon in 1845, besides nearly 400 foreigners, newly arrived and unsettled, or at least beyond the reach of Mexican registers, and about 1,300 ex-mission Indians, besides nearly as many more scattered in and near the settlements and ranchos not nominally or wholly relapsed into barbarism. Combining these figures with those of the preceding chapter—3,350 de razon and 1,880 Indians—we have for the population of California at the end of the period 6,900 gente de razon and 3,180 Indians, with a nearly equal surplus as explained above. The foreign population has been given elsewhere as 680, of which number I suppose that somewhat less than half should be included in the figures given above.

The Monterey district gained in population, by estimate, for there are no contemporary padrones except at Santa Cruz, from 1,600 in 1830 to 1,950 in 1845, this number being made up of 750 in town—or nearly 1,000 during the stay of Micheltorena's battalion in 1843–4—775 at the ranchos and ex-missions, 75 at San Juan, and 350 at Branciforte. There were also about 450 ex-neophytes living at or near the ex-missions or as servants in town, while other Indians scattered in the district could not have been much less in number. There were probably over a hundred foreigners whose names and residence were known.

Events at Monterey, by reason of its position as capital and chief port, were in many instances of departmental as well as local interest and importance, and have therefore been pretty fully recorded in other parts of this volume. They are, however, summarized and indexed with a supplemental mention of minor happenings in the appended note, which contains also details respecting military matters, municipal affairs, and private ranchos of the district.[1] 1841

[1] Summary of Monterey events. 1841. Matters connected with the Graham exiles of the preceding year; visits of French, English, and U. S. men-of-war. This vol., p. 33–40. Visit of Douglas and his plans for a H. B. Co. establishment. *Id.*, 211, 216. Douglas' description of a visit to the Salinas Valley. *Journal*, MS., 102–3. July, order of the gov. to build a block of 80x30 varas for barracks and offices at an estimated cost of $10,000. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 168. Aug., estimates and specifications for rebuilding custom-house $2,400. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 229. Earthquake on May 12th. This vol., p. 249. Visit of Duflot de Mofras, whose work contains a view of the town. *Id.*, 249–52. 1842. Prudon's experience as Vallejo's commissioner for Mex. *Id.*, 281–5. Meeting of the junta departamental and tribunal superior. *Id.*, 295–6. Capture and restoration of the town by Com. Jones in Oct. *Id.*, 298–329. A large lithographic view by one of Jones' officers hangs in my library. Visit of Dr Sandels, the 'King's Orphan.' *Id.*, 346. Dr Maxwell, on Jones' fleet, in his *Monterey in '42*, MS., 21, speaks of a man engaged in collecting curiosities for the German princes, who was shot through the lung by an arrow in the Salinas Valley. Dr M. attended him and extracted the arrow by 'pushing it through.' I do not know that Sandels had such an adventure, or who else the scientist could have been. Visit of Sir Geo. Simpson. This vol., p. 218 et seq. In his *Narrative*, i. 343–71, Simpson gives much descriptive matter, from which I quote as follows: The town 'is a mere collection of buildings, scattered as loosely on the surface as if they were so many bullocks at pasture; so that the most expert surveyor could not possibly classify them even into crooked streets. The dwellings, some of which attain the dignity of a second story, are all built of adobes, being sheltered on every side from the sun by overging eaves, while toward the rainy quarter of the S. E. they enjoy the

is marked by the return of the Graham exiles, and, like the next year, by the visits of several foreigners, who have made public their experiences and observa-

additional protection of boughs of trees, resting like so many ladders on the roof'...120 earthquakes in two months of last season, but not severe. 'Externally the habitations have a cheerless aspect in consequence of the paucity of windows...As to public buildings this capital of a province may, with a stretch of charity, be allowed to possess four. First is the church, part of which is going to decay, while another part is not yet finished; its only peculiarity is that it is built, or rather half built, of stone. Next comes the castle, consisting of a small house, surrounded by a low wall, all of adobes. It commands the town and anchorage, if a garrison of 5 soldiers and a battery of 8 or 10 rusty and honey-combed guns can be said to command anything. Third is the guard-house, a paltry mud hut without windows. Fourth and last stands the custom-house, which is, or rather promises to be, a small range of decent offices; for though it has been building for 5 years it is not yet finished...After mass the pastor and his flock went to christen a bridge, which had lately been thrown over the little river of the town, and was now gayly decorated with banners, etc., for the occasion... The only seminary of education in the province is a petty school at Monterey.' On other general and commercial matters, impressions of individuals, and the visitor's personal experiences, something is given elsewhere in this and other volumes. Forbes appointed British vice-consul to reside here. This vol., p. 384. 1843. Arrival of Gov. Micheltorena and his army. *Id.*, 354 et seq. Financial troubles, and meeting of the junta enconómica. *Id.*, 357 et seq. Sessions of the junta departamental and elections. *Id.*, 360 et seq. Complaints of citizens of depredations of Ind. horse-thieves. *Id.*, 361. Excesses by Micheltorena's cholos. *Id.*, 364 et seq. Grand celebration of the fiesta of Sept. 16th, described by Torre. *Remin.*, MS., 114–15. John A. Swan in his *Monterey in 1843* gives a good sketch of affairs as he found them at his arrival. Josiah Belden, *Hist. Statement*, MS., 40, also writes from memory of the town and region in 1843. 1844. Events of Micheltorena's rule; his plan for a school of high grade; rumors of revolt in Jan. and arrest of Alvarado; counter-revolt of the cholos in Aug.; preparations for war with the U. S.; sessions of the junta departamental; agitation of the question of Monterey vs Los Angeles as capital. *Id.*, 401–12. Visit of the bishop. *Id.*, 427. Visit of the U. S. man-of-war. *Id.*, 567–8. Outbreak of the revolution against Micheltorena, Nov.–Dec. *Id.*, 458–83, passim. Ravages of the small-pox during the summer. Bidwell says it was brought by Larkin from Mazatlan, and that about 80 died. Streeter claims to have vaccinated 300 in Larkin's parlor. Torre notes the establishment of a hospital by the ayunt. The pest was especially fatal among the Ind. I find nothing of this in the archives. *Bidwell's Cal.*, MS., 138–9; *Streeter's Recoll.*, MS., 27–9; *Torre, Remin.*, MS., 110–13. Some descriptive matter on Monterey affairs in *Wood's Wand. Sk.*, 212 et seq. 1845. Micheltorena declares martial law and leaves Monterey to fight the rebels in Jan. This vol., p. 487–8. Returns in March to take a final departure with his cholo battalion. *Id.*, 512. Monterey affairs during the governor's absence Jan.–March; Andrés Pico takes command. *Id.*, 514–16. Junta de Guerra in May to discuss prospects of a war with U. S. *Id.*, 524, 601. Elections of Aug. 17th and Sept. 7th. Pablo de la Guerra and Joaquin Escamilla being chosen electores de partido. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 94; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 149. In May P. Real makes an appeal to the gov. in behalf of the church needs, and a popular subscription is authorized. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 83. Oct. 19th, juez de paz of 'pueblo del Refugio' reports an attack by 8 Ind. from the salinas, and asks for troops. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 199. $5,000 had been spent on a wharf—the money being raised by a tax of $50 per month on vessels—which was perhaps com-

tions. Commodore Jones' capture and restoration of the town in the name of the United States was the great event of 1842. Governor Micheltorena and his

pleted by Larkin this year. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 81–4; *Monterey Herald*, Aug. 1, 1874; *S. J. Pioneer*, Nov. 24, 1877. Wreck of *Star of the West*. This vol., p. 562. Clyman, *Diary*, MS., 126–7, describes a visit to Monterey this year.

Military affairs. Military comandantes of the post: Gumesindo Flores 1841–2, José Castro 1842–3, Gen. Micheltorena or one of his officers 1843–4, Juan Abella, Andrés Pico, Pedro Narvaez, and José Castro 1845. The presidial cavalry company varied irregularly from 21 to 58 men, rank and file, being 32 at the end of 1845. Pay-rolls $10,000 to $15,000 per year. Capt. José Castro, absent most of the time 1841–3; Nicanor Estrada 1843–4; Joaquin de la Torre 1845. Lieut Manuel Castro in 1845. Alféreces Rafael Pinto, Jacinto Rodrigues, Joaquin de la Torre, agregado from 1841, Francisco Vargas 1843, Valentin Gajiola (agregado and habilitado), and Dolores Félix in 1845. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxvii. passim; *Dept. St. Pap., B. M.*, MS., lxxxv. 3–4, 7; lxxxvi. 12–13; lxxxviii. 43–5; *Id., Ben. C. & T.*, v. 1, 7. Artillery, 17 to 7 rank and file, pay-roll about $600 per month, under Capt. Mariano Silva, Sub-lieut Anastasio Cortés, and Gabriel de la Torre, agregado in 1845. This vol., p. 198; *Dept. St. Pap., B. M.*, lxxxvi. 12–13; lxxxviii. 44; *Id., Ben. C. & T.*, v. 2, 8, 10. In 1841 an auxiliary company of 4 to 19 men under Capt. Santiago Estrada is mentioned. *Id., B. M.*, lxxxv. 9. In 1844 a company of defensores de la patria, or auxiliary cavalry, was organized 32 strong, and costing $600 per month. The officers were Capt. A. M. Osio, Lieut Joaquin Escamilla, alf. Rafael Estrada, and Francisco Araiza. There was a similar company at S. Juan under Capt. Francisco Pacheco. *Id.*, lxxxviii. 50; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xix. 18–20; this vol., p. 407. See *Id.*, p. 289, for a statement of men and officers in Micheltorena's battalion. Mofras in 1841–2, *Explor.*, i. 325, reports 40 soldiers and 12 artillerymen, the presidio razed, the fort and simple battery with 3 bronze guns. An official report of 1842 gives the available force as 9 cavalry and 13 artillerymen. This vol., p. 293. Jan. 1842, arrangements made to buy a rancho called S. José from Ábrego, and stock it with cattle for the company; but nothing more appears about it. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 24. Armament removed to S. Juan in 1845. This vol., p. 603. For maritime affairs and revenue officials for this half-decade, see *Id.*, 206 et seq., 339 et seq., 374 et seq., 428 et seq., 554 et seq.

Prefecture. Tiburcio Castro was prefect of the 1st district residing at S. Juan, until July 1841, when José Ramon Estrada succeeded him, being appointed by the gov. on the 22d, taking possession on the 25th, issuing a proclamation on the 30th, and offering his resignation, which was not accepted, in Aug. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 15; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., xvi. 29; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 12–13; *Id., Ben. C. & T.*, iv. 64; *Id., Ben. P. & J.*, iv. 23; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 39. Francisco Arias had been appointed suplente in Jan., *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 3, but nothing more is heard of him. Estrada's salary was $2,000, and he seems to have resided at Monterey, but this is not certain. Manuel Castañares was secretary of the prefecture until Dec. 1842, when Manuel Castro was appointed. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 38; *Id., P. & J.*, iv. 32. In Nov. 1842, Estrada was in charge of the govt during Alvarado's absence. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 306. Oct. 13th, 1843, the offices of prefect and sub-prefect were abolished by the gov. and junta. This vol., p. 357–8. July 12, 1845, prefecture restored, Monterey made 2d district with the town as cabecera, and Manuel Castro appointed prefect by Gov. Pico. Castro took possession on Aug. 2d, having accepted on July 18th. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., x. 68–9; *Id., S. José*, v. 97; *Id., Ben.*, v. 364–5, 375–6; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 65–6; *Castro, Doc.*, i. 132, 137; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, i. 491; ii. 59, 84. Florencio Serrano was secretary. It appears that Pico on July 12th first

vagabond army came to the capital in 1843. In 1844 the cholos remained, the bishop came, and the small-pox raged. In 1845 the governor was expelled by

named David Spence as prefect. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 4; *Id., Ben. P. & J.*, ii. 84; but nothing appears in explanation of the change. Castro offered his resignation on Dec. 31st, *Id.*, 93, but it was not accepted.

List of municipal officers. 1841. Juez de paz, Simeon Castro to Nov., José Amesti from Nov.; suplente Francisco Arias; jueces auxiliares Juan Rosales at S. Cárlos, Vicente Cantúa, Joaquin Buelna (from Aug.), and Eusebio Boronda (from Oct.) at Pilarcitos. 1842. Juez de paz José Z. Fernandez, suplente Teodoro Gonzalez; jueces auxiliaries Joaquin Gutierrez, Antonio Tapia for S. Cárlos, Graciano Manjares and Geo. Allen for Zanjon, Joaquin Buelna for Refugio, Juan Higuera (?), *Mont. Arch.*, MS., xvi. 37; juez de campo José Maria de la Torre; capt. of the port Pedro Narvaez. 1843. Juez de paz Pánfilo Soberanes Jan.–Feb., José Z. Fernandez March–July, Teodoro Gonzalez May–Oct.; juez suplente Juan Antonio Vallejo, acting as juez 1° Nov.–Dec.; juez auxiliar at Refugio Salvador Espinosa; tax-collector Antonio Chavez and later Pierre Atillan; capt. of the port Pedro Narvaez. 1844. Alcaldes José Amesti and Florencio Serrano; regidores Gregorio Castañares, Marcelino Escoba, James Watson, Estévan de la Torre; síndico Salvador Munrás; secretary José Antonio Chavez. Amesti being ill, Serrano acted as alcalde 1°, and Escobar also seems to have acted often in the same capacity. Jueces auxiliares José Castillo, Antonio Mendez, Tomás Salgado, Joaquin Genling (?), Francisco Lugo (?); agente de policía Gabriel de la Torre; capt. of port Pedro Narvaez. 1845. Juez or alcalde 1° Marcelino Escobar, not allowed to resign in March. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 26; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 38; juez 2° Joaquin de los Santos Escamilla in Jan., Francisco Araiza March–Aug., Feliciano Soberanes from Sept.; Vicente P. Gomez secretary; síndico or tax-collector Olivier Deleisèques to May; in Sept. Vicente Molina was recommended for collector and Ignacio Ezquer for treasurer. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 123; but Florencio Serrano was appointed treasurer on Sept. 24th. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., xvi. 42. Agente de policía (?) Gil Sanchez; juez at Refugio Trinidad Espinosa.

Municipal government and administration of justice. 1841. Municipal and police regulations, card-playing, and lights before shops. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 36; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., x. 19–20. July 4th, the body of Daniel Ferguson was found on the Salinas road. José Ant. Arana, on account of his intimacy with F.'s wife, María del Cármen Ruiz, was suspected of the murder, and in Dec. was confidemned to quit Cal. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iv. 11–15. Arana is said to have returned to Cal. in 1856. July, Joaquin Alvarado sentenced to one month in the chain-gang for slandering the daughter of Miguel Ávila. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., iii. 6. 1842. Police regulations, etc., selling liquor, no standing on streets at time of mass, prisoners to have one hour in the sun each day, lights before houses as well as shops. *Id.*, x. 23; xvi. 32–3; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. y J.*, MS., iv. 21; *Id., Mont.*, iv. 131; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 274; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 31. May, José C. Botiller sentenced to 8 years 'de servicio en las armas' for rape and seduction, and Ignacio Arroyo to banishment as an accomplice. *Mont. Arch.*, MS., x. 27. June, James O'Brien banished to the Sonoma frontier for 3 years for adultery. *Id.*, iii. 15. Dec., collections for the year $71 in fines, $156 from shops. *Id.*, 28–9. Gov. approves appointment of jueces de paz, but the old authorities must continue until the 'nacion se constituya.' *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. y J.*, MS., iv. 32. An Ind. shot by order of the gov. for assault on a woman. *Garnica del Castillo, Recuerdos*, MS., 2. Torre, *Remin.*, MS., 97, relates that Manuel Gonzalez or Manuelillo, a South American shoemaker, who had long been sacristan at the Monterey chapel, was executed in July for the murder of an Englishman at S. Isidro, though Gonzalez maintained to the last that he had

revolutionary patriots. Military annals are confused and fragmentary; but the old presidial company was still kept in existence with a force of 20 to 30 men;

acted in self-defence. 1843. Instructions to jueces de campo, on slaughters, hide-sales, fires in fields; and other police regulations on prisons, gambling, liquor, etc. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., xi. 5–6, 14–15; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 137; *Id., Ben. P. y J.*, iv. 36; *Id., Ben.*, iii. 159. Jan., a confirmed cattle-thief condemned to 8 years in presidio at Acapulco, *Mont., Arch.*, MS., iii. 23. Alcalde Vallejo complains of an order to turn over munic. funds to Chavez, the collector, as showing a lack of confidence in himself; but his views are overruled by the prefect, and he is warned to be more moderate in his expressions. *Id.*, xi. 2. July, Bonifacio Olivares banished for a year to Los Angeles as a vagabond. *Id.*, iv. 1. Oct., a man accused by an Ind. woman of violence to her daughter, but acquitted on the ground that the mother had taken his money. *Id.*, xvi. 39–40. Dec. 10th, election of compromisarios to choose an ayunt. Highest no. of votes 330. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 3–8. 1844. Jan., 3 agentes de policía appointed. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 14. Feb.–March, a blotter of the ayunt. records. Choice of a public plaza between the houses of Benito Diaz, Francisco Pacheco, Teodoro Gonzalez, and Estévan Munrás. A light for the municipal house and bridge, also near Hartnell's house and in the casa consistorial. A plan of the capital received from the gov., with a request that the ayunt. should make town improvements conform to it. Other routine matters and police regulations. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., v. 29–35. More regulations on the old subjects, also on care of the streets, fire-arms, racing, etc.; also an order of the gov. of Feb. 4th, prohibiting the posting of lampoons under heavy penalties. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iii. 98–9, 104–5; iv. 148–9; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 19. The plan of the town, which I have been unable to find, is also mentioned in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 66. Nov. 12th, order for election of ayunt. on 1st Sunday in Dec., half the regidores to hold over. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xii. 89. Gomez, *Lo que Sabe*, MS., 75, relates that after the governor fixed a fine for not keeping lights in front of houses, J. M. Castañares one night put out Micheltorena's own light, reporting its absence to the alcalde, who collected $5 from his Excellency. 1845. Financial. Feb. 1st, debts $190, list of credits $80, but incomplete. Receipts and expend. to end of May $208. June 4th, alcalde owes munic. fund $21, less $13 paid. Pay of alguacil $8 per month. A timber tax collected. Receipts in Dec. $251, expend. $49. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 35, 80, 128, 130–1, 169. Alcalde Escobar, his resignation being refused in March, went away for a month in May; and Alcalde Araiza soon went away also because the military officers disregarded his authority. Capt. Torre was appointed to act temporarily, but many would not recognize him. All this and more—a sorry picture of municipal disorder—is presented in letters of July from Escobar and Araiza. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 38–45. José Castro says in June that there are no jueces. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 60. July 13th, Col. Alvarado in a proclamation says that Mont. has been long without civil authorities, and an Indian murderer will be hanged to-day by sentence of court-martial. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 142. Torre, *Remin.*, MS., 130–2, gives some details of this man's crime, an attack on women and children while bathing. July 28th, Escobar says he opened his court, but was ordered by Alvarado to close it; and Rafael Sanchez (the Ind. referred to?) has been shot without process of law. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. y J.*, MS., iv. 48. May, E. Martinez and M. Castro sentenced to 5 years' presidio at S. Vicente, L. Cal. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 33. Juez cannot 'run his court' without paper and a knife, which are furnished. 32 sheets of the former. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 25–6. June, $10 ordered paid for a lantern on the bridge. *Id.*, 61. Aug., controversy between prefect and mil. comandante on complaint of Alcalde Araiza, about an Ind. woman 'deposited' by civil process in the house of a citizen, but taken out and flogged

Micheltorena's battalion was a large but undesirable addition in 1843–4; and from 1844 a company of auxiliary cavalry, defensores de la patria, was ready

by Gabriel de la Torre. *Id.*, 75, 82, 93; *Castro, Doc.*, MS., i. 140. Araiza was insulted on the street in connection with this affair; and got leave of absence from the gov.; Escobar was still absent at Sta Bárbara; and the prefect asked for authority to appoint 2 jueces ad int., and apparently was permitted so to appoint Soberanes as 2d juez. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 474; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 364–5. Dec. 10th, election of an ayunt. for 1846. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 240.

List of private ranchos granted in 1841–5. Those marked with a * were rejected by the land commission or U. S. courts. *Agua Puerca and Las Trancas (Sta Cruz), 1 l., 1843, R. Rodriguez and F. Alviso, who were claimants. Aguilas, see Real de las A. Año Nuevo (Sta Cruz), 4 l., 1842, Simeon Castro; M. A. Pico et al. cl. *Arastradero (Sta Cruz), 1 l., 1844, Albert F. Morris; Wm Blackburn cl. Arroyo Grande or S. Ramon (S. Luis Ob.), 1841, Seferino Carlon; Francis Branch cl. Asuncion (S. Luis Ob.), 1845, Pedro Estrada, who was cl. *Atascadero (S. Luis Ob.), 1842, Trifon García; M. A. Ortega cl. Atascadero (S. Luis Ob.), 1 l., 1842, Trifon García; Henry Haight cl. Cañada, see Carpintería, Chorro, Osos, and Rincon. Carneros, 1 l., 1842, María Antonia Linares, who was cl. Carpintería, Cañada de la, ½ l., 1845, Joaquin Soto, who was cl. Cayucos, see Moro y C. Cholam (S. Luis Ob.), 6 l., Maurìcio Gonzalez; Ellen E. White cl. Chorro, cañada (S. Luis Ob.), 1 l., James Scott and John Wilson; Wilson cl. Ciénega, see Paicines and Gavilan. Coches, 2½ l., 1841, Josefa Soberanes, who was cl. Corral de Piedra (S. Luis Ob.), 2 l., 1841, 1846, J. M. Villavicencio, who was cl. Corralitos (Sta Cruz), 4 l., 1844, José Amesti, who was cl. *Gavilan, ciénega, 11 l., 1843, J. Y. Limantour, who was cl. Huasna (S. Luis Ob.), 5 l., 1843, Isaac Sparks, who was cl. Huerfano (S. Luis Ob.), 1 l., 1842; Mariano Bonilla; Francis Branch cl. Huerta de Romaldo (S. Luis Ob.), 1-10 l., 1842, Romaldo. Islay, see Osos. Laguna, see Punta de la L. Laureles 2,000 v., 1844, J. Agricia; L. Ransom cl. Lomas Muertas, 1½ l., 1842, José Ant. Castro; Vicente Sanchez et al. cl. Moro y Cayucos (S. Luis Obispo), 2 l., 1842, Vicente Félix; James McKinley cl. Ojitos, 2 l., 1842, Mariano Soberanes, who was cl. *Osos, cañada, 11 l., 1844, Modesta Castro, who was cl. Osos, Pecho y Islay (S. Luis Ob.), 1842–3–5, Linares et al.; John Wilson cl. Paicines, 2 l., 1842, Angel Castro, who was cl. *Pajaro, 6 suertes, 1843, José M. Borgas (?), who was cl. *Panoche Grande 4 l., 1844, Vicente P. Gomez, who was cl. Paso de Robles (S. Luis Ob.), 6 l., 1844, Pedro Narvaez; P. Rios cl. Pecho, see Osos. Piedra, see Corral de P. Piojo, 3 l., 1842, Joaquin Soto, whose heirs were cl. Pleito, 3 l., 1845, Antonio Chavez; W. S. Johnson et al. cl. Potrero de S. Luis Obispo, 1 l., 1842, M. Concepcion Boronda, who was cl. Punta de la Laguna (S. Luis Ob.), 6 l., 1844, L. Arellanes and E. M. Ortega, who were cl. Punta, see Año Nuevo. Real de las Águilas, 7 l., 1844, Fran. Arias, and Saturnino Cariaga; María Ant. Castro de Anzar cl. Refugio (Sta Cruz), 3 l., 1841, José Bolcof, whose sons were cl. Rincon, cañada (Sta Cruz), 2 l., 1843, Pierre Sainsevain, who was cl. Rincon, see S. Pedro. Robles, see Paso. Romaldo, see Huerta. S. Agustin (Sta Cruz), 1 l., 1841, J. J. Crisóstomo Mayor; Jos. L. Majors cl. S. Benito 1½ l., 1842, Francisco García; J. Watson cl. S. Bernabé, 3 l., 1841–2, Petronilo Rios; Henry Cocks cl. S. Bernardo, 3 l., Mariano Soberanes, who was cl. S. Gerónimo (S. Luis Ob.), 2 l., 1842, Rafael Villavicencio, who was cl. S. Juan Bautista, 2 l., 1844, J. A. Narvaez, who was cl. S. Lorenzo, 5 l., 1841; Feliciano Soberanes, who was cl. S. Lorenzo, 5 l., 1842, Francisco Rico; A. Randall cl. S. Lúcas, 2 l., 1842, Rafael Estrada; J. McKinley cl. S. Luis Obispo mission buildings, etc., 1845, Scott, Wilson, and McKinley; John Wilson cl. Ranchos not named in S. Luis Ob., 1841, Ramona Carrillo, who was

to defend California from foes within and without. The presidio had disappeared, but a so-called fort, or castillo, was garrisoned by a dozen artillerymen with three or four guns in working order. Tiburcio Castro, the prefect of this first district, was succeeded in 1841 by Ramon Estrada, who served until the prefecture was abolished by Micheltorena at the end of 1843. On the restoration in July 1845, Monterey became the second district, and Manuel Castro the prefect. Municipal affairs were directed by a juez de paz, except in 1844, when there was an *ayuntamiento* with an alcalde at its head. The successive municipal chiefs were Simeon Castro and José Amesti in 1841, José Zenon Fernandez in 1842–3, Pánfilo Soberanes and Teodoro Gonzalez in 1843, José Amesti, Florencio Serrano, and Mariano Escobar in 1844, and Escobar, Francisco Araiza, and Soberanes in 1845. Municipal government was marked by a few controversies and many complaints of neglected duties, especially in 1845; and the administration of justice by the usual sequence of criminal trials. Great confidence must have been felt in the abilities of the town officials, for on one occasion they were required

cl.; 1,000 v., 1842, Vicente Linares, who was cl.; 100 x 50 v., 1844, José Mariano Bonilla, who was cl.; see also Arroyo Grande, Asuncion, Atascadero, Cholam, Chorro, Corral de Piedra, Huasma, Huerfano, Huerta, Moro, Oso, Paso de Robles, Punta de la Laguna, Potrero, S. Gerónimo, S. Luisito, S. Miguelito, S. Simeon, Sta Isabel, Sta Margarita, Sta Rosa, Vena. S. Luisito (S. Luis Ob.), 1841, G. Cantúa, who was cl. S. Miguelito (S. Luis Ob.), 2 l., 1842, Miguel Ávila, who was cl. S. Miguelito de Trinidad, 5 l., 1841, Rafael Gonzalez, who was cl. S. Pedro, rincon (Sta Cruz), 1842, José Arana. S. Ramon, see Arroyo Grande. S. Simeon (S. Luis Ob.), 1 l., 1842, Ramon Estrada; J. M. Gomez cl. Sta Cruz ranchos, see Agua Puerca, *Año Nuevo*, Arastradero, Corralitos, Refugio, S. Agustin, S. Pedro, Sayante, and Tres Ojos. Sta Isabel (S. Luis Ob.), 4 l., 1844, Francisco Arce, who was cl. Sta Margarita (S. Luis Ob.), 4 l., 1841, Joaquin Estrada, who was cl. Sta Rosa (S. Luis Ob.), 3 l., 1841, Julian Estrada, who was cl. Sayante (Sta Cruz), 1 l., J. J. Crisóstomo Mayor; Isaac Graham et al. cl. Trancas, see Agua Puerca. Tres Ojos de Agua (Sta Cruz), 1,300 v., 1844, Nicolás Dodero, who was cl. Trinidad, see S. Miguelito. Tucho, 800 v., 1841, Simeon Castro, whose heirs were cl. Tucho, 250 v., 1842, 1844, Thomas Cole, who was cl. *Tucho, 1,500 v., 1843, J. J. Gomez; V. Gomez et al. cl. In *Aug. 1845* Pedro Vasquez asked for land near Tucho. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 492. *Vena (S. Luis Ob.), 1 l., 1842, Francisco E. Quintana, who was cl. Ranchos of Mont. not named: *5 l., 1844–5, Josefa Martinez, Milton Little cl.; *400 v., 1844*, Thomas Blanco, whose heirs were cl.; *3 suertes, 1843, José C. Boronda, J. Stokes cl.

to master a plan of the pueblo, to which improvements must conform. Private ranchos granted during the half-decade numbered about 60, of which 22 or more were in the San Luis Obispo region, and 9 near Santa Cruz.

Of San Cárlos there is little to be said. Perhaps 40 ex-neophytes, the figure given by Mofras, still lived in the vicinity, but the mission buildings were abandoned. Padre José María Real was nominally in charge, lived at Monterey, and possibly holding service occasionally in the mission church until 1845, when his brother Padre Antonio Real, and for a time Padre Juan Antonio Anzar, seem to have served here. Simpson and Maxwell describe the ruins, giving chief attention to the paintings still hanging in the church, which was cared for by a man and his wife, the only residents. In Pico's decrees of 1845 San Cárlos was regarded as a pueblo, or abandoned mission, and the remaining property was to be sold at auction for the payment of debts and the support of worship; but of the property, if any existed, the sale, and the worship, we have no further record. The glory of San Cárlos Borromeo del Carmelo de Monterey had departed forever—or at least until 1884, when a shingle roof was put on the old church.[2]

At San Luis Obispo, in the extreme south of the district, Padre Ramon Abella served until the end of 1841 or beginning of 1842, and the presbyter Miguel Gomez took charge as curate apparently late in 1843. There are no statistics, but Mofras gives the population as 80 in 1841–2, and I suppose that in 1845 there may have been 60 ex-neophytes living on the ex-mission lands.[3] Cané, as administrator, was suc-

[2] *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 370–1; *Mofras' Explor.*, i. 320; *Maxwell's Mont. in '48*, MS., 21–2; *Revista Cientif.*, i. 328–9; this vol., p. 549–52.

[3] S. Luis Obispo, 1841–5. 1841. Vicente Cané, juez auxiliar and presumably majordomo. *Los Ang., Arch.*, MS., ii. 27–8; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., x. 10. July 19th, Cané sends to gov. a plan of a sq. league of land susceptible of irrigation, 2,000 varas from the mission. Other lands are broken and without water. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., ix. 77. 1842. Mariano Bonilla took

ceded in April 1842 by Mariano Bonilla, also juez de paz, who in obedience to the governor's order of July made at least a partial distribution of the lands and other property to the ex-neophytes. In July 1844 the governor ordered the complete emancipa-

charge April 20th, having been appointed administrator and juez de paz auxiliar on the 14th. *Id.; Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 50, 52; xiii. 30, 36; *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., lv. 58; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., x. 26; *Avila, Doc.*, MS., 1-4; *S. Luis Ob., Arch.*, MS., 4; *Bonilla, Doc.*, MS., 10–11. May 4th, B. writes that the establishment is in a bad state, nothing of value left. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., ix. 78. Sept. 9th–10th, the gov. orders Bonilla to distribute to the Ind. from the vacant lands (as in the plan noted above?) lots not exceeding 100 varas; also implements, furniture, and other property, according to merit, size of family, etc. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 59; *S. Luis Ob., Arch.*, MS., 4. Dec. 10th, a specimen grant by Bonilla under the above order to the ex-neophyte Odon a lot of 75 varas, the house occupied by him, a copper pot, and two troughs. The conditions are that he must care for certain fruit-trees on the land, the fruit belonging to the community; cannot sell or transfer the property; and must cultivate the land or it will revert to the community. *Bonilla, Doc.*, MS., 10–11. 1843. No record whatever, except the coming of P. Gomez. *S. Luis Ob., Lib. Mis.*, MS., 56. 1844. José María Villavicencio and José Ortega, jueces de paz. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., v. 27; ii. 16–17; *S. Luis Ob., Arch.*, MS., 3; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 63. Feb. 16th, the Mont. ayunt. voted to appoint a 2d alcalde for the new pueblo of S. Luis. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., v. 30. March 18th, a report on the southern missions represents S. Luis as having no lands or live-stock, its Ind. being demoralized and dispersed. *Pico (Pio), Doc.*, MS., i. 14. July 15th, decree of Gov. Micheltorena. The mission, having no property, and only a few aged neophytes who earn there living as best they can, is formed into a pueblo having for its ejidos the unoccupied lands near the place where the Ind. are located; the Ind. to be entirely free, except that they must furnish the personal service of 6 each week to the curate; the padre's house to be the parsonage, and other buildings for school, jail, and other public uses to be assigned by the govt in accord with the curate; the pueblo to have for the present an auxiliary juez de paz, subject to the ayunt. of Monterey; lots to be granted only by the govt, the water in ditches and streams to be free for use of citizens, the curate charitably attending to the assignment; the juez to have charge of all mission implements, etc., and with them to judiciously aid the Ind.; the Ind. not to sell their lands, which when unoccupied will revert to the nation; the emancipated Ind. and other citizens must attend to repairs of church, parsonage, etc., also of ditches and other public works, also assisting at rodeos. *Pico (Pio), Doc.*, MS., ii. 73–6; *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., ii. 399–401. In *Arce, Doc.*, MS., 12, is an original order of same date identical with art. 5 on the buildings. July 16th, the gov. grants to the church for the support of worship a sq. league of land at La Laguna and two *huertas*, cultivation by Ind. actually living on the lands not to be impeded. The grant is formerly accepted by the bishop. It was in later years confirmed by the U. S. courts. *Pico, Doc.*, MS., ii. 23–5; *Hayes' Miss. B.*, i. 2–4; this vol., p. 423–4. July, a military comp. under Capt. J. M. Villavicencio to be organized. *Id.*, 407. 1845. Joaquin Estrada juez de paz, Jesus Pico mil. com. and proposed for juez in Nov. *S. Luis Ob., Arch.*, MS., 25; *Dept. St. Pap.*, vii. 111; *Id., Ben. P. & J.* ii. 177; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxxxviii. 51. In Sept. the bishop protested against the Laguna lands being ceded to John Wilson. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 147–8. Dec. 4th, sale of the ex-mission buildings, except curate's house, town hall, school, and jail previously reserved, to Scott and Wilson, for $510. This vol., p. 552–3. This title was confirmed by U. S. courts. Possession was given in Dec. 1845, to Jesus Pico, representing S. & W.

tion of the Indians and secularization of the mission. A regular pueblo was to be formed, with town lands comprising all vacant mission lands in the vicinity, and buildings for the curate's house and for public uses were reserved. At the same time a rancho at La Laguna and two gardens, or orchards, were granted to the church. This grant was in later years confirmed by the United States courts; but no claim for pueblo lands was ever presented by the town; and nothing is known of the new pueblo, except that after Bonilla, José M. Villavicencio, José Ortega, and Joaquin Estrada held successively the position of justice of the peace. In December 1845 the ex-mission buildings, not reserved as above, were sold to Scott, Wilson, and McKinley for $510. Such was the end of San Luis Obispo de Tolosa as a missionary establishment. Ranchos of this region have been named in the general list.

Padre Juan Moreno remained in charge of San Miguel until 1842, and subsequently the establishment was under the spiritual care of Miguel Gomez at San Luis.[4] When Inocente García's administratorship came to an end does not appear. He says that for a long time he did his best to preserve order; but finally reported to Governor Alvarado his inability to control the Indians, and was told to "turn the mission upside down or do what he pleased with it," whereupon he gave up the church to the padre and all other property to the Indians. In 1844 the vineyard was granted for the support of the church. In

[4] S. Miguel items. 1841–5. Inocente García, *Hechos*, MS., 63–7, gives some reminiscences of his life at and near S. Miguel, but without any definite dates. March 1844. The establishment is reported to have no live-stock, lands, or minister, the neophytes being demoralized and dispersed. *Pico (Pio), Doc.*, MS., i. 14. July 16, 1844. Grant of the vineyard La Mayor for the benefit of the church, accepted by the bishop and put in charge of P. Gomez. *Id.*, ii. 19–21; *Hayes' Miss. B.*, i. 2–4. S. Miguel was the southern boundary of the Monterey district on the restoration of the prefecture in 1845. This vol., p. 533. July 31, 1845. Inventory by the comisionados Pico and Manso. Value of buildings, $5,875. No other property mentioned, except 9 leagues of land mostly without water. *Pico, Pap. Miss.*, MS., 114. In June the Ind. were ordered to reoccupy the mission, and in Oct. the abandoned establishment was ordered to be sold at auction. This vol., p. 529, 562.

1845 all the property had disappeared, except the buildings, valued at $5,800, which were ordered to be sold at auction. José Antonio Carrillo is named as in charge at this time. Many of the Indians ran off to the Tulares to join the gentiles when there were no more cattle to eat; but Mofras gives the number as 30 in 1841–2, and I suppose about that number may have been living near their old home in 1845. The ruin of S. Miguel had been very rapid and the record is very meagre.

Padre José de Jesus Gutierrez appears as the minister of San Antonio until 1844, and there seems to have been no resident padre the next year. Jesus Pico probably remained in charge till 1843, but no administrator or other official is mentioned till 1845, when Mariano Soberanes was juez de paz and encargado of the mission.[5] Thus the local annals of the period are a blank; yet I have the original inventory of 1845, which shows a valuation of $8,000 against $90,000 ten years before, chiefly in buildings and vineyards, the live-stock having entirely disappeared. At this time the population is given as 10 men and 5 women; but Mofras gives the number as 150 in 1841–2; and I suppose there must have been at least 75 Indians living near San Antonio at the end of the half-decade.

Soledad had no minister; its slight remnant of live-stock disappeared early in this half-decade; and the Indians in 1841–2 were given their liberty with the few remaining implements. Feliciano Soberanes was in

[5] 1841. Trouble between Pico and Mofras. This vol., p. 252. Ordered to be restored to the padres in 1843. *Id.*, 369. May 26, 1843. P. Gutierrez certifies that to-day in the mission church allegiance was sworn to Nra Sra del Refugio as patroness of the bishopric, with great festivities. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 64. This is the only event of the period. Bishop's visit in 1844. This vol., p. 427. Mariano Soberanes encargado June 19, 1845. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 41. Aug. 2d, inventory by Soberanes, Pico, and Manso. Main building, $4,125; nearly finished saw-mill running by water, $300; rancheria, or Ind. dwellings, two thirds of them without roofs, $300; majordomo's house, $350; live-stock, 2 yoke of oxen, 3 wild mares, and a stallion! vineyard of 4,000 vines and 20 fruit-trees, $1,700; huerta with 175 vines and 45 trees, $500; water works, $100; total $8,269, besides church property, including a library about 200 vol., 5 bells, etc., no value given. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS. 29–42.

charge as majordomo and juez auxiliar, his jurisdiction extending to San Antonio, the minister of which establishment had nominally the care of Soledad exneophytes. In 1845 an inventory gave to the buildings, furniture, garden with 21 fruit-trees, and one league of land a value of $2,494; and I suppose there may have been 20 Indians living in the vicinity.[6]

Padre José Antonio Ánzar as parish priest continued, except in the last months of 1845, in charge of San Juan de Castro, where the Indian community had ceased to exist in the last decade, and where during this period the pueblo was managed by a succession of jueces de paz, though it does not appear that there was any formal pueblo organization. Without any definite orders to that effect, the cabecera of the district seems to have been practically transferred to Monterey when Estrada became prefect in 1841. In 1845 San Juan may have had a population of 150, about equally divided between gente de razon and Indians. The ex-mission property, ordered to be sold in that year, was valued in the inventory at about $8,000.[7]

[6] No date, probably 1841. Gov. to Soberanes, ordering him to take charge, to give the Ind. entire liberty, to distribute the property, to give to the Ind. the use of the shops, etc., and to appoint a native alcalde. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 36–7. According to Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 370, 390, who puts the pop. at 30, in May 1841, Gov. Alvarado, after seizing the few cattle left by previous despoilers, took all the iron and even tiles from the buildings for his own house; and gave the remaining buildings and land to his friend Soberanes in exchange for a rancho near Monterey. 1843. Feliciano Soberanes appointed juez de paz. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., xi. 3. Aug. 2, 1845, inventory. No value is given to the church and its furniture. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 119, 121. The Ind. had been ordered to reoccupy the mission, and the sale of the establishment was ordered by Pico in Oct. This vol., p. 549, 552.

[7] 1841. Juan Miguel Ánzar and Francisco Arias jueces de paz. 1842. Juan José Higuera juez de paz. 1843. Balbino Romero and Francisco Arias jueces de paz. But José (or Francisco) Diaz is said to have been appointed as suplente. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., iv. 32. This may be an error, or Arias may have been appointed after Feb. to replace Diaz. P. Ánzar was made president of the Zacatecan friars this year. *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 231. According to the governor's decree of Nov., 2 alcaldes were to be chosen. This vol., p. 359. 1844. José Antonio Rodriguez and Francisco Diaz alcaldes or jueces de paz. Rodriguez's name does not appear after March; Angel Castro is named as juez in June. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 32; and Canuto Boronda in July and Dec. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 77; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., xvi. 42. Visit of Dr Wood and description of S. Juan, its padre, and a dance. *Wood's Wand. Sk.*, 260 et seq. S Juan to be Micheltorena's head-

At Santa Cruz Padre Antonio del Real was parish priest until 1844 at least, and Padre Ánzar of San Juan seems also to have officiated here in 1844–5. Something is recorded of Padre Real's irregular conduct, but otherwise the ex-mission has no annals, the community being entirely broken up in 1841–2, when José Bolcof had charge as juez de paz and acting administrator. Thereafter the establishment was part of Branciforte, the whole being more often called Santa Cruz, and the name Pueblo de Figueroa being no longer in use. Lands, buildings, and fruit-trees of the ex-mission were valued at less than $1,000 in 1845; and perhaps 40 of the Indians who belonged to the ex-neophyte community in 1840, were still included among the population of the villa's jurisdiction.[8]

The population of Branciforte and its jurisdiction

quarters in resisting U. S. invasion; a military company organized under Capt. Francisco Pacheco; transfer of cannon and war stores. This vol., p. 406–9. Outbreak of the revolution against the gov., arms seized by rebels. *Id.*, 458–63. Murder of José Norberto García by José Zurita. *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., viii. 4. 1845. Francisco Diaz and Saturnino Carreaga jueces de paz. Sale of ex-mission property ordered. This vol., p. 549–52. Inventory of Sept. 4th, buildings with 16 rooms, tile roofs, $4,785; garden and fruit-trees, with fence, etc., in good order, $875; vineyard with 5,200 vines in bad condition, $1,000; lands about 1½ leagues suitable for tillage, $1,200; total, $7,860. Signed by P. Ánzar, Andrés Pico, and Juan Manso. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 147. Mofras' estimate of pop. in 1841–2 is 100 gente de razon and 80 Ind. *Explor.*, i. 318–20.

[8] 1841. Undated provisional regulations perhaps of an earlier year for the management of the ex-mission by Bolcof, juez de paz. It is implied that there is a little live-stock left. *St. Pap., Miss. & Col.*, MS., ii. 409–10. Persons hiring Ind. paid $2 for each Ind. to the juzgado for the privilege. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 46. Mofras, i. 320, 410, found 50 or 60 Ind., and no property, all having been distributed 'among the friends of the gov.' 1842. José Bolcof named as administrator. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 85. Simpson, *Narr.*, i. 365, tells of the padre, his bottle, and his 'seraglio of native beauties.' May 29th, Josiah Belden to Larkin, has found sufficient proof that it was the padre who broke into his store, stealing brandy, handkerchiefs, and other articles. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., i. 279. This affair is also mentioned in Belden's *Hist. Statement*, MS., 33–4. 1844. Feb. 2d, gov. directs the alcalde to treat the Ind., who for some time have been their own masters, just like other citizens, except that he is to give notice to the padre in case of such offences as pertain to his care. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 87–8. June 16th, the bishop decreed that the chief altar should be privileged in that any priest celebrating mass thereat may free from the pains of purgatory the soul of the person for whose benefit the mass is said—but only for 100 years, that is, till 1944. Sept. 2, 1845. Inventory signed by P. Ánzar, Andrés Pico, and Juan Manso. Building with 12 rooms, the rest having been sold when Alvarado was gov., $800; garden and 40 fruit-trees, $75; 1 league of bad land, $100; total, $975. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 152. Sta Cruz is not named in Pico's decree of sale in Oct. This vol., p. 552.

in 1845, according to an original padron giving names, was 470 souls, or 120 Indians, including I suppose the 40 of Santa Cruz, and 350 gente de razon, of whom foreigners with their families numbered 80.[9] The villa and the ex-mission across the river were now one town, called by both names, but oftenest Santa Cruz; and the municipal affairs were managed by a succession of jueces de paz in 1841–3, and alcaldes in 1844–5, subordinate in some respects to the town authorities of Monterey and in others to the prefect. The successive local chiefs were José Bolcof, Juan Gonzalez, Rafael Castro, Manuel Rodriguez, Ramon Buelna, and Bolcof again; besides the official list and minor items connected with their acts as given in a note,[10] there is nothing requiring special notice. For-

[9] *Branciforte, Padron de Nov. 1845*, MS.

[10] Branciforte items. 1841: José Bolcof juez de paz, Agustin Dávila secretary. Municipal receipts and expend. of the year $44. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 7; *S. José, Arch.*, MS.; *Loose Pap.*, 44. Sept. 22d, Diego Guillermo Wikis (Jas W. Weeks) compiains to juez of treatment suffered by foreigners, and especially by himself, who was stabbed in hand and face, besides being insulted and threatened as an 'hijo de tal,' by Fulgencio Robles, merely because he objected to R. entering a house on horseback against the wishes of its owners. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 232. 1842. Juan Gonzalez juez, Rafael Castro either juez 2d or appointed to succeed Gonzalez after Feb., Dávila sec., Cornelio Perez juez de campo. Feb., gov. in reply to prefect's inquiry states that Branciforte has a *juzgado privativo de paz* subject to that of Mont., but in other respects is subject to the prefecture. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., iv. 21. Feb. 11th, Fulgencio Robles, the terror of all the region, was killed by Gil Sanchez while disturbing a party of gamblers at Carmichael's house. Sanchez acted at the request of Gonzalez, the alcalde and one of the players. S. was set free, but Gonzalez was condemned to lose his office and to live a year at Monterey. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., iii. 19–20; x. 24 Feb. 14th, prefect in a private letter urges Gonzalez to behave better and let the people live in peace. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 72. March 2d, prefect says Branciforte does not belong to the sub-prefecture of S. José. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 26. May, sad case of a Branciforte maiden who, being very tired, went outside to sleep, and on awaking found that a young man, without her knowledge, had treated her very improperly. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., iii. 11. Dec., an auxiliary military company ordered under Angel Castro. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 5. Simpson, *Narr.*, i. 364, tells us of Branciforte that 'as being the least populous it is also of course the least profligate of the three pueblos.' U. S. flag raised by Belden at the time of Jones' occupation of Mont. This vol., p. 312. Lumber trade mentioned by Belden. *Hist. St.*, MS., 31, 35. 1843. Guadalupe Castro and Juan José Félix jueces, appointed in Dec. 1842 for 1843. (But Rafael Castro is often named as the juez after March.) Joseph Majors and Francisco Soria jueces de campo. March, prefect calls on juez for 5 competent young men with no definite occupation for the Mont. presidial comp. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 88; also calls for the return of 4 deserters. *Id.* May 5th, the citizens petition for the removal of Juez Rafael Castro for maleadministration of justice. *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., ii. 14. Oct., a whaling

eigners were relatively more numerous here than in any other districts, and were largely engaged in lumbering, Larkin having an establishment here in charge of Josiah Belden. The Branciforteños strove to maintain their reputation for disorderly conduct with marked success.

I estimate the total population of San Francisco pueblo, or peninsula, in 1845, about equally divided between Yerba Buena and Mission Dolores, at 300 souls; of which number 150 were gente de razon of Spanish blood, 50 foreigners, and 100 Indians and kanakas, including the ex-neophytes.[11] Adding 200 for the contra costa, 900 for San José, and 300 for Sonoma and the northern frontier, we have for the population of the district 1,600 gente de razon, includ-

boat seized with 6 or 7 sailors, soon released. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 74; this vol., p. 376. Graham's offer to support Micheltorena with a force of foreigners repudiated by several of the latter. *Id.*, 356. Order to elect 2 alcaldes for the next year. *Id.*, 359. 1844. Manuel Rodriguez and Francisco Alviso alcaldes. April, order for collection of 5 per cent from the lumbermen for school, etc. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 77. Aug., gov. orders the alcalde to stop the saw-mills unless the tax is paid; but suggests that there may be something irregular about the fixed tax of $15 per month. *Doc Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 475. Belden, *Hist. St.*, MS., 34, relates that business being dull the sawyers in B.'s absence sought to create a demand by burning up what lumber had accumulated! whereupon Larkin was disgusted, and the business was closed up, perhaps later. Visited by Manuel Castro in quest of rebel volunteers. This vol., p. 462. 1845. Ramon Buelna and Francisco Soria alcaldes; but B. was suspended in Sept., and in Oct. José Bolcof was appointed 1st alcalde in his place; and in Dec. Macedonio Lorenzana was appointed 2d alcalde. May, citizens petition for the removal of both alcaldes for drinking, disorder, disobedience, and carelessness. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 33. Aug., Rafael Castro chosen compromisario for election of the 18th. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 88. Aug. 12th, Alcalde Soria writes that the first alcalde is accused of crime, and cannot be recognized until he vindicates himself. *Id.*, 89. Aug. 24th, juez informs prefect that the sawyers refuse to pay the tax on lumber. *Id.*, 104. Sept. 2d, Buelna suspended under a criminal accusation by José Perez. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 5. Oct. 14th, Alcalde Bolcof wants instructions on taxes on foreign liquors. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, ii. 190. Dec. 16th, alcalde wishes to send an exped. of 25 men every two weeks against the Ind. *Id.*, 252. Some of the citizens join Sutter's army in aid of the gov. This vol., p. 486.

[11] The estimate of Mofras (100 gente de razon), and others that I have seen, amount to nothing. The only data are as follows: A padron of 1842 shows 127 of Span. blood, 23 foreigners, and 46 Ind. and kanakas (not including ex-neophytes at the mission). Of these, by count, there were fit for military duty 31 Mex. and 18 foreigners. In 1844 we have a list of the men liable to military duty, 39 Mex. and 36 foreigners. Supposing the ratio of military men to pop. in both classes to be as before, we have approximately the results as in my text.

ing perhaps 100 foreigners, but excluding more than twice as many, and 850 Indians living at or near the old mission establishments.

Of events at San Francisco, the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company's store in 1841, and the suicide of its manager in 1845, with perhaps the assault on Libbey and Spear, if we judge by the extent of archive correspondence, are the only ones that can be magnified into importance.[12] William A. Leidesdorff was made U. S. vice-consul in 1844. Municipal

[12] S. Francisco events. 1841. Visits of Wilkes, Mofras, Simpson, Douglas, Peirce, and Phelps, whose descriptions and adventures are given in this vol., p. 212, 218, 243–5, 250, etc., and also in another paragraph of this note. Founding of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s establishment. *Id.*, 215–17. 1842. Visits of Com. Jones, Dr Sandels, and John Bidwell. *Id.*, 314, 346. Bishop desires to build a seminary on the island of Los Angeles. *Id.*, 334. 1843. Heavy rain in Aug., according to Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 218. 1844. Pastoral visit of the bishop. *Id.*, 427. Efforts to rouse S. F. against Gov. Micheltorena. *Id.*, 462–3. 1845. Wm A. Leidesdorff appointed U. S. vice-consul. *Id.*, 589. Suicide of Wm G. Rae of the H. B. Co. *Id.*, 593. Assault on Libbey and Spear. *Id.*, 569.

Municipal affairs. 1841. Francisco Guerrero juez de paz, Vicente Miramontes suplente, Wm A. Richardson capt. of the port, Prado Mesa acting in Oct., John Fuller síndico. No town lots granted this year. March 22d, the juez desired the prefect to send a copy of the order for granting lots at the mission, which request was referred to the gov. April 6th, and the order was furnished by Prefect Tiburcio Castro on the 23d. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, iv. 19; *Dwinelle*, add., 74; *Jones' Report*, no. 32. May 2d, alcalde, through prefect, asks gov. to order the majordomo of the mission to furnish either a room or Ind. to build one for the juzgado and archives. The prefect sent a favorable reply, but in Sept. the governor's order had not come. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 114, 117. Aug. 19th, the 2d juez, or suplente, asks to be relieved of his office because of his 2 years' service and his lack of ability to act in Guerrero's absence. *Dwinelle*, add., 74. Oct., case of a woman who avoided an outrage by promising to yield on the next occasion, and then accused the assailant to the first men she saw. *Dept. St. Pap., S. J.*, vi. 18. In *Id.*, 16–45, there are records of routine correspondence, with many petty cases of debt, etc., before the S. F. justice in 1841 et seq., which are not noticed in this note. Síndico's report of receipts $379, expend. $349 for the year, besides $55 still due the treasury. *Dwinelle*, add., 75–8. 1842. Francisco Sancho juez, Jesus Noé suplente, Gregorio Escalante síndico, Fran. de Haro secretary, Richardson capt. of the port, Candelario Valencia juez de campo. Two lots at Yerba Buena and two at Dolores granted this year. Sanchez takes possession of the office by inventory Jan. 12th. *Dept. St. Pap., S. J.*, MS., 20. April, the room at the mission still needed; it is one that has been used for some public 'manifestations.' *Id.*, 22. June, the alcalde has taken steps to avoid the impertinences of Sra Briones' husband. *Id.*, 23. Aug., robbery of the síndico. *Id.*, 24. Dec., sends a padron of S. F. pop., 196 as noted elsewhere. *Id.*, 25. An order of Nov. 14th requires the election of two alcaldes. This vol., p. 359; but the name juez de paz continues to be used. 1843. Jesus Noé juez, José de la Cruz Sanchez suplente. These were appointed by the prefect in the preceding Dec. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 28; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., iv. 32; but in March Francisco Sanchez was restored by the gov. to his old place of juez 1°, and Noé became appar-

affairs of the pueblo went on in much the same way as before, and are recorded with tolerable completeness. The successive justices of the peace, or alcaldes,

ently juez 2°. *Id.*, *S. J.*, vi. 27. Peter Sherreback síndico, Richardson capt. of port. 14 lots at Yerba Buena and 2 at Dolores were granted this year. Feb., juez is trying to secure the house of Bernal for his juzgado. *Id.*, 26. June, Apolinario Miranda sent to the sub-prefect for not living harmoniously with his wife. *Id.*, 29. 1844. Wm Hinckley alcalde, also called juez de paz, Francisco de Haro either suplente or secretary, Peter Sherreback and Benito Diaz agentes de policía. Hinckley was elected Jan. 9th. Jan 20th. gov. to alcalde, has received inventory of effects in his office. *Duhaut*, add., 85. March 11th, gov. to Alf. Mesa, order to march with 12 or 15 men to aid the alcalde in repressing disturbances. *Id.*, 86. April 8th, petition of 15 residents at the mission to the gov. for the extinction of the title of ex-mission and office of majordomo and the formal recognition of the place as a pueblo, as it had been so recognized indirectly in various official documents. A decision was reserved until the gov. should have made a proposed *visita*, and the condition of the ex-mission as to debts, etc., should be known. *Id.*, 102–3. What the petitioners desired was the complete extinction of the old mission organization, which still prevented the private ownership of certain property, and the complete recognition of the settlement as part of the pueblo of S. F. They had no idea of establishing a new pueblo. The land lawyers were disposed to regard this petition as proving on the one side that there was no pueblo, since the organization of one was desired, and on the other that Dolores was always distinct from the pueblo of S. F., both of which views I deem erroneous. 15 lots were granted this year at Yerba Buena, and one at the mission. Dec. 22d, election of alcalde for the next year. 1845. Juan N. Padilla 1st alcalde, José de la Cruz Sanchez 2d alcalde, Richardson, Fran. Sanchez, and Hinckley successively captains of the port. 12 lots granted at Yerba Buena, none at Dolores. March 15th, Padilla offers his resignation, because he is only 24 years old, has resided only 8 months at S. F., has no rooms for office and prison, and his business calls him back to Sonoma. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., ii. 33. May 11th, 22 persons, mostly foreigners, petition the gov. to let Padilla remain in office; for they will not submit to Sanchez, who, with his brother the com. mil., has assaulted Padilla and induced citizens to ignore him, claiming that Gen. Castro will support them *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 151–2. May 12th, Sanchez to gov., asks to be confirmed as 1st alcalde, since the people have met and compelled Padilla to give up the baton because of non-residence and arbitrary acts. *Id.*, 152. May 12th, Padilla to gov., makes known mutiny against him and various insults arising from the enmity of a certain family, notwithstanding his request to the people to await the decision of the govt on his resignation. *Id.*, 152–3. It seems that Padilla had been arrested by Sanchez before he offered his resignation. The matter came up in the junta at Los Angeles May 23d, and it was decided to continue P. in office, but to order a legal investigation *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 58–9. May 24th, corresponding orders by the gov., the juez of S. José being ordered to make the investigation. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 36. June 27th, Padilla to gov., reports that Sanchez on formal citation had at last given up the office, after making threats, declaring that he had 30 men to support him, etc. Residents of Y. B. are insulted and their houses stoned by those of Dolores. *Dept. St. Pap.* There is no more about this quarrel; yet grants of lots from Aug. seem to have been made by Sanchez, indicating that the investigation resulted in establishing the illegality of Padilla's election and in his withdrawal. A patrol of citizens was appointed to keep order. *Castro, Rel.*, MS., 153; but their only achievement recorded was the assault on Libbey and Spear, as elsewhere noted. In Aug.-Sept. there was also trouble about the primary and secondary elections, the elec-

from 1841, were Francisco Guerrero, Francisco Sanchez, Jesus Noé, William S. Hinckley, and Juan N. Padilla. These municipal chiefs granted building

tors from Sonoma and Contra Costa not making their appearance, and those from S. José going home, to be sent back by the prefect's order. Finally, on Sept. 17th, only 4 compromisarios were present, 3 from S. José and one of S. F. There was a general objection to meeting at Yerba Buena, and to the predominant influence of foreigners there, and there were also disagreements between Sonoma and S. Rafael. The sub-prefect was much troubled, and he also complained of the lack of office and prison, desiring permission to obtain building material from the presidio or mission ruins. Original corresp. in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 108, 127, 140, 156, 158, 180.

Sub-prefecture. Yerba Buena made cabecera of the 2d partido of the 2d or Monterey district, by decree of July 4–5, 1845. This vol., p. 533. Francisco Guerrero was appointed sub-prefect on Aug. 8th, by the prefect, and was sworn in on the 15th. His salary was $500. His jurisdiction included S. José and all north of that town. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 81, 91–2, 122, 151; and many other records. No secretary was appointed in 1845. Rather strangely, I find an original doc. in which Guerrero is addressed by Leidesdorff, the vice-consul, as sub-prefect in Jan., and another in which G. writes as sub-prefect in Jan. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 130; *Larkin's Doc.*, MS., iii. 1. In both cases there is probably a slip of the pen, 1845 for 1846. There is nothing in this officer's recorded acts that requires further notice.

Military affairs. 1841–3. Names of the men composing the garrison of the presidio: Alf. Juan Prado Mesa, sergt Nazario Galindo, soldiers José Galindo, Antonio Bernal, Ramon Águila, Francisco Cibrian, Blas Narvaez, Santiago Hernandez, Domingo Altamirano, Mariano Miranda, Santos Miranda, José Salazar, Gerónimo Mesa, and Bernardino García. Company rosters in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxvii. passim. Report of armament in 1841, and Vallejo's efforts to have the fort rebuilt. This vol., p. 198, 205. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 325, 427–9, describes the presidio as in an advanced state of ruin, garrisoned by an alférez and 10 (or 5) soldier-rancheros with their families. Wilkes in 1841 says there was but one sold., under an officer who was absent and whose name seemed to be unknown to the people! *U. S. Explor. Ex.*, v. 163. Sergt Sant. Hernandez is once mentioned as comandante in 1842. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 380–1. Mesa is still named as comandante in 1844–5, but I have no original rosters of the co. after Aug. 1843. Feb. 1844. Presidio buildings in ruins and much of the material being stolen. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 273–4. Aug. 20, 1844. Roster of the S. F. company of defensores de la patria. Capt. Francisco Sanchez, Lieut Juan N. Padilla, alféreces Vicente Miramontes and Jesus Noé, sergeants Cruz Sanchez, Candelario Valencia, and 3 others, 8 corporals, 5 of whom were foreigners, and 33 soldiers, 8 of them foreigners. *Soberanes, Doc.*, MS., 308. Sanchez is several times alluded to as mil. com. of S. F. in 1845.

Growth of Yerba Buena, descriptions, etc. Simpson in 1841 writes of 'observing on the southern side of the mouth a fort well situated for commanding the passage, but itself commanded by a hill behind. This fort is now dismantled and dilapidated; nor are its remains likely to last long, for the soft rock, on the very verge of which they hang, is fast crumbling into the undermining tide beneath. A short distance beyond the fort is situated a square of huts, distinguished by the lofty title of the presidio of S. F., and tenanted' by Capt. Prado and a corporal's guard. 'The pretty little bay of Yerba Buena, whose shores are doubtless destined under better auspices to be the site of a flourishing town, though at present they contain only 8 or 9 houses in addition to the H. B. Co.'s establishment.' *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 277–8, 283–4. Henry A. Peirce, in his *Journal*, MS., 81, for Nov. 30th, writes: 'Mr Rae, agent of the H. B. Co. has lately purchased a house. At

lots and indulged in mild controversies here as elsewhere; and there is nothing in the records of the period to suggest the doubts current in later times

Y. B. there are not more than half a dozen houses, of which Mr Rae's is the best. It is built of wood, shingled, etc., and of the old-fashioned Dutch form. Mr Spear has lately erected a grist-mill, and attached thereto a machine for making shingles, and a turning-lathe.' Capt. Wilkes on his late visit promised to get for Spear the appointment of U. S. consul. Mrs Rae, *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., 23–8, who lived in the house mentioned above throughout this period, says: 'I found everything nice at S. F. in the winter, the hills covered with flowers. We saw few people, Capt. Hinckley, Mr Spear, Mr Vioget, who used to keep a billiard-room. I went to the house the company had bought, about half of it a store and the other half a dwelling. It was a long building, and in the middle was a big hall with the house on one side and store on the other. That was Mr Leese's house, about 30x80 feet, with the hall in the middle opening on the side and very wide. In the back part were 4 bedrooms, and the front was a dining-room and sitting-room. The kitchen was back of all. We had a kanaka cook and steward, and 2 kanaka boatmen. Mr Ridell (Ridley) was our clerk.' 'The place was very small; they called it Yerba Buena in those days. When I got there (1841) there was only one house, Spear's, and then the store, that is two; and Barkis' (?) house, a little mill where they made shingles, and then David Carpenter's (Davis the carpenter?) house on the next block. And then, on our side of the street was our house, and across the street was Mr Fuller's house. That was all the front. And then back was Capt. Fitch's (Richardson's?) little adobe house and 3 or 4 little buildings. That was all we had there when I was there. I have never been there since.' (This was written in 1878; the lady died in 1884.) 'There used to be a little hill going down about 6 feet from the front. When the tide came up, it came to the little hill. I have been several times to the mission; the road was very bad, all sand. I never saw a wagon go out there. It was just trails. The second time we went it was to christen my little girl, and Mrs Hinckley was godmother.' Capt. Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, 252–4, tells us that in 1841 there were but 4 permanent residents (!), and notes that a panther carried off an Ind. boy from Leese's yard, and woodcutters at Rincon Point had their dinner stolen by a grizzly bear. Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 162, writes that in 1841, 'the town is not calculated to produce a favorable impression on a stranger. Its buildings consist of a large frame building occupied by the agent of the H. B. Co., a store kept by Mr Spear, an American, a billiard-room and bar, a poop-cabin of a ship (Kent Hall), occupied as a dwelling by Capt. Hinckley, a blacksmith shop, and out-buildings. These, though few in number, are also far between. With these I must not forget to enumerate an old, dilapidated adobe building, which has a conspicuous position on the top of the hill overlooking the anchorage.' Mofras, in 1841–2, *Explor.*, i. 425–7, found at most 20 houses at Yerba Buena, all belonging to foreigners. He notes the H. B. Co. building, and Spear and Hinckley's store as the chief structures; also an ingenious arrangement by which 4 mules worked simultaneously a flour-mill, bolting apparatus, and a saw-mill. The Swiss capt. Vioget had a good house and shop, and Prudon owned a house occupied by Mathurin. Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, MS., 47–8, notes the difficulties of loading and unloading cargoes on the mud flats. Bidwell, whose visit was in Jan. 1842, notes the principal buildings as above, and says there were about half a dozen small frame houses and one or two adobes. *Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 100. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 216–17, speaks of goat-raising on Y. B. Isl. from 1842, and on other pages gives many items about the place in these years. Padron of 1842, showing a pop. of 196, including 23 foreigners besides 7 kanakas and 39 Ind. servants. This includes all on the peninsula except the soldiers at the pre-

as to the existence of a pueblo. San Francisco was not able to enjoy its glories as cabecera of the partido before the prefecture was abolished; but when the

sidio and the ex-neophyte community at the mission. *Dwinelle*, add., 78–82; *Dept. St. Pap., S. J.*, MS., vi. 25. Dr Sandels, *King's Orphan*, 8–9, visited Yerba Buena in 1843, describing it as 'a small and growing town on the s. w. side of S. F. Bay and near the town of that name,' and giving a sketch which shows 20 or 21 structures. According to the *Annals of S. F.*, 173, Y. B. in 1844 had about a dozen houses and about 50 inhabitants. Davis, *Glimpses*, 142–3, notes the building of a bridge in 1844, by Alcalde Hinckley's efforts, across the mouth of the lagoon separating the main town from what was later Clark's point, a public improvement that attracted crowds of admiring visitors. He also speaks of a survey of the town during Hinckley's term, which is doubtful. July 21, 1844, list of men liable to military duty—that is, from 16 to 60 years of age. The whole no. is 75, of whom 36 are foreigners, 14 of them naturalized. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiv. 42. Swasey, *Cal.*, MS., 4, thinks the pop. of Y. B. in 1845 was about 240—much too large an estimate. Grantees of lots at Y. B. in 1841–5, according to *Wheeler's Land Titles, Dwinelle*, etc., were as follows: Geo. Allen, P. Sherreback, Francisco de Haro, V. Miramontes, Jesus Noé, Domingo Félix, J. B., Wm A. Leidesdorff, Bruno Valencia, Fran. Guerrero, Trinidad Moya (2), Henry Bee, Juan Castañeda, Gregorio Escalante, John Martin, Juana Briones, C. W. Flügge, Jas R. Berry, Robert Ridley, Benito Diaz and J. P. Mesa, Cárlos Glein, Ed. T. Bale, Eug. Montenegro, John Rose, A. A. Andrews, Wm Reynolds, Doña E. S. Bernal, J. P. Dedmond, Wm Richardson, Wm Johnson, Rosalía Haro, Thos Smith, Joaquin Piña, Eusebio Soto, Lázaro Piña, Wm Fisher, Fran. Sanchez, F. Lepage, Pedro Estrada, Mig. Pedrorena, Gregorio Briones, and Stephen Smith.

The new custom-house: Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 157–8, says that Receptor Diaz in 1844 occupied three rooms in the adobe building, west side Dupont, between Clay and Washington st, the rest of which in 1843–5 was occupied by D. as agent for Paty and McKinley. Feb. 22, 1844, gov. asks for three bricklayers from Sta Clara and a carpenter from S. José to work on a new custom-house for the newly established receptoría. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 64–5. Feb. 23d, admin. at Mont. directs receptor at S. F. to begin work at once, building not to cost over $800. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 49–50. Feb. 26th, Diaz has rec'd the order; no material can be had from the mission; wants authority to take tiles and lumber from the ruined buildings at the presidio. *Id.*, i. 273–4. Feb. 29th, more on the same subjects. The material of unoccupied buildings at the mission has been carried off, as that at the presidio will be soon if nothing is done. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. C.-H.*, MS., viii. 148. May 20th, gov. authorizes payment of expenses for the custom-house. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 82. July 30th, Diaz reports that most of his Ind. workmen ran away; desires that some be provided from Sonoma. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. C.-H.*, MS., viii. 184. Oct. 2d, the receptor's suggestion of digging a well will soon be acted on. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 92. Nov. 1st, Diaz urges that for the credit of the govt the receipts from vessels should be promptly applied to pay workmen on the new building, those who have lent money for the enterprise, and the boatmen. Otherwise the work will have to stop and the building will go to ruin. This was in consequence of an order to send funds to Monterey. *Id.*, i. 288. Feb. 10, 1845, account rendered by receptor; amount received, $2,320; expended on the building, $2,361. In Sept. the building had been completed and $358 more spent on it. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. C.-H.*, 235–6. Feb. 21st, receptor is told by admin. at Mont. to let the building remain as it is (unfinished and debts unpaid?). *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 121. A flag bought of Leidesdorff for $50. (This flag was in later years presented by Pinto through P. A. Roach to the Soc. of Pioneers.) *Id.*, ii. 209. Description of the new building in an inventory of Oct. 'Una casa de 20½

system was restored in 1845 better fortune attended the bay town, and Francisco Guerrero became sub-prefect with a jurisdiction including San José and all

varas de largo y 8 de ancho con corredor al frente y los costados de 2½ varas de ancho con su balustrado y escalera. La casa contiene 4 piezas, 5 ventanas, con sus vidrieras, 7 puertas con sus chapas y llaves, una escalera de madera forrada con un cuarto pequeño; todas las puertas y ventanas con sus vistas forradas de madera y las 4 piezas con sus fajas arriba y abajo blanqueadas por dentro e fuera, pintada de plomo en el interior y por fuera verde.' *Id.*, ii. 197. Dec. 20th, Gen. Castro orders com. of S. F. to let the receptor have all the tiles he may need for the new building (?). *Id.*, 216.

Other custom-house affairs. 1841. Francisco Guerrero in charge. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 56. Vallejo's efforts to transfer the custom-house to S. F. This vol., p. 208. 1842. Guerrero still in charge. His complaint in Sept. that Richardson continues to permit vessels to anchor at Sauzalito. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 254. 1843. Guerrero receptor. The gov. approves transfer of custom-house from Mont. (?) This vol., p. 375–6. More complaints against Richardson, and an order from the gov. not to permit vessels to anchor at Sauzalito unless first despatched from Mont. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 40; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 345. 1844. Guerrero is succeeded by Benito Diaz as receptor in Feb., continued troubles with Richardson about the Sauzalito anchorage, other revenue officers, their gambling propensities, lighters on the bay, new building begun, site selected for a well, etc. This vol., p. 429–31. March 7th, regulations for the receptor's guidance. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., ii. 58–9. May 18th, Col. Vallejo calls the governor's attention to the importance of the port, its defence, and of establishing the custom-house there. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 376. Sept.–Oct., Diaz reports much smuggling by whalers, he has to use threats to bring them to Yerba Buena, has been offered bribes by them, and gets little support from Capt. Richardson. *Pinto, Doc.*, MS., i. 276–83. Capt. Hinckley was accused also of intermeddling. Oct. 26th, only one of the 4 celadores had reported for duty. *Id.*, 382. Oct. 27th, Richardson claims that he and not the receptor has the right to collect anchorage dues. *Id.*, ii. 101. Oct. 29th, Diaz to R., gives up all responsibility for the Sauzalito vessels, as he cannot have R.'s cooperation. *Id.*, i. 280–91. But R. refuses also to take the responsibility. *Id.*, ii. 105. Nov. 1st, five months' wages due the boatmen. *Id.*, i. 288. Dec. 29th, D. has appointed a coxswain at $10, to avoid risking his life and that of others in heavy winds. *Id.*, 289 1845. Rafael Pinto appointed to succeed Diaz in Aug., vessels permitted to go to Sauzalito, minor officials, statistics, etc. This vol., p. 555–62

Ranchos of northern Cal., granted in 1841–5. Those marked with a * not finally confirmed. Aguas Frias (Butte Co.), 6 l., granted in 1844 to Salvador Osio; Randall and Todd claimants before land commission. Aguas Nieves (Butte Co.), 6 l., 1844, Sam. J. Hensley, who was cl. Alameda, Arroyo de la (Alam. Co.), 4 l., 1842, Jesus Vallejo, who was cl. Alam. Co. ranchos, see Potrero, S. Leandro, S. Lorenzo, and Sobrante. Alcatraz, see Farallones, etc. Alisal, see Rincon. Americanos, see Rio. Animas, see Posolomi. Arroyo Chico (Butte Co.), 1844, Wm Dickey, John Bidwell cl. Arroyo Chico (Butte Co.), 5 l., 1844, Ed. A. Farwell; James Williams et al. cl. Arroyo, see Alameda, Calzoncillos, Pilarcitos, Rinconada, and S. Antonio. Barranca Colorado (Tehama), 4 l., 1844, Josiah Belden; Wm B. Ide cl. Berrendos, see Primer Cañon. Blucher (Sonoma), 6 l., 1844, Jean Vioget; Stephen Smith cl. Boca, see Pinole. Bodega (Sonoma), 8 l., 1844, Stephen Smith, who was cl. *Bodega, 1841, Victor Prudon, who was cl. Boga (Butte) or Flügge rancho, 5 l., 1844, Chas W. Flügge; T. O. Larkin cl. Bolsa, see Tamales Bolsas, see Hambre. Borregas, see Pastoria. Bosquejo (Tehama), 5 l., 1844, Peter Lassen, who was cl. *Briesgau (Shasta), 5 l., 1844, Wm Benitz, who was cl.

the s[illegible] north of that town. At the presidio Alfér[illegible] Mesa with Sergeant Galindo and nine or te[illegible] a detachment of the Sonoma company,

Butte [illegible] see Aguas Frias, Aguas Nieves, Arroyo Chico, Boga, Esquoi[illegible]o Seco, and Willy. Also not named, *C. W. Flügge, 5 l., 1[illegible] cl. Cabeza, see Sta Rosa. Callayomi (Sonoma), 3 l., 1845, [illegible] Ritchie and Forbes cl. *Calzoncillos (Sta Clara), 11 l., 1843, [illegible]res, who was cl. Campo de los Franceses (S. Joaquin), 11 l., [illegible]nac; C. M. Weber cl.; claim of Justo Larios rejected. Cañad[illegible]e, Visitacion, y Rodeo Viejo (S. F.), 2 l., 1841, J. P. Leese[illegible] H. R. Payson, cl.; Ridley's cl. rejected. Cañada de los Vaqu[illegible]sta), 1844, Fran. Alviso et al.; Robt Livermore cl. Cañada, [illegible]ncillos, Hambre, Jonive, Pinole, and Pogolomi. Capay (Colu[illegible] Josefa Soto, who was cl. Capitancillos, Cañada, 1842, Justo [illegible]lupe Min. Co. cl.; Fossat's cl. rejected. Carne Humana (Nap[illegible]l. T. Bale, whose widow was cl. Caslamayome, see Laguna[illegible]pa), 2 l., 1844, J. B. Chiles, who was cl. *Cazadores (Sac.[illegible]rnest Rufus; James Murphy cl. Cerritos, see Potrero. Chic[illegible]hico. Coches (Sta Clara), ½ l., 1844, Roberto; Antonio Suñ[illegible]us (Colusa), 2 l., 1845, John Bidwell; C. D. Semple cl. *Col[illegible] John Daubenbiss; N. Bassett cl. Colusa Co. ranchos, see [illegible]cinto, Jimeno, and Larkin. Contra Costa ranchos, see Cañ[illegible]os, Hambre, Juntas, Laguna, Monte del Diablo, Pinole, Sob[illegible]nos; also not named, grants to *Inocencio Romero et al. (Sob[illegible]nd *Juan José Castro et al., 1841, 1844; E. R. Carpentier cl. [illegible]era (Sta Clara), 2 l., 1844, Máximo Martinez, who was cl. *Co[illegible]nento), 1 l., 1844, Heleno; Hicks and Martin cl. Cotate (So[illegible]44, Juan Castañeda; T. S. Page cl. Diablo, see Monte. Do[illegible] Embarcadero, see St Clara. Estanislao, see ranchería. *E[illegible]5 l., 1844, Sam. Neal, who was cl. *Farallones, Alcatraz, Ye[illegible] Pt Tiburon (S. F. & Marin), 1843, J. Y. Limantour, who wa[illegible]ncho (S. Mateo), 1 l., 1844, Domingo Félix, who was cl. Fl[illegible]3 l., 1844, Wm Chard, who was cl. Flügge, see Boga. Fr[illegible]po. Gallinas, see S. Pedro. Gentiles, see Laguna. Guadalu[illegible] Guenoc (Sonoma or Lake), 6 l., 1845, Geo. Rock; Arch. Ri[illegible]esosi, see Quesesosi. Hambre, Cañada, and las Bolsas del — (C[illegible]l., 1842, Teodora Soto, who was cl. Honcut (Yuba), 7 l., 18[illegible]ordua; Estate of J. Thompson cl. *Honcut (Butte), 8 l., 18[illegible]er, who was cl. Huichicha (Sonoma), 2 l., 1841, J. P. Leese, w[illegible]into (Colusa), 8 l., 1844, Jacinto Rodriguez; Wm H. McKee cl[illegible]isa), 11 l., 1844, Manuel Jimeno Casarin; T. O. Larkin et al[illegible] (Yuba), 5 l., 1844, Pablo Gutierrez; Wm Johnson cl. Jo-n[illegible]l., 1845, James Black; Jasper O'Farrell cl. Jota (Napa), 1 l.[illegible]unt, who was cl. Juntas (Contra Costa), 3 l., 1844, Wm V[illegible]ate was cl. Lac (Sonoma), 1,000 v., 1844, Dámaso Rodriguez; J[illegible] Laguna de los Gentiles, or Caslamayome (Sonoma), 8 l., 1844, R[illegible]; Wm Forbes cl. Laguna de los Palos Colorados (Contra Cos-t[illegible]Moraga and J. Bernal; Moraga cl. *Laguna de los Santos Calle ([illegible]5, Victor Prudon and M. Vaca; E. L. Brown cl. Laguna, see [illegible]s (Colusa), 10 l., 1844, F. Larkin et al. who were cl. *Lassen's [illegible]Peter Lassen; Harriet Besse cl. Llajomi (Napa), 1½ l., 1841, [illegible]guez; Salv. Vallejo cl. Llano Seco (Butte), 4 l., 1844–5, Sebas-[illegible]. Brentram et al. cl. Llano, see Sta Rosa. Locoallome (Napa), [illegible] Pope; Joseph Pope et al. cl ; Rainsford's claim under grant [illegible] *Lupyomi (Napa), 14 l., 1844, Salv Vallejo; H. T. Tesch-[illegible], 1844, Limantour, who was cl.; 2 l., 1844, S. and J. A. Va-[illegible] cl. Malacomes, or Moristal (Sonoma), 2 l., 1843, José de los

served as garrison, though visitors' reports rarely agreed with the rosters as to the presence of more than two or three at any one time. Most of the

Santos Berreyesa; Rockwell and Knight cl.; also 2 l., [illegible] al. cl. See also Seno. Mare Island (Solano), 1840–1, Victor Castro [illegible] Aspinwall cl. Marin Co. ranchos, see Farallones, Nicasio, Olo[illegible], Pt Reyes, S. Antonio, S Gerónimo, S. Pedro, Soulajule, [illegible] and Tamales; also grant not named to *Tim Murphy, 100 [illegible] Mariposa Co., see S. Luis Gonzaga. *Mariposas (S. Joaq.), 11 l., [illegible] Castañares; E. Voss cl. Mariposas, 10 l., 1844, J. B. Alva[illegible] cl. Mendocino Co., see Muñiz, Sanel, and Yokaya; also [illegible] grants to José Ant. Galindo, 1844, 10–12 l.; Wm A. Richardson cl. [illegible], 9 l. 1844. *Limantour 80 l., 1844. Merced Co., see Sanjon[illegible] Roblar. Molinos, see Rio. Monte del Diablo (Contra Cost[illegible] Pacheco, who was cl. Moquelumnes, see Sanjon. Morist[illegible] Muñiz (Mendocino), 4 l., 1845. Manuel Torres, who [illegible] Co. ranchos, see Carne Humana, Catacula, Jota, Llajomi, Yo[illegible] and Tulucay. *Nemshas (Sac. Val.), 4 l., 1844, Theod[illegible] Chana cl. New Helvetia (Sac. and Yuba), 11 l., 1841, J. [illegible] Sutter et al. cl.; some of the claims rejected. *New Helvetia, 22 [illegible] Sutter, who was cl. (Sutter general title). Nicasio (Marin), 2 [illegible] de la Guerra and J. Cooper; Wm Reynolds and D. Frink cl.; [illegible] and Black cl. *Nueva Flandria (Sac.), 3 l., 1844–5, Sutter and [illegible] and W. W. Warner cl. Olompali (Marin), 2 l., 1843, C. Init[illegible] cl. Omochumne (Sac.), 5 l., 1844, Joaquin Sheldon, whose hei[illegible] Orestimba (Tuolumne), 6 l., 1844, Sebastian Muñoz, who was [illegible] Colorados, see Laguna. Panocha (S. Joaq.), 5 l., 1844, Julian U[illegible] cl. *Panocha Grande (S. Joaq.), 4 l., 1844, Vicente P. Gomez, [illegible] The famous McGarraghan claim.) Paso, rancho del (Sac.), 1[illegible] Grimes; Sam. Norris cl. Pastoría de las Borregas (Sta Cl[illegible] 1842, Francisco Estrada; M. Murphy cl.; also 2 l. called [illegible] cl. Mariano Castro. Pescadero (S. Joaq.), 8 l., 1843, V. Higuera [illegible] H. Grimes et al. cl. Pescadero (S. Joaquin), 8 l., 1843, Anto[illegible] who and H. M. Naglee were cl. Petaluma (Sonoma), 15 l., [illegible] G. Vallejo, who was cl.; Watmough's claim rejected. Pilar[illegible] (Sta Clara), 1 l., 1841, Candelario Miramontes, who was cl. Pino[illegible], 4 l., 1842, Ignacio Martinez; M. A. Martinez de Richar[illegible] Boca de la Cañada del, 1842, Manuel Valencia, who was cl. [illegible] see S. Juan. Pogolomi, cañada de (Marin), 2 l., 1844, Antonio [illegible] cl. Posolomi and Pozito de las Ánimas (Sta Clara), 3,042 acre[illegible] go, R. Walkinshaw cl. *Potrero (Santa Clara), 11 l., 1843, J[illegible] who was cl. Potrero de los Cerritos (Alameda), 3 l., 1844, To[illegible] A. Alviso, who were cl. Potrero, see also S. F. and Sta Clara [illegible] solomi. Primer Cañon, or Rio de los Berrendos (Tehama), 6 [illegible] Dye, who was cl. Puerto (Stanislaus), 3 l., 1844, Mariano H[illegible] S. G. Reed et al. cl. *Punta de Lobos (S. F.), 1845, Joaquin [illegible] sented to L. C.; also application by Benito Diaz, granted later [illegible] Reyes (Marin), 11 l., 1843, A. M. Osio; A. Randal cl. Puta[illegible] 1843, José de Jesus and Sixto Berreyesa; M. Anastasio Hi[illegible] Putas (Solano), 10 l., 1843, J. M. Vaca and J. F Peña, who [illegible] also Rio de los P. Quesesosi (Yolo), 2 l., 1843, Wm Gordo[illegible] Quito (Sta Clara), 3 l., 1841, José Z. Fernandez and J Nori[illegible] cl. Ranchería del Rio Estanislao (S. Joaq.), 11 l., 1843, Fran[illegible] José Ant. Castro, who were cl. Refugio, see Pastoria. Reye[illegible] R. *Rincon del Alisal (Sta Clara), 600 v., 1844, Santos and Son[illegible] Rincon de San Francisquito (Sta Clara), 1841, José Peña; T. [illegible] cl. Rincon, see also S. F. Rinconada del Arroyo de S. [illegible]

buildings were at any rate unoccupied and rapidly going to ruin. A company of defensores de la patria, 46 rank and file, under Captain Francisco Sanchez,

Clara), ½ l., 1841, M. A. Mesa, who was cl. Rio de los Americanos (Sac.), 8 l., 1844, Wm A. Leidesdorff; Folsom and Sparks cl. Rio de Berrendos, see Primer Cañon. Rio Estanislao, see Ranchería. Rio de los Molinos (Tehama) 5 l., 1844, A. G. Toomes, who was cl. Rio de los Putos (Yolo), 4 l., 1842, Francisco Guerrero; Wm Wolfskill cl. Roblar de la Miseria (Sonoma) 4 l., 1845, Juan N. Padilla; David Wright cl. Rodeo Viejo, see Cañada de Guadalupe. *Sacramento, city lands, 1841, J. A. Sutter; city and Burnett cl. *Sacramento, island of, 1844, V. Prudon, who was cl.; 1845, Robt Elwell, Jesus Noé cl.; not named, *Sutter 300 acres, 1841, F. J. White cl.; Moquelumne Ind., 4 l., 1844, Sutter cl. for Ind. Sacramento Co. ranchos, see also Cazadores, Cosumnes, N. Helvetia, N. Flandria, Omochumnes, Paso, Rio Americanos, S. Buenaventura, Nemshas, Sanjon, and Sucayac. *San Antonio, arroyo (Marin), 3 l., 1844, Juan Miranda; T. B. Valentine, J. A. Short et al. cl. San Antonio laguna (Marin), 6 l., 1845, B. Bojorques, who was cl. San Buenaventura (Sac.), 6 l., 1844, P. B. Reading, who was cl. *San Cayetano, garden (Sta Clara), 1,000 v. 1845, J. B. Alvarado; C. Panaud et al. cl. *San Francisco, city lands, 1843, Limantour, who was cl.; Mission lots: *Domingo Félix 400 v.; *E. and J. R. Valencia 200 v.; Cárlos Moreno (Chas Brown), Fran. de Haro, 150 v. *San Francisco, potrero, ½ l., 1844, R. and F. de Haro, whose heirs were cl., also Wm C. Jones. *San Francisco, rincon, 800 v., 1845, P. Sherreback, who was cl. Id., not named, Robert Elwell, 400 v., 1842; Fernando Marchena, 1 l., 1844; neither of them presented to L. C.; *Stephen Smith, two 50 v. lots, 1845; see also Cañada de Guadalupe, Pt Lobos, and S. Miguel. S. Francisquito, see Rincon and Rinconada. San Gerónimo (Marin), 2 l., 1844, Rafael Cacho; J. M. Revere, cl. San Joaquin Co. ranchos, see Campo, Mariposas, Panocha, Pescadero, and Ranchería. San Juan (Placer), 4½ l., 1844, Jocl P. Dedmond; Hiram Grimes cl. San Leandro (Alameda), 1 l., 1842, Joaquin Estudillo, who was cl. San Lorenzo (Alameda), 600 v. and 1 l., 1841–3, Guillermo Castro, who was cl. San Lorenzo (Alameda), 1½ l., 1842–4, Francisco Soto, whose heirs were cl. San Luis Gonzaga (Mariposa), 48,821 acres, 1843, Francisco Rivera; J. P. Pacheco cl. San Mateo Co., see Félix. San Miguel (S.F.), 1 l., 1845, Jesus Noé, who was cl. San Pedro, Sta Margarita, and Las Gallinas (Marin), 5 l., 1844, Tim. Murphy, who was cl. San Vicente (Sta Clara, 1 l., 1842, José R. Berreyesa, whose heirs were cl. Santa Clara, Potrero, 1 l., 1844, J. A. Forbes; R. F. Stockton, cl. Sta Clara, Embarcadero, 1,000 varas, 1845, Basilio Bernal, who was cl. Sta Clara Co. ranchos, see Calzoncillos, Capitancillos, Coches, Corte de Madera, Pastoría, Pilarcitos, Posolomi, Quito, Rincon, Rinconada, S. José Mision, S. Cayetano, S. Vicente, Ulistac, and Uvas; also not named, grants to Francisco García, 2,000 v., 1845, J. Enright cl.; *José Noriega, 4 lots, 1845, N. cl.; *Buenaventura et al., ½ l., 1844, H. C. Smith cl.; *Narciso Bennett, who was cl., 140 v. 1 solar, 1845; Narciso Bennett, 140 v. and 2,000–1,000 v., 1845; Mary S Bennett cl.; Barcelia Bernal et al., 1 l., 1845–6. Sta Margarita, see S. Pedro. Sta Rita, see Sanjon. Sta Rosa, cabeza (Sonoma), 1841, María Ignacia Lopez, confirmed in 6 divisions to Julio Carrillo, J. R. Mayer et al., J Eldridge, F. Carrillo, Juana de J. Mallagh, and J. Hendley; cl. of O Boulio rejected. Sta Rosa, llano, 3 l., 1844, Mark West; Joaq. Carrillo cl.; rejected 2 claims on grant to Joaq. Carrillo, 1844. Sancos (Tehama), 5 l., 1844, R. H. Thomes, who was cl. Sanel (Mendocino), 4 l., 1844, F. Félix, who was cl. Sanjon de los Moquelumnes (Sac.), 8 l., 1844, Anastasio Chabolla; Angel and M. Chabolla cl. Sanjon de Sta Rita (Merced), 11 l., 1841, Francisco Soberanes, who was cl. Santos Calle, see Laguna. Seno de Malacomes (Sonoma), 4 l., 1843, José de los Santos Berreyesa, who was cl. Shasta Co., see Briesgau. Sobrante (Ala-

held themselves ready for action in 1844–5. The growth of Yerba Buena, in the light of later developments, has a peculiar interest, and I have quoted in the appended note some descriptive matter by visitors, one of whom has left a pencil sketch, and by residents, notable among whom is Mrs Rae. The town contained in 1845 about 20 structures, large and small, but with one exception there is no definite information about any of those built in this period. I suppose that of all classes there were not less than 125 inhabitants, among whom the foreigners constituted a predominant element. Indeed, the foreign influence caused a certain prejudice against Yerba Buena, notably among Mexican residents at the mission, showing itself most clearly in a controversy between the rival alcaldes Padilla and Sanchez in 1845. In 1844, in connection with a reorganization of the

meda), 11 l., 1843, J. J. Castro, who was cl. Sobrante (Contra Costa?) occupied by Romero brothers in 1844. *Socayac (Sac.?), 3 l., 1844, John Chamberlain; E. Pratt cl. Solano Co., see Mare Isl., Putas, Putos, Suisun, Soscol, Tolenas, and Ulpinos. *Sonoma, 400 v. near ex-mission, 1844, J. Y. Limantour, who was cl. Sonoma Co., see Blucher, Bodega, Callayomi, Cotate, Guenoc, Huichicha, Jonive, Lac, Laguna, Malacomes, Petaluma, Roblar, Sta Rosa, Seno, Sotoyomi, Tzabaco, and Yulupa. Sotoyomi (Sonoma), 8 l., 1841, Henry D. Fitch, whose widow was cl.; Cyrus Alexander's cl. to 2 l. rejected. Soulajule (Marin), 20 l., 1844, Ramon Mesa; confirmed in 5 divisions to J. S. Brackett, G. N. Cornwell, P. J. Vasquez, Luis D. Watkins, and M. F. Gormley; cl. of Wm M. Fuller rejected. Stanislaus Co., see Puerto. Suisun (Solano), 4 l., 1842, Francisco Solano; Arch. Ritchie cl.; also J. H. Fine. *Soscol (Solano), 1843, M. G. Vallejo, who was cl. *Tache, laguna (Tulare), 11 l., 1843, Limantour, who was cl. *Tamalpais (Marin), 2 l., 1845, Hilario Sanchez, who was cl. Tehama Co., see Barranca, Bosquejo, Flores, Lassens, Primer Cañon, Rio, and Sancos. Tiburon, see Farallones, etc. *Tinicasio (Marin), 1 l., 1841, Indians of S. Rafael; Murphy cl. for Ind. Tolenas (Solano), 3 l., 1840, J. F. Armijo, whose heirs were cl. Tamales (Marin), 5 l., 1845, Juan N. Padilla; James D. Galbraith cl.; Tulucay (Napa), 2 l., 1841, Cayetano Juarez, who was cl. Tuolumne Co., see Orestimba; also unnamed grant to *Solomon Pico; J. L. Ord cl. Tzabaco (Sonoma), 4 l., 1843, J. G. Peña; J. J. Peña et al. cl. Ulistac (Sta Clara), ½ l., 1845, Marcelo Pico and Cristobal; J. D. Hoppe cl. Ulpinos (Solano), 4 l., 1844, John Bidwell, who was cl. *Ulpinos (Contra Costa), 1845, José de la Rosa; Juan M. Luco cl. Uvas (Sta Clara), 3 l., 1842, Lorenzo Pineda; Bern. Murphy cl. Vaqueros, see Cañada. Visitacion, see Cañada. *Willy (Butte?), 4 l., 1844, M. C. Nye, who was cl. Yerba Buena Isl., see Farallones. *Yokaya (Mendocino), 8 l., 1845, Cayetano Juarez, who was cl. Yolo Co., see Laguna, Quesesosi, and Rio; also grant not named of 5 l., to Thomas Shadden, 1844, claim discontinued by id. Yuba Co., see Honcut, Johnson's, and N. Helvetia; also unnamed grant of 6 l. to *John Smith; John Rose et al. cl. *Yulupa (Sonoma), 3 l., 1844, Miguel Alvarado; M. G. Vallejo cl.

receptoría, or revenue department, the building of a custom-house was ordered, to cost not over $800; and it was completed in September of the next year mainly by the labor of Indians from abroad, with materials obtained in part from the presidio and mission ruins, and by the aid of loans from enterprising citizens, at a cost exceeding the original estimate by only $2,000. This structure stood facing the plaza from the west, on what was later Washington Street. A long controversy between the revenue officers, Benito Diaz succeeded by Rafael Pinto, and the masters of whalers and other craft, who, with the support of Richardson, captain of the port, insisted on anchoring at Sauzalito, ostensibly on account of its superior advantages for obtaining wood and water, but in truth largely for the facilities it offered for contraband trade, was the only other noteworthy item of current annals. I have appended a list, alphabetical yet with sub-lists for the different sections, of all the private ranchos in Northern California granted during the half-decade. They were about 160 in number, and it will be noted that half of them were granted in 1844, and that nearly one third were finally not confirmed by the courts of the United States.

A few items have been given incidentally respecting Dolores as part of the pueblo of San Francisco; as an ex-mission it calls for but slight mention. I find no trace of any resident minister, though the padres Real occasionally officiated and Padre Muro seems to have spent several months here in 1845. No later administrator than Tiburcio Vasquez in 1841 is named, but he probably acted in that capacity for several years longer. There were then in the community 78 Indians, about 50 of whom I suppose were still living on the peninsula in 1845; but there was probably no remnant of property besides buildings, though there was a debt which prevented the governor in 1844 from acceding to the petition of

citizens that an end be made of the ex-mission. In 1845, however, after warning to the scattered ex-neophytes to reoccupy the property that was theoretically theirs, an order for its sale was issued, as at other establishments.[13]

Padre Lorenzo Quijas attended to the 'spiritual' interests of San Rafael and of all the northern frontier until 1843, after which there was no resident curate north of the bay. Simpson and Peirce and officers of the U. S. exploring expedition visited the establishment in 1841–2, the latter with a view of purchasing the Novato rancho offered for $1,500, and the former on his way to Sonoma; but these visitors have more to say of Quijas' drunken pranks than of anything else, merely noting that the mission was in ruins, and that Timothy Murphy was administrator; indeed, there was nothing more to be noted. Mofras reports a population of 20 Indians: but the community was entirely broken up before 1845, though I suppose there must have been about 200 ex-neophytes still living in the region and nominally Christians. After the formality of warning the Indians to reoccupy the mission, its sale at auction was ordered in October; and the valuation of the estate, according to the original inventory in my possession, was $17,000 in buildings, lands, and live-stock.[14] Mean-

[13] Inventory and census of Feb. 1841: 216 cattle, 698 horses, 600 sheep. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., x. 16–17. Simpson's visit and description in 1842; only the church in tolerable preservation. *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 330–6. The names of 15 residents were signed to a petition in 1844, as mentioned in note 12. The lots granted in 1842–4 were to Wm Hinckley, Charles Brown, Francisco de Haro, Domingo Félix, and Francisco Guerrero. Order of sale 1845. This vol., p. 549–52.

[14] *Peirce's Jour.*, MS., 81 et seq.; *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 305; *Wilkes' Narr., U. S. Exp. Exp.*, v. 212; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 320. Aug. 24, 1844, Wm A. Richardson asks the assembly for a juez at S. Rafael. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., iv. 19. Nov. 8th, gov. announces the separation from Sonoma, and the creation of the S. Raf. jurisdiction extending to the Petaluma Creek and Russian River, or S. Ignacio. Murphy appointed on the 8th, and on his declining, Osio on the 11th. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 98–9; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, ii. 24. Nov. 12th, gov. tells Osio to take 56 head of cattle, which he had furnished to the govt from the S. Raf. stock. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 100. April 1845, Tim. Murphy elected, after temporary appointment by gov., juez de paz, with

while in 1844 San Rafael had been separated from the civil jurisdiction of Sonoma, and Antonio M. Osio was made juez de paz, soon to be succeeded by Timothy Murphy, who at first declined the office. The private ranchos of Marin County have been already named in this chapter.

San Francisco Solano no longer had an existence as an ex-mission community, and there is nothing to be said of it during this period, except that Padre Quijas served as occasional curate, perhaps residing here for a time in 1843, and that there exists an imperfect list of buildings, utensils, and church property, apparently made in connection with the order of sale in 1845, though in the final order of October this establishment was not named.[15] There were probably over 200 Indians residing at Sonoma or in the near vicinity.

The population of gente de razon in the jurisdiction of Sonoma all north of the bay, but not including foreigners in the Sacramento Valley or the newly arrived and roving immigrants of the Sonoma and Napa valleys, I suppose to have numbered about 300 in 1845, though the only definite basis of estimate is the military force. The presidial company in 1841–3, and probably down to the time of its disbandment by Vallejo in 1844, had between 40 and 50 men under the command of Lieutenant José Antonio Pico; and there were besides nearly 60 men fit for militia duty, to say

Ignacio Pacheco as suplente. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., ii. 23–4. Inventory of Aug. 28th: buildings $3,435; furniture and utensils $59; 2 gardens with 22 fruit-trees and 210 vines $2,629; land, about 16 leagues, $8,000; livestock, chiefly at Nicasio, 266 cattle, 593 horses, 310 sheep, $3,051; list of church utensils, etc., no value given; total $17,230. Signed by Pico, Manso, and Murphy. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 139–42. Oct., the juez of Sonoma claims not to know anything about Murphy's authority, but says that men at S. Raf. have at his instigation disobeyed the writer's summons. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, ii. 203. Dec. 1st, Guerrero at S. F., recommends Gregorio Briones and Ignacio Pacheco as juez and suplente of 1846. *Id.*, 228. Sale ordered. This vol., p. 549–52. In *Marin Co. Hist.*, 206, we read that Ignacio Pacheco and 'Alferes Damas' (Dámaso Rodriguez?) were 1st and 2d alcaldes, succeeded by Wm Reynolds and James Black in 1845!

[15] Inventory in *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 123–6, with no values attached. See this vol., p. 549–51.

nothing of an incidental mention by the alcalde of 100 citizens in his jurisdiction.[16] Captain Salvador Vallejo was commandant of the post and no civil au-

[16] Sonoma affairs. 1841. Capt. Salv. Vallejo, comandante of the post; Lieut José Antonio Pico, commanding the S. F. company; Sergeant José de los Santos Berreyesa, 39 men rank and file with 4 agregados and 6 inválidos; 2d alférez Prado Mesa with Sergeant Nazario Galindo, and 9 men absent as a garrison at S. F.; pay-roll about $11,000. This state of things did not vary materially in 1842–3. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxvii. *passim*; *Dept. St. Pap., B. M.*, MS., lxxxv. 9; lxxxvi. 5–6. For the next two years there are no original military records. Financial items of 1841. June 8th, Abrego at Mont. sends $2,849 for the comp., $1,046 of it in silver. July 6th, $1,928 more, $221 in specie. Sept. 23d, sends $500 in silver, and has $1,200 more, $900 for the comp., $300 for the general's salary. Oct. 30th, has $2,000 in goods for the comp., $500 in coin has been paid to Célis. Oct. 6th, Lieut Pico has rec'd $4,777 for comp. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 160, 200, 288; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., iii. 156; *Id., B. M.*, lxxxv. 5. May, 7 guns and 5 artillerymen. This vol., p. 198. Jan. 1st, Gen. Vallejo to minister of war, has supported the garrison at an expense of about $1,000 per month, besides mounting 7 guns. Desires the Soscol rancho for the support of the company, or else desires it for himself on acct of the $4,000 due him for salary in 1824–37, and of $9,000 which the barracks cost him. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 10. Jan. 11th, V. claims that the civil jurisdiction belongs to the mil. comandante. *Id.*, 33. Alcalde of S. F. reports that V. objects to land being surveyed by civil auth. of S. F. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 67–70. July, threatened trouble with the Sotoyomi Ind. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., x. 230. Visits of Mofras and of Wilkes' officers. This vol., p. 245, 249–51. Wilkes writes: 'Zonoma is to be the capital of this country provided the general has power and lives long enough to build it up.' 1842. Visit of Sir Geo. Simpson in Jan. *Id.*, 218. Simpson in his *Narr.*, i. 308 et seq., devotes nearly 20 pages to an interesting account of Sonoma and its people, and their manners and customs. Visit of Com. Jones in Dec. This vol., p. 314. 1843. Visit of Dr Sandels in Feb. or March. *Id.*, 346; *King's Orphan*, 6–8. Like Simpson, he gives no definite information, though both narratives would be interesting did space permit their reproduction. June 18th, a meeting held to devise means for the support of the garrison, Vallejo presiding and Prudon sec., also to build a town hall, jail, and cemetery. 31 persons subscribed $3,063, besides 155 fan. grain, 20 cattle, 1,100 ft boards, 12,700 adobes, and the work of 22 laborers. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 412. Vallejo to gov., recommending the organization of a civil govt at Sonoma, and suggesting Victor Prudon for sub-prefect. *Id.*, 308. In the same vol. there are many items of routine correspondence for this year on unimportant matters. Aug. 15th, Vallejo to mil. com., enclosing a plan of the town (not extant) which he has followed, and which should still be followed in all improvements. He says that his commission as director of colonization has now expired. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 430. Oath to the new Mex. constitution in Dec. This vol., p. 359. Ind. campaign at Clear Lake. *Id.*, 362–3. Vallejo vs P. Mercado on payment of tithes. *Id.*, 373. Two alcaldes to be chosen. *Id.*, 359. 1844. Jacob P. Leese 1st alcalde, Cayetano Juarez 2d alcalde. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xi. 11; xvii. 78, and many other references. Militia company organized under Capt. Salv. Vallejo. This vol., p. 407. List of 59 citizens liable to do duty in the militia, 12 being foreigners and 6 Indians. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 55. Vallejo disbands the cavalry company to avoid aiding Micheltorena. This vol., p. 464–5. Quarrels between Salv. Vallejo and Dr Bale, also Alcalde Leese and Victor Prudon. This vol., p. 444–5. Threats of attack by Sutter. *Id.*, 482. 1845. Leese and Juarez seem to have acted as alcaldes, or at least there were no others, until June, when José de la Rosa and Marcos Vaca were elected. *Dept. St.*

thority was recognized down to the end of 1843, from which time municipal affairs were directed by two alcaldes, Jacob P. Leese and José de la Rosa holding successively the first alcaldía. There is nothing in the meagre record of military, municipal, or other local affairs that demands more extended notice than is given in the appended index and summary. At Ross and New Helvetia, even more fully than at Sonoma, local occurrences have been noted in other parts of this volume in connection with the departure of the Russians, the various enterprises of Captain Sutter, and the arrival of different immigrant parties over the Sierra and from Oregon; yet of these matters an index is appended with some supplemental items.[17]

Pap., Ben. P. & J, MS., ii. 22–5, 98–9, and many other references. It appears that disorders caused by Sutter's operations prevented the election at the proper time, and in March Leese urged the acceptance of his own and Juarez's resignation. He says he cannot write Spanish, has no secretary and no funds. Of the 100 citizens only two, Dámaso Rodriguez and Ignacio (?) Carrillo, were fit for jueces. The municipal debt was $279 in July. Oct. 23d, Alcalde Rosa's complaint that S Rafael citizens disregard his authority at the instigation of Tim. Murphy. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, ii. 203. Sutter claimed to have some Sonoma soldiers in his army during the Micheltorena campaign. This vol. p. 486. New fears of Sutter. *Id.*, 516. Raid against the Ind. *Id.*, 544. Gen. Castro's visit in Nov., and treaty with the immigrants. *Id.*, 603, 606–7.

[17] Ross affairs. On sale to Sutter and departure of the Russians, see this vol., p. 177–189. Sutter's agents in charge of the property, removed to N. Helvetia so far as practicable, were Robert Ridley and John Bidwell in 1841–3, and later Wm Benitz. Visits of Wilkes' and Jones' officers, Mofras, and Dr Sandels in 1841–2. This vol., p. 245, 253, 346; *Bidwell's Jour.*, and *Id., Cal.*, MS. Stephen Smith established himself at Bodega in 1843, building a saw-mill (see his life in Pioneer Reg. and Index), and obtained a grant of the rancho in 1844. Adopting a friendly policy, he seems to have had little or no trouble with the Ind. *Torres, Peripecias*, MS., 89–90. Smith seems to have made an effort to introduce the name of New Baltimore for his Bodega settlement. *Larkin's Notes*, MS., 109. Early in 1845 Benitz rented Ross of the Muñiz place from Sutter, and with Ernest Rufus as partner engaged in raising potatoes for the S. F. market. In Aug. he complained to the authorities of outrages on the Ind. in his vicinity by a party of whites under Antonio Castro and Rafael García. *Dept. St Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 383–94. In Dec. the rancho was granted to Manuel Torres, whose title was soon purchased by Benitz, though Sutter's unfounded claim was revived later.

New Helvetia affairs. 1841. John A. Sutter juez de paz, or encargado de justicia, of the Sac. frontier in this and the following years. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., x. 10; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 426; *S. J., Arch.*, MS., iv. 5. On affairs at Sutter's Fort in 1841–2, see this vol., p. 226–40; and also on visits of Wilkes' officers and Mofras. *Id.*, 243–5, 250. On affairs of 1842–3, see *Id.*, 345–7, 387–9; also for descriptive matter on the region, *Bidwell's Jour., Yates' Sac. Val. 1842*, MS., and *King's Orphan*. 1843. Arrival of the Chiles-Walker immigrant party. This vol., p 394 Hastings' party from Oregon. *Id.*, 391. 1844. Arrival of Frémont and of the Stevens party *Id*, 438–9,

Private ranchos in the Sacramento Valley and in all the northern frontier have been named in this chapter alphabetically, and also classified roughly according to the county lines of later years; something of their occupation by foreign settlers has been given in connection with the subject of immigration; and more will be found in the personal items of my Pioneer Register. A connected view of the progress of settlement, especially of those ranchos which became the sites of towns in later times, would be desirable, but the mass of details required to give such a sketch completeness and interest can best be presented once for all in the next volume.

At San José mission Padre José María Gonzalez remained in charge during 1841 and part of 1842. In 1842–5 Padre Miguel Muro was minister, leaving California probably in the last year; while Padre Quijas also officiated in 1843–4, and Padre Gutierrez in 1845, both of whom seem to have left the country about this time, as nothing more about them appears in any records that I have seen.[18] José

447. Organization of a militia company with Sutter as captain, Sinclair and Rufus lieutenants. *Id.*, 407, 479. Sutter's efforts in behalf of Micheltorena, and arrest of Weber. *Id.*, 479–85. 1845. Great floods in the winter of 1845–6. *Belden's Hist. St.*, MS., 50–1, and many other references. From Sept. a daily record of events at the fort, arrivals and departures of employés and travellers, etc., is given in the *N Helvetia Diary*, MS. Bidwell's narrow escape from discovering gold. *Bidwell's Cal. 1841–8*, MS., 221–5. Return of Sutter and his army from the south, and general state of affairs at the fort in 1845, including the visit of Castro and Castillero, and Sutter's efforts to sell the establishment. This vol., p. 516, 537, 603, 607–16. Killing of the Walla Walla chief. *Id.*, 544–5. Arrival of the Swasey-Todd, Sublette, Grigsby-Ide, Frémont, and Hastings parties of immigrants and explorers. *Id.*, 577–86.

[18] Miguel Muro was a Franciscan of the Zacatecas college, who had been a missionary in Texas, subsequently serving as master of novices at the college in 1834–7, and coming to Cal. apparently in 1842, from which time his name appears on the records at S. José mission until May 1845, and at S Francisco in June–Oct. of the same year. Retiring to his college he died of cholera about 1850. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 171–4, says he knew P Muro well, that he was a man of most exemplary life, and that he made known to D. in 1843 or 1844 the existence of gold in the Sac. Valley, as learned from neophytes who had come from that region. This was confirmed by P. Mercardo of Sta Clara. The padres made D. promise secrecy, and he never told it until now! I have several letters of P. Muro on routine matters; but all I know of his life before coming to Cal. and after his departure is derived from a letter of Padre Romo of Sta Bárbara who knew him at the college.

José de Jesus María Gutierrez was one of the Zacatecan friars who came

María Amador as administrator was succeeded in April 1841 by José Antonio Estrada, who in turn offered his resignation in October. Perhaps it was not accepted; at any rate, I find no mention of any successor until in April 1843 the management was restored to the padres, who retained it throughout the half-decade.[19] Respecting the padres' success in

with García Diego in 1833. He served as a missionary at S. Francisco Solano in 1833–4, at S. Francisco in 1834–9, at S. Antonio in 1840–4, and at S. José in August 1845, which is the last record I find of him.

José Lorenzo Quijas was an Indian and probably a native of Ecuador, who was a muleteer and trader before becoming a friar and joining the Zacatecas college. He came with García Diego in 1833, and served at S. Francisco in 1833–4, at Solano and S. Rafael in 1834–43, and at S. José in 1843–4. He was a large, fine-looking man, of more than ordinary natural abilities and education; kind-hearted and popular when sober; but from about 1836 he gave himself up to strong drink. He made no enemies, and all speak well of his natural qualities, but all testify to his drunkenness, and fondness for dancing and debauchery. Peirce, Simpson, Phelps, and other foreign visitors were witnesses of his drunken pranks, as well as many Californians. Unfortunately Quijas and two or three other black sheep of the Zacatecan flock were so situated as to come much in contact with foreigners, and this fact did much to discredit all the friars in the opinion of the immigrants. Dr Sandels found him in 1843 a reformed man at S. José, and the same year came his appointment as vice-president; but we have no means of knowing how long his reformation lasted, as he disappears from the records in April 1844, nothing being known of the circumstances of his departure. Charles Brown claimed to have met him in Mexico in 1857, when he was curate at Ometepec.

[19] S. José Mission. 1841. Jan. 19th, crops of the past year $888, wine and brandy $650. *St. Pap. Miss.*, vii. 39. Jan. 31st, receipts and expend. since Oct. 1840, balance against the estate $400. *Id.*, 40. April 18th, estate turned over by Amador to Estrada by inventory. *Id.*, 39. Amador, *Mem.*, MS., 9–13, who, however, makes the date 1842, says that the position was taken away because he refused to obey the governor's demand for $1,500 to pay the expenses of a ball at Mont. He says the property was large when he gave it up, but that, as he predicted, in two years there was nothing left. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 420–1, says the estate all went to enrich the Vallejo family. Oct. 17, 1841, Estrada resigns. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., x. 17. Meeting between gov. and gen. at the mission. This vol., p. 203. 1843. April 4th, Manuel, an Ind., complains of having received 60 blows for nothing. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 8 April 16th, swearing allegiance to the patroness of the diocese. *Id.*, *Patentes*, MS., 225–6. March 29th, gov. orders restoration of the temporalities to the padre. This vol., p. 369. Ind. not emancipated and living at the pueblo must present themselves at once to the person in charge of the mission. *Id.*, 371. June, trouble between P. Muro and the Vallejos about the Suisunes belonging to the mission, who were apparently permitted at last to return to their native region. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., xi. 8; *S. José, Arch.*, loose pap., MS., 45. Visit of Dr Sandels. *King's Orphan*, 22. 1844. The padres in charge; efforts to get back the live-stock due the mission from private citizens; trouble with Vallejo. This vol., p. 422–3. The dues were from M. G. Vallejo 3,000 sheep, Antonio Buelna since 1840, 150 heifers, Mariano Castro since 1840 110 heifers, Juan Alvires 200, Rafael Estrada 100, Guillermo Castro 200 sheep, Santiago Estrada 100 heifers and 10 bull calves. *Arce, Doc.*, MS., i. 30. Nov. 11th, P. Muro to S. José alcalde, wants the mission handcuffs

restoring prosperity we have no definite information; there were no events worthy of special notice; and even the final inventory made in 1845 with a view to renting the establishment is not extant. Mofras gives the ex-neophyte population as 400 in 1842, and three years later there may have been 250 still living at or near the mission.

At Santa Clara the ministry of Padre Mercado continued till 1844, when he was succeeded by Padre José María Real, and left the country at the end of the year or beginning of the next.[20] The administration of Ignacio Alviso, or of José Peña acting for him, continued until the temporal management was restored to the padres in 1843.[21] In 1845, at the

returned. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 4. 1845. P. Gutierrez asks to be relieved of the cares of the temporalities. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt ii. 64–5. Orders for renting. This vol., p. 549–52.

[20] Jesus María Vasquez del Mercado was one of the Zacatecan friars who came with García Diego in 1833. He was doubtless a Mexican, but of his early life nothing is on record His missionary service was at S. Rafael in 1833–4, at S. Antonio and Soledad in 1834–9, and at Sta Clara in 1839–44. At each of these missions he became involved in difficulties which have been fully noticed in other chapters. Though a man of good abilities and education, of fine presence and engaging manners, he was an intriguer, arbitrary in his acts, and always ready to quarrel with any one who would not accept his views. Especially did he deem it his mission to quarrel with the secular authorities, and on the few occasions when there was no real cause of complaint he had no scruples about inventing pretexts. He was engaged with Angel Ramirez in political plottings against Alvarado's government; and though often appearing as defender of the Indians' rights, he did much more harm than good by his injudicious acts. He is represented as a hard drinker, a gambler, and a libertine—the father of many half-breed children at each of the missions where he served; and all that can be said in mitigation of this bad reputation is that much of the testimony, though not all, comes from men who were not friendly to the padre, being directly or indirectly parties to some of his many controversies. The circumstances of his departure are not very clear, but it would seem that he went away at the end of 1844 in consequence of new troubles with the revolutionists, possibly not sailing until the downfall of Micheltorena was known. Feb. 24, 1844, Alcalde A. M. Pico reports to gov. continued charges against the padre of illicit use of mission property, insubordination, and calumny; he cites Mercado to appear and answer, but M. refuses to recognize and will reply to the gov. *Dept. St. Pap.*, v. 81, 84. Jesus Pico, *Acont.*, MS., 57–8, says that he went with 8 men to Sta Clara, arrested the padre, and put him on a vessel at S. F., which carried him to Mont. Thence he went on to Mex., after writing abusive letters to Alvarado and Castro. Dec. 11, 1844. What appears to be a blotter copy of an order from José Castro at S. José, that P. Mercado, for seditious conduct, must quit the northern district in 4 hours. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xii. 117.

[21] Sta Clara mission. 1841. Ignacio Alviso administrator. Feb., visit of Douglas, to whom by order of the gov. 1,100 sheep and 50 cattle were delivered for the H. B. Co. This vol., p. 194, 212–14. Wilkes' visit and interview with P. Mercado. *Id.*, 245; *U. S. Explor. Ex.*, v. 218 et seq. July,

investigation for final renting, there were 130 ex-neophytes left in the community; the live-stock had dwindled to 430 cattle, 215 horses, and 809 sheep; and the total valuation of the estate, exclusive of church property, was less than $16,000.

The pueblo of San José with the ranchos of its jurisdiction, except those of the contra costa, probably had a population of 900 gente de razon at the end of the half-decade. Events as noted elsewhere and indexed in my note[22] have no importance requiring

controversy between Alviso and the padre about amounts due the latter. Half of the weekly slaughter was assigned to the padre, but for want of cattle there was often no weekly slaughter, and there were many debts. Produce on hand was assigned for building purposes. 716 cattle branded before July 25th; 100 killed for Mercado's benefit in Aug. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., ix. 41–6; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 61. Aug. 16th, gov. sells Alviso a house for 30 heifers. *Alviso, Doc.*, MS., 2. Aug. 19th, Alviso complains that the padre refuses to say prayers early enough for the fishermen, who therefore have to go without prayers. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., ix. 96–7. Expenditures for the year $1,892. *Id.*, vii. 25–8. 1842. Alviso administrator and juez de paz, though Antonio Buelna seems to have been juez in Jan. Simpson, *Narr.*, i. 337, writes of Sta Clara, which he did not visit, as one of the best preserved missions, under the care of an excellent padre, Gonzalez (?); and he speaks of the Alameda as a tree-lined bridge of earth across a morass of 5 miles between the mission and pueblo, constructed by the padres. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 320, gives the pop. as 300. Hall, *Hist. S. José*, 426–7, says the mission had 1,500 cattle, 250 horses and mules, and 3,000 sheep, goats, and hogs. 1843. Alviso administrator, but José Peña acted in his illness. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 23, loose pap. 5. Narciso A. Peña juez de paz. March 29th, temporal management restored to the padres. This vol., p. 369. July 17th, P. Mercado writes a sharp letter to the alcalde of S. José on the drinking habits of his Ind., encouraged by the grog-shops in town, and by the example of gente de razon. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 10. Nov. 8th, mission grazing lands, 4½ by 1½ leagues. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., iii. 10. 1844. Padre José M. Real minister from Aug. The padres in charge; efforts to collect loaned live-stock. This vol., p. 422–3. Wm Gulnac, or José Noriega for G., owed 200 cows, Juan Prado Mesa 50, Pablo Parra 20. *Arce, Doc.*, MS., 5. On Mercado's final troubles, see preceding note. Bishop's pastoral visit. This vol., p. 427. Rebel forces at Sta Clara. *Id.*, 463. 1845. Eusebio Galindo juez de campo. Aug. 19th, original inventory signed by P. Real and the comisionados Andres Pico and Juan Manso. Credits, 14 persons, $565; buildings, furniture, machinery, etc., $3,140; vineyard, 117x73 v., 430 vines, 92 fruit-trees, and a small house, $2,000; huerta, 200x206 v., 1,200 trees, 250 vines, small house in bad condition, $4,000; farming implements, $88; live-stock, 430 cattle, 215 horses, 809 sheep, $3,377; total, $16,173; debt, 7 persons, $719. The lands are held by the Ind. under title of June 10, 1845 (?). Pop. 130. *Pico, Pap. Mis.*, MS., 127–38. Oct. 19th, four neophytes ask to be freed, and the prefect grants their petition if they are under no personal obligation. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 196. Dec. 4th, an Ind. who was freed in 1839, but lost his papers and was forced to return to mission service, asks for freedom and that of his 2 nephews; granted. *Id.*, 227. Sta Clara recommended for capital. This vol., p. 519. Order for renting. *Id.*, 549–52.

[22] Pueblo of San José. Population in Aug. 1841. *S. José Padron de 1841,*

more than the briefest mention; except that San José was the headquarters of the revolutionists in the famous campaign of Santa Teresa, and that the Indian

MS., 936, or 214 men (including 13 foreigners), 248 women, and 473 children. This seems to include no Ind., but does include the residents of contra costa. Simpson says there were 700 inhabitants in the town. *Narr.*, i. 293. Belden, *Hist. St.*, MS., 16, says 300 to 400 people. Mofras puts the pop. at 500 whites and a few hundred Ind. *Explor.*, i. 414. Hall, *Hist. S. José*, 135–40, names about 50 foreigners who came to the valley before 1845. There are no original statistics in 1842–5.

Summary and index of events. 1841. Expeditions against Ind. horse-thieves. This vol., p. 187. Antonio Suñol loaned $157 for one of them and had some difficulty in recovering the money. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 45. The *Sta Clara Echo* in 1878 had an item copied in several other papers about the 1st frame building in town, or perhaps in Cal., built by Thomas Boone (Bowen) and Pedro Fernandez for Manuel Frank in 1841, still standing on Alviso st in 1878. Forbes agent of H. B. Co. This vol., p. 217. Arrival and arrest of the Bartleson immigrant party. *Id.*, 274. Murder of Anthony Campbell. *Id.*, 280. 1842. Indian troubles. *Id.*, 338. The warning came from contra costa; the objects of the plot were Jesus Vallejo, J. A. Estrada, and Joaquin Castro; there was evidently much buncombe in the testimony; and there was also a conflict between military and civil authority in the trials. Visit of Dr Sandels mentioned. *Id.*, 346. 1843. Seizure of documents supposed to reveal a political plot. *Id.*, 356. 1844. Visit of the bishop. *Id.*, 427. Efforts in behalf of the revolt against Micheltorena; and campaign of Sta Teresa. *Id.*, 462, 466–70. Castro and his army waiting here. *Id.*, 471, 481. 1845. Additional preparations at S. J. as headquarters against the gov., the army starts for the south. *Id.*, 485–9. Call for a meeting of foreigners. *Id.*, 598–9.

Sub-prefecture. Antonio Suñol appointed sub-prefect July 31, 1841. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., iv. 47; *Id., Ben. P. & J.*, iv. 24. Aug. 7th, appointment confirmed by gov. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 16. Aug. 9th, prefect transcribes gov.'s order to take charge. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 21. Aug. 20th, Suñol's resignation not accepted, and he is allowed a secretary at $1 a day. *Id.*, 39. Sept. 5th, sworn in announces the fact to local jueces. *Id.*, v. 35; *Mont., Arch.*, MS., x. 12. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. C. & T.*, iv. 56. Sept. 21st, prefect to Suñol, defining the limits of his sub-prefecture as the same as those of the juzgado: viz., 'desde el rancho de Don Cárlos Castro inclusive hasta el Estrecho de Carquines y por de S. Francisco hasta el arroyo de S. Francisquito.' This is not very intelligible, since it seems to exclude the peninsula of S. F. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 94. In Feb.–March Dolores Pacheco acted as sub-prefect in Suñol's absence. *S. José, Arch*, MS., ii. 37, 42; *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 37; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 97. There are dozens of routine doc. for 1841–3, showing that Suñol held the position, but nothing in the routine of business that requires notice. Jan. 17, 1844, Suñol turns over his office to the alcalde. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 76.

Municipal affairs and officers. 1841. Dolores Pacheco and Tomás Pacheco jueces de paz till Oct. Antonio Buelna and Isidoro Guillen from Oct.; sec. José García from Nov. at $20; jueces de campo from Nov. Pedro Chabolla, Joaquin Higuera, Jesus Bernal; juez of contra costa Ignacio Peralta till Oct., Guillermo Castro from Oct. May 3d, gov. orders prefect to fine the alcalde $25 for failure in duty. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xii. 9. Aug. 20th, prefect fixes the dividing line between S. J. and S. F. at S. Francisquito creek. *S. J., Arch.*, MS., loose pap. 49. Dec. 9th, juez beseeches the sub-prefect to intercede with the govt for funds; especially for the tithes to be used on the unfinished pueblo church. *Id.*, 46. 1842. Jueces de paz Antonio Buelna and Isidoro Guillen, the former dying in Nov.; sec. José Ant. Gajiola; clerk José García;

horse-thieves were constantly troublesome. This town continued to be regarded as cabecera of the partido, and Antonio Suñol, appointed sub-prefect in

juez de policía Mariano Castro; juez de contra costa, Guillermo Castro. Jan., the juez and sub-prefect jointly may grant permission to honorable and laborious citizens to cultivate lands in the suburbs; and any soi-disant owner is to be told that by neglect he loses title; but it must be understood that the new occupants get no title, simply the right of use, for the lands belong to the town. *S. J., Arch.*, MS., iii. 47. Approval of a clerk at $15 for the juzgado by the sub-prefect. *Dept. St. Pap., S. J.*, MS., vii. 4. 1843. Jueces de paz Salvio Pacheco and Antonio M. Pico, appointed by prefect in Dec. 1842, and in office apparently Jan 2d. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 31; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., iv. 32; *Id., S. José*, vii. 7–8. But on March 17th Pacheco is ordered by the sub-prefect to continue as juez on account of the death of the one elected last year. *S. D., Arch.*, MS., ii. 7; and March 30–1st he is appointed and confirmed as juez propietario. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., vi. 51; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiii. 47; but on Aug. 29th he is ordered to take charge, as there is no juez propietario. *S. D., Arch.*, MS., ii. 9. Pico apparently did not act as juez suplente, and from June Isidoro Guillen appears as holding the place, and sometimes acting as 1st juez, síndico Luis Chabolla; sec. Gaxiola, and after Jan. Tomás Pacheco; depositario Dolores Pacheco; jueces de barrio or de policía, Lorenzo Pacheco, Antonio Chabolla, José M. Flores; jueces de campo José Ant. Alviso (or Sepúlveda), Leandro Flores; juez from S. Francisquito to Sierra Morena Narciso Ant. Peña; juez de contra costa, at S. Leandro, Joaquin Estudillo; and jueces de campo appointed by him—Francisco Moraga, Victor Castro, Miguel Mesa, Bruno Valencia, Desiderio Briones, Gabriel Castro, Valentin Amador; síndico Vicente Martinez. Jan. 8th, the juez explains the duties of the various subordinate officials. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 1. April 18th, juez to gov. explains the difficulties in his way and defects of the system and its application. He complains that citizens of contra costa have to bring their claims, complaints, and prisoners to S. José; that the scattering of population in the ranchos, some without property interests, others with land or water illegally obtained, exposed to Ind., etc., prevents all progress; that the foreign traders and hunters do not comply with the laws; that the freed Ind. should be compelled to settle somewhere and quit their roving thieving life; that legal proceedings between citizens of different jurisdictions are complicated and oppressive; that there is much conflict about the civil and military authority, especially in dealing with Ind.; that the boundaries of S. José district are not properly fixed; that the mail service is badly arranged, etc. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. P. & J.*, MS., ii. 8–11. May 3d, Juez Pacheco ordered to Monterey on account of some malfeasance. *S. D., Arch.*, MS., ii. 7. Receipts foe 1st quarter $85. *Id.*, loose pap. 47. Order for election of 2 alcaldes. This vol., p. 359. J. F. Buelna elector. *Id.*, 361. 1844. Alcaldes Antonio María Pico and Félix Buelna; síndico José Fernandez; jueces de policía Mariano Castro and Francisco Perez; jueces de campo Pedro Chabolla, Juan Bernal, Vicente Suarez; guarda Julio Valencia; Guillermo Castro juez auxiliar of Contra Costa de la Union. In April A. M. Pico asks to be relieved, as he has served for 3 years (?). *Dept St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 158. Oct. 16th, gov. grants to Pierre Sainsevain a site and privilege for a flour-mill; title inalienable, and forfeited if the mill does not work well; water must be furnished for irrigation. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 499. 1845. Jueces de paz A. M. Pico and Felix Buelna. There seems to have been an election of alcaldes—Dolores Pacheco and Domingo Alviso—in Dec. 1844, but they did not serve, the prefecture being restored. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 54. In May 1845 there was an order for an election of jueces. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., xiv. 35; juez de contra costa Guillermo Castro. August, trouble about the election for the partido. The electors ob-

1841, served in that capacity until the prefecture was suppressed at the beginning of 1844. On its restoration the next year, San Francisco became cabecera, much to the disgust of the politicians of San José. Justices of the peace were at the head of municipal affairs except in 1844, when, there being no sub-prefect, alcaldes ruled. The succession of local chiefs was as follows: Dolores Pacheco in 1841, Antonio Buelna and Isidoro Guillen in 1841–2, Salvio Pacheco in 1843, and Antonio María Pico in 1844–5. The

jected to meeting at Yerba Buena, 'a place inhabited by Yankees.' They went there once, some of them at least, but the northern frontier electors failed to appear, and they came back and excused themselves from repeating the trip. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 70, 77, 132, 134–6; *S. José, Arch.*, MS.; iii. 6. Nov. 2d, certificate that Gervasio Soto has paid his fine of 1,000 ft of boards for the juzgado. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 208.

Administration of justice and criminal record. 1841. In April Anthony Campbell was killed by Ind. at Thos Bowen's place. C. and John Burton were aroused in the night by the barking of dogs, and C. going out to quiet them was pierced by an arrow and fell dead. It was believed to be the work of Ind. horse-thieves, the only evidence before the juez being the statements of Burton and Gulnac as surgeon. But Ambrose Tomlinson, asserting that the murderers were Sta Clara Ind. and that the authorities neglected their duties, wrote to the com. of the *St. Louis*, who referred the matter to the govt. After investigation the prefect decided that T.'s charges were unfounded, and made in bad faith. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 41; *Id., Ben. P. y J.*, iv., 26–8; *Id., Mont.*, iv. 53–5; *S. J., Arch.*, MS., ii. 21, 23, 27. In July 1842 Manuel Gonzalez was executed at Monterey for the murder of an Englishman called Guillermo Camilo (Wm Campbell?). *Mont., Arch.*, MS., iii. 10. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 324, mentions the two murders without names, and says a young Mexican was imprisoned at Mont. to satisfy the foreigners, but was soon released. Nov. 14, 1841, alcalde's instructions to jueces del campo. *Estudillo, Doc.*, MS., ii. 26. 1842. June, slight conflict between mil. authority as represented by Com. Jesus Vallejo and Gen. Vallejo, and the civil in the persons of prefect and sub-prefect, about the trial of Ind. prisoners. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 25; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xi. 229–30. Aug., sub-prefect's orders against gambling. *S. J., Arch.*, MS., ii. 44. 1843. April, Joaquin Castro claims the military fuero in a suit brought before the juez. *Id.*, 8. June 4th, police regulations issued by the juez. *Id.*, vi. 8. 1845. May, trial of Mariano Duarte, ex-alcalde and now teacher, for debauchery of school-girls. No results given. *Mont., Arch.*, MS., v. 20–3.

Military items. Capt. Jesus Vallejo military commandant in 1842–3. Sept. 1841, juez de paz speaks of 10 'vecinos auxiliares' to whom payment is due. Money had been advanced by himself and by the sub-prefect for an Ind. expedition. *S. J., Arch.*, MS., iii. 42–4. Dec. 23, 1842, prefect says the gov. has ordered the organization of an auxiliary comp., Angel Castro being appointed com. of the plaza for recruiting purposes. *Id.*, ii. 22. March 16, 1843, sub-prefect to juez, 20 young men called for; he is to send a list of those whose immorality and other qualities fit them to be soldiers without prejudice to their families. *Id.*, vi. 36. June, petition of citizens for a permanent force. This vol., p. 362. 1844. Company of defensores ordered to be organized under Capt. A. M. Pico. *Id.*, 407. I have found no list either of those liable for military duty or of members of the company.

juez auxiliar of the contra costa was in a sense subordinate to the municipal chief of the pueblo. The criminal record includes the murder of a foreigner, and a feeble attempt to utilize the occurrence in stirring up an international dispute. Military annals are restricted to the frequent complaints of inadequate protection against roving horse-thieves, the services of San José patriots, native and foreign, against Micheltorena, and the final organization of a company of defensores de la patria. Private ranchos have been named elsewhere in this chapter.

PIONEER REGISTER AND INDEX.

1542-1848.

CONTINUED ALPHABETICALLY FROM VOLUME III.

Ibañez (Florencio), 1801, Span. friar who served at S. Antonio and Soledad, dying in '18. Biog. ii. 385-6; ment. 152, 159, 205, 230, 394, 427. I. (Doña María), mentioned at S. Diego '21 and '46. ii. 546; v. 329. I. (Sebastian), Mex. at Mont. '48.

Ibarra (Agustin), at Los Ang. '46. I. (Andrés), at Los Ang. '19. ii. 347; took part in revol. of '31. iii. 201; juez de campo at S. Diego '36. iii. 615-16; kept a dram-shop '41. iv. 619; grantee of Encinitos '42. iv. 620. I. (Antonio), at Los Ang '19, taking part in revol. of '31. ii. 357; iii. 201; at Sta Gertrudis rancho '39, age 37. I. (Calixto), at Los Ang. '46. I. (Desiderio), settler at Los Ang. '14, and regidor in '26-8. ii. 349, 560; still there in '48. I. (Francisco), sirviente at Sta Clara 1776. i. 306. I. (Francisco Gonzalez de), 1820, Span. friar who served at S. Fernando and S. Luis Rey, dying in '42. Biog. iv. 622-3; ment. ii. 357, 394, 436, 569-70, 580; iii. 20-1, 96, 205, 353, 622-4, 641, 646-7. I. (Gabriel), at Los Coyotes rancho, Los Ang. '39, age 35. I. (Gerónimo), at Los Ang. '46, wounded at the Chino fight. v. 314.

Ibarra (Gil), síndico of Los Ang. '31. iii. 634. He was born at S. Diego in 1784. In '36-7 he was alcalde of Los Ang., and was prominent as a partisan of the south against Alvarado's govt in '37-8, being more than once arrested by the norteños. iii. 485, 509, 518, 548, 555, 558, 565-6, 636; grantee of Rincon de la Brea in '41. iv. 635; and still at Los Ang. '48. I. (Isidro), said to have been the man who killed Ávila in the battle of '31. iii. 208; at S. Luis Ob. from '33. iii. 652. I. (José M.), at Los Ang. '46.

Ibarra (Juan María), 1819, Mex. lieut of the escuadron de Mazatlan. ii. 254; stationed at S. Diego '21-30, taking part in Ind. exped. and other affairs. ii. 534-6, 543, 549, 675; iii. 88, 109; in '30-1 memb. of the junta to try P. Martinez, fiscal in the trial of Atanasio, and defender of Alcalde Duarte. iii. 99, 190, 195. In '32 he was a prominent supporter of Zamorano, being sent south in command of the northern forces. iii. 222-7; and in '33-6 was comandante at Sta B. iii. 650-1; but was unwilling to submit to the new govt, and left Cal. in '36. He is described as a rough, coarse man of very dark complexion, but energetic and brave. He had a wife in Sinaloa. I. (Leonardo, Luis, and Pedro), at Los Ang. '46. I. (Rafael), at S. Juan Cap. '46, age 48. I. (Ramon L.), juez de campo at Los Ang. '40, '42-4. iii. 637; iv. 632-3; still at Los Ang. '46-8. I. (Severiano), at Los Ang. '39-48. Ibera (Nicolás), 1779, chaplain of the *Santiago*. i. 328. Idahl (Christopher), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518.)

Ide (Wm Brown), 1845, nat. of Mass. of pilgrim ancestry, b. in 1786, who worked as a carpenter in Vt and N.H. to '33, and in '34-44 as carpenter, farmer, and sometimes teacher, in Ohio and Ill. In '45 he came overland in the Grigsby-Ide party with his wife (Susan G. Haskell, married in '20), 4 sons, and a daughter. iv. 578-81, 587. He encamped for the winter on Thomes' rancho, and in the spring of '46 moved into a cabin on Belden's rancho, Tehama Co., owned by Ide later. In June '46 he joined the Bear party, being apparently one of the few settlers who acted in good faith and was induced to believe the false reports that the Americans were in danger. After the occupation of Sonora and the departure of Capt. Grigsby, Ide was chosen commandant of the Bears, and held that position until the reorganization of the

forces under Frémont in July, just before the cause was merged in that of the U. S. For his acts in this capacity, including much that throws light on the peculiar character of the man, see v. 78–100, 104, 110, 115–19, 145–69, 175, 179–84, 231; or, better still, all the chapters relating to the Bear movement. Ide soon came to regard himself as leader in a grand revolutionary movement, as the conqueror of Cal.; his men regarded him simply as temporary commandant at Sonora, chosen to that position for his zeal in the cause and some educational advantages, and they were willing to indulge him in harmless eccentricities, paying but slight attention to his grandiloquent proclamations, or to his peculiar views of himself and the republic he thought he had founded. The assumption of the command by Frémont was regarded by Ide as a grievous wrong to himself; but his views and writings on this subject—respecting which his idiosyncrasy came very near to insanity—are fully presented elsewhere. After the change he served as a private in the Cal. Bat. during the first expedition to the south, but returned to Sonoma in Sept. v. 298; and to the Sac. Valley in Nov. In April '47 he was at Sonoma, taking part in a public meeting in behalf of Alcalde Nash. v. 609; on June 7th he was appointed by Gov. Mason surveyor for the northern department; on the 17th he married a couple at Cache Cr.; in July was referee in a slander case at Sonoma; and in '48 was at Mont. In '48–9 he had some experience in the mines, but the home of his family in these and later years was on the rancho Barranca Colorada, bought of Belden, near Red Bluff, claimed by him in '52. iv. 670; and confirmed to his heirs in '55. In '51–2 he seems to have held pretty nearly all the county offices in Colusa at the same time, the highest being that of county judge, and the seat of his govt being at Monroe's rancho, where he died in Dec. '52. He retained to the end his fondness for long reports and for political theorizing, but with all his eccentricity he was always a most worthy and honest man, and had somewhat remarkable tact and executive ability in several directions. The *Biographical Sketch* published in '80 by his brother is noticed in v. 188–9. It is stated by several writers, including Belden and Baldridge, that Ide was a Mormon, but I have found no positive evidence on the subject. Mrs I. died a few years before her husband. Information about the children is meagre. The oldest son, James M., lived long in Colusa and Tehama counties, then went to Utah, where he died in 78. Wm H. worked for Sutter a while in '45, then went south to the Sta Cruz region, and is said to have been held a prisoner by Castro for awhile in '46. Daniel and Lemuel, small children in '45, lived with the family in Tehama, and I think one of them still survived in '85. The daughter, Sarah E., became Mrs Healy, and lived at Sta Cruz in '80, when she contributed her recollections of the overland trip, with other material, for the *Biog. Sketch*. There were 4 other children, but of the 9 only 2 survived in '80.

Idirbe (Basilio), 1834, mr of the *Urup*. iii. 384. Igadera (José), 1798, convict settler. i. 606. Iglesias (José M.), 1825, Span. from the *Aquiles*. named in list sent to Mex. '28, and passport ordered in '30. iii. 51–2; in '32 joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221. Ihre (Geo.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Iliasovich (Livovich), 1831–3, mr of the *Baikal*, doubtful name. iii. 381. Illyn, 1806, pilot with Rezánof from Sitka. ii. 70. Illig, see 'Ellick.' Imman, 1848, at N. Helv. Imparan (José), 1779, com. of the 1st galleon that touched at Mont. i. 330.

Imus (Chas), 1846, nat. of N.Y. who came overland from Ill., being capt. of a party, and accompanied by his nephew, Chas A. Imus. v. 529. Both are said to have served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358); and later were stock-raisers on the S. Joaquin. Their parents came to Cal. in '50. The capt. died at Sta Cruz in '56, and the nephew was perhaps still living in '77. Inciarte (Juan), 1791, piloto in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Indart, 1845, mr of a vessel. Inestrumo, 1826, mr of the *Aryosy*. iii. 146. Ingals (Dav.), 1845, doubtful name of an overl. immig. iv. 578. Ingalls (Rufus), 1848, nat. of Me, lieut 1st U.S. dragoons, came on the *Hunteress* to act as asst Q.M.; in N.Y. '81 at a pioneer reunion. Ingersoll (Chester), 1847, overl. immig. from Ill., who bought land at Napa in Dec. In '48 he is said to have sent instructions east

to sell his property, purchase 500 bbls of dried apples, and distribute the balance among relatives, as he had made a fortune in Cal. He died in S.F. '49, leaving a family. Initia (C.), doubtful name of grantee of Olompali '43. iv. 672. Inwood (Geo.), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Iñigo (Lope), grantee of Posolomi and Pozito, Sta Clara, '44. iv. 672. Iñigues (Juan), 1796, sergt Catalan volunteers. i. 540. Iquina, 1793, Nootka Ind. baptized at Mont. i. 498.

Ira, or Irea (Cyrus), 1846, one of the Mormon colony. v. 546; left the church, and was living in the eastern states '84. Irante (Antonio), at Los Ang. '46. Irish, 1846, said to have been in the Pt Reyes region. Irvin (John), 1840, one of the exiles to S. Blas. iv. 18. Irwin (Edward), 1847, sergt Co. A, N. Y. Vol. v. 503; in the mines '48–50; then—after a year or two in Nicaragua—a resident of Sierra Co., where he was sheriff '55–9; lived 3 years in Napa and went to Nev. in '63, serving as sheriff and U.S. marshal in Nye and White Pine counties. In '70 he returned to Cal. and settled in Lake Co., where he still lived at Middleton in '83. I. (Wm), 1847, doubtful memb. of N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at S. F. '74. Irwood (Henry), 1848, at Benicia. *Yuba Co. Hist.*

Isbel (James C.), 1846, physician from Ohio, overl. immig. accomp. by his wife. v. 529; settled in S. Joaquin '47, where he is mentioned in connection with various mining operations in '48. His wife, Olive M., taught the first English school in Sta Clara—possibly in Cal.—in the spring of '47, while the immig. families were gathered there awaiting the close of the war. Both the doctor and his wife were living in Ventura Co. as late as '79, the former disabled and the latter still a teacher. The name is also written Isbell and Isabell. Isidoro, Ind. said to have been killed at Olompali '46. v. 166. Isidro, Ind. mentioned at Soledad '26. ii. 623. Islas (Santiago), Mex. alférez commanding guard at the Colorado pueblos 1780–1; killed by Ind. i. 359–63.

Iturrate (Domingo Santiago), 1800, Span. friar, who served at S. Juan B. until his departure from Cal. in 1809. Biog. ii. 154; ment. i. 577; ii. 100, 159–60. Iven (Alfred), 1847. Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); died at Acapulco '49. Ives, 1845, at N. Helv. with family; prob. error for 'Ide.' Ivie (Thomas C.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); farmer at Scipo, Utah, '82. Ivy (Richard A.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); farmer in Utah '81.

Jackson, 1845, at N. Helv., prob. an overl. immig. iv. 578, 587; said to have come to Napa with N. Coombs in '45, and to be living at Oakland '78. J. (Mrs), 1846, Mormon woman on the *Brooklyn* (v. 544), wife of Col J. *Tullidge.* J. (A.), 1848, steward on the *Elizabeth;* later in the City Hotel at Mont. J. (B.), 1848, from Hon. on the *Sagadahoc.* J. (Dav. E.), 1831, of the Rocky Mt. Fur Co., formerly partner of Jed. Smith and Sublette; came from N. Mex. in com. of a trading party. iii. 387, 613; iv. 264. J. (Geo.), 1847, sergt Co. G, N.Y. Vol. v. 504. J. (Henry W.), 1847, musician Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); recnl. J. (James), 1845, passport from Los Ang. to Sonora. J. (James M.), 1846, coxswain of *Dale's* launch, disch. at S.F. '49; later mr of a vessel, and in the war of '61–5 ensign on the *Comanche;* at S.F. '84. *Lancey.* J. (Joseph), 1827, Irish shoemaker in Mont. dist. '29, age 27. iii. 176. J. (Joseph), 1848, passp. from Hon. J. (Sam.), 1847, asst surg. on the U.S. *Independence.* J. (Wm), 1848, in S.F. list of letters.

Jacob (Richard Taylor), 1864, Kentuckian who accomp. Bryant on the overland trip, and was capt. of Co. H, Cal. Bat., in the campaign of '46-7, returning east probably by way of Panamá with Lieut Emory, and being in Wash. at the time of Frémont's court-martial. v. 359, 361, 454, 528. He later married a daughter of Thos H. Benton; was col of the 9th Ky cavalry in the war of '61–5; and became lieut gov. of Ky. Jacobs (Sanford), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); employed by Branan as mail-carrier in '48. Jacobson (Andrés), 1848, at S.F. from Valparaiso.

James, 1846, boy on the *Savannah,* said to be at Oakland in '76. *Alta.* Jaime (Antonio), 1795, Span. friar who served chiefly at Soledad, and died at Sta B. in '29. Biog. ii. 576–8; ment. i. 500, 576, 686; ii. 152, 159, 385, 394,

491, 530, 622, 655; iii. 96–7. Jalapa (Fran.), soldier of S. F. comp. '39–42; at Sonoma '44, age 25. J., 1848, one of the Weber's prospectors, for whom Jamestown was named. J. (Antonio), 1847, lumberman in S.F. dist. J. (Noah), 1846, memb. of the Donner party from Ill., believed to be still living in '80. v. 530, 534. J. (Zacarias), 1832, debtor of Purísima mission. Jameson (F. A.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Jamieson (Geo. Wm), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Jan (Barnaby), 1798, Boston sailor at S. Diego. i. 545, 654. Janes (Alden W.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Kenton, Ohio, '83; present at a review of survivors in N.Y. '84. Janion (R. C.), 1847, Engl. trader who came from Hon. on the *Laura Ann;* member of the S. F. firm of Starkey, J., & Co. in '47–9, making several trips to the islands; died in England some years later. Jansen (Cornelio), see 'Johnson.'

Janssens (Victor Eugène Auguste), 1834, Belgian who came from Mex. in the H. & P. colony at the age of 17. iii. 263, 412. After the colony was broken up he worked at the Corralitos rancho with the Coronel family in '35–6. Later in '36, he kept a shop at Mont. with Ayala, but on the downfall of Gov. Gutierrez he wished to return to Mex., where his mother still lived, and failing in this he went south, and in '37–8 took part in many of the abajeños' operations against Alvarado, besides serving against the Ind. on the S. Diego frontier. iii. 504, 516–20, 558. Later he had an orchard and worked as a distiller at Los Ang.; and in '40–2 he lived at S. Juan Cap., acting as majordomo and juez. iii. 627–8; iv. 624–7; naturalized in '41, and in '42 married María Antonia, daughter of Vicente Pico. Subsequently he was agent for Aguirre and partner of Lataillade at Sta B., obtaining the rancho of Lomas de la Purificacion in '44. iv. 642; and perhaps elected alcalde for '45, but not serving. iv. 491, 672. In '46 he was justice of the peace at Sta Inés, and under the Flores govt was mil. com. of that region. v. 320, 635. He was again juez in '48–9, and lived on his rancho, confirmed to him by the courts, till about '56, going to the mines in '48 for a time, but later residing at Sta B., where at various times in '61–8 he served as county assessor, postmaster, trustee, and deputy collector and sheriff. In '78, residing at Sta B., he dictated to me his *Vida y Aventuras*, an excellent narrative of colony affairs and of later Cal. events; and also permitted me to copy his col. of *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, containing several important records. He was an intelligent man of good repute, a widower with two sons and a daughter. I think he is still living in '85. Janston, 1846, mid. U. S. N. at Mont. with Baldwin in com. of guard. *Lancey.* Jantzen (Fred.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); liv- at S.F. '74–83. Jaramillo (Juan José), at S. Bern. '46, age 30. Jarvis (James J.), 1847, at S. Diego and Mont. '47–8, representing Everett of Hon. Jatiñil, Ind. chief on the S. Diego frontier, a faithful ally of the whites.

Jauffrey (Agustin), maj. at S. Juan Cap. '41. Jaume (Luis), 1771, Span. friar, who served as missionary at S. Diego until killed by the Ind. on Nov. 5, 1775. i. 173, 176, 195, 229, 250–2, 255, 455, 654, 657; ii. 106–7. Javier (Fran.), Ind. chief on the Colorado 1781. i. 361. Jaw, or Jay, at N. Helv. '47–8; doubtful name of a N.Y.Vol. Jaynith (Ed.), 1847, doubtful name of a Benicia settler.

Jefferson (Geo.), 1843–4, at S.F. in trouble about debts, etc.; prob. a sailor. Jeffray (Wm), 1848, memb. of Soc. Cal. Pioneers; in S.F. '81–3. Jegge (Jacob), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Jelvero (Fran.), 1825, Span. who came on the *Aquiles:* at Sta B. '36, age 36, with wife and 5 children. Jena (N.), 1840, mr of the *Angelina.* iv. 101. Jenkins, named by the Los Ang. vigilantes in '36 as having been killed, perhaps some years earlier. iii. 419. J., 1848, of J. & Hardy, at Mont. (?). J. (A. and H.), 1848, passp. from Hon. J. (Jackson W.), 1846, overl. immig. apparently with Aram. J. (John W.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); perhaps same as preceding. J. (Wm K.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499.) Jenks (Chas N.), 1845, Amer., at Mont. Jennings, 1848, in the mines, from Or., later asst Q. M. gen.; in real estate business at Sac., but returned to Or. J. (John), 1815, mr of the *Columbia.* ii. 273–4. Jennison (Dan.), 1823, at Sta B. ii. 495.

Jesse (Archer C., or Archibald C.), 1846, overl. immig. who settled in Napa Val., served as lieut of Co. E, Cal. Bat. v. 361, 529; and had a Cal. claim of $13.50 (v. 462). I have no later information about him. Jesus (Felipe de), at Soledad '26. ii. 623. J. (José), Ind. chief of S. Joaq., aiding the whites '46-8. v. 360, 662. J. (José Ant.), Mex. convict, set free in '33. J. (Serafin), grantee of lot at S. Gabriel '43. iv. 637. Jeupas, 1847, mr of the *Keone Ana*. v. 579. Jewell (Ben.), 1848, in Son. Co.; prob. 'Dewell,' q. v. Jewett (Enoch P.), 1847, from Hon. on the *Eveline:* owner of S.F. lot. v. 685. J. (Geo.), 1836, Amer. who landed from a whaler at Sta B., age 21. J. (Thomas), 1836, Amer. cooper, age 28, who came with Geo., and was perhaps his brother. iv. 118; in Larkin's employ at Mont. '40. Jim ('Kanaka,' or 'Yankee'), in charge of Hock for Sutter '46.

Jimenez, 1791-1800, chaplain on one of the S. Blas transports. J. (Antonio M.), Mex. priest at S. Gabriel and curate of Los Ang. from '44. iv. 422, 634, 637. He died at S. Gabriel in '53. Jimeno (Antonio), 1827, Mex. friar of the S. Fernando college, who served as missionary or curate at Sta Cruz in '27-8, at S. Buen. '40-3, and at Sta B. '29-40 and '44-56, being chosen suplente president in '30. ii. 576, 625, 655; iii. 87, 433-4, 656, 658; iv. 45, 421-2, 426, 643-5. Padre Antonio is remembered as stout and dark in person, amiable in disposition, kind to his neophytes, but strict in all religious matters. He left Cal. in '56 or a little later, and in '71 was still living in the city of Mex., blind and indigent, probably the last survivor of the Fernandinos. J. (José Joaquin), 1827, or perhaps '28, Mex. friar of S. Fernando college, brother of Antonio, whose missionary service was at S. Luis Rey in '27-30, Sta Cruz '30-3, Sta Inés '33-50, S. Gabriel '50-3, and Sta B. '54-6. From '38 he was president of the Fernandinos, being vicar in '38-9, and prefect after Duran's death in '46. In '44 he was the founder of the Sta Inés seminary, of which he was the rector to '50. In '54 he founded the missionary college of Dolores at Sta B., of which he was president to his death in '56, at the age of 52. ii. 553, 618-19, 625, 655; iii. 309, 319, 433-4, 661, 693-4; iv. 63-4, 372, 421, 425-6, 549, 645; v. 620, 635. A good account of his life is given by P. Gonzalez in his burial record. *Savage, Doc.*, ii. 144-6. Padre Joaquin resembled Antonio in most respects, being somewhat shorter in stature and less affable or more reserved in manner, being a very zealous missionary, though sometimes in trouble with his ecclesiastical superiors.

Jimeno Casarin (Manuel), 1828, nat. of Mex. and brother of the friars Jimeno, sub. comisario and contador in the Mont. custom-house in '28-30. ii. 607; iii. 46, 65, 69, 86, 136. In '32 he was síndico of the Mont. ayunt.; in '34 alcalde, and grantee of Salsipuedes; in '35 member of the diputacion and comisionado for the secularization of S. Luis Ob. iii. 291, 354, 673, 678, 682. In '37 he was again vocal, and in '39-42 was Alvarado's sec. of state, besides being 1st vocal and often acting gov. during Alvarado's illness, and grantee of Sta Rosa, Sta B. Co. in '39. iii. 506, 585, 590, 593-9, 604; iv. 133, 137, 193, 282, 294-5. Under Micheltorena he continued to serve as sec. in '43-5, being the grantee of Sta Paula in '43, and the Jimeno rancho, Colusa Co., in '44. iv. 357, 360, 403, 409, 643, 671. In the troubles of '45-7 Don Manuel seems to have taken no active part, but in these and later years gave his whole attention to private business, being also in bad health. He does not appear as claimant for any of the ranchos granted to him. He went to Mex. early in '53, and died there in Dec. of that year. Jimeno was a man of good character and abilities; a faithful official, well fitted for his position as govt secretary; devoted to Mexico, but not bitter in his prejudices against foreigners; small and lean in physique; vivacious and witty in conversation. His wife, married about '32, was Doña Angustias de la Guerra, who later married Dr Ord, and is still living in '85. There were 11 children, only 2 or 3 of whom survive. Two of the sons—Antonio and Porfirio—were sent east with Lieut Sherman in '50 to be educated, and Porfirio was a capt. of Cal. volunteers in the war of '61-5. Jimkins (Henry), 1848, lumberman and farmer at Sta Cruz to '61, later a soldier and miner in Nev. Jimmerson (Chas), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Joaquin (Emilio), Ind. grantee of S. Gabriel land '43. iv. 637.

John, 1836, cook from Coromandel, age 40, at Mont. John, 1836, Amer. at Salinas, age 18. John (James), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party; went soon to Or. iv. 234, 270, 272, 275. Johns (Juan C.), 1833, at Sonoma. Johnson, 1834, doubtful name of an Engl. sailor at Gomez' rancho. J., 1840, blacksmith arrested at Los Ang., but escaped. J., 1843, doubtful mention as an overl. immig.; perhaps of Chiles-Walker party. iv. 392. J., 1846, midshipman arrested by Capt. Montgomery. J., 1847, carpenter at Mont. J., 1847, fined at S. Diego for stabbing. v. 618. J., 1848, overl. immig. with Lawton.

Johnson (Archibald), 1832, testified in '68 that he had lived in Cal. since '32. iii. 408. J. (A. B.), 1837, trader on the coast; also called Benjamin. J. (A. M.), 1846, mid. on the U. S. *Warren*. J. (Chas), 1840, doubtful mention. J. (Chas F.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lot. J. (Chas B.), 1848, memb. of Pion. Soc., at Los Ang. '54. *Annals*. J. (Chas H.), 1848, nat. of Md; S. F. trader in '48-9, of firm Findley, J., & Co.; in '61 represented S. Luis Ob. in the legislature. J. (Chas R.), 1846, auctioneer in S.F. '48, who at Los Ang. '76 testified that he was in Cal. '46. There is prob. some confusion between this man and the 2 preceding. J. (Cornelius Adré), 1826, German soldier from Mex. iii. 176; at work on Hartnell's rancho '36, age 60; in '40 worked for Leese at S.F. His name was perhaps Jansen.

Johnson (David W.), 1846, farrier Co. K, C, 1st U. S. dragoons; killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. J. (Ed.), 1845, nat. of Md, sailor on the U.S. *Erie*, '45–8. iv. 587; came back to Cal. '49–50, and again in '54; lived at S. José '58–81 and later. *S. J. Pion.* J. (Francis), 1840, sup. of the *D. Quixote* and *Maryland* '40–1. iv. 103, 120, 567. He was a Mass. man who had been clerk for Peirce & Brewer at Hon., and later in business for himself. He died in Mass. abt '48. J. (Francis), 1845, at Los Ang., pleading exemption from mil. service; went to Hon. on the *Portsmouth;* perhaps the son of Don Santiago. J. (Fred.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). (J. Geo. A.), 1848, nat. of N.Y., who in the legislature of '63 represented S. Diego Co., age 37. J. (Henry), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). J. (Ira), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 469); smuggler at S. Diego and builder at Mont. '48. J. (Isaac C.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 469); at Astoria, Or., '82.

Johnson (James), 1833, Engl. trader, 8 years at Guaymas, engaged also in pearl-fishing, who came to Cal. both by land and on the *Facio*, making several trips to Sonora and back in '33–4. iii. 382, 409. He represented some kind of a Sonora company and bought the right of Manuel Gutierrez in the S. Pedro rancho, with large quantities of live-stock; but presently became financially embarrassed. He was accused of complicity in the Apalátegui revolt of '35, and is mentioned occasionally in Los Ang. annals of '36–40. iii. 285, 519; iv. 14, 117. Grantee of S. Jacinto and S. Gregorio, S. Diego Co., in '43. iv. 621, 563. Don Santiago was a large stout man of variable temperament. He died in '47. His widow, Cármen Guirado, sister of Rafael G. and Mrs Manuel Requena, still survived in '78, as does a son Francis in '85, he being mentioned at Hartnell's school in '36, and as the owner of Los Ang. lands in '48. There was another son named Santiago. The 3 daughters, Anita, Adelaide, and Margarita, married respectively Henry and Francis Mellus and James H. Lander. J. (James), 1836, Amer., age 32, who worked for Spear at Mont. J. (John), 1845, at Mont. J. (John Michael), 1821, Scotchman baptized at S. Buen. ii. 444. J. (John W.), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). J. (Joseph), 1845, deserter from the *Hopewell* at S. Diego; in '47 sentenced to 2 months of public works and $50 fine for stabbing García at Sta Isabel.

Johnson (Robert E.), 1841, in U.S. ex. ex. iv. 241. J. (Sampson W.), 1846, Virginian and overl. immig., perhaps via Or., who served in Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); in the mines '48–9; at S. José '50–4, serving as constable; farmer in S. Joaq. '54–9; keeper of a stable at Pacheco and Martinez '60–80. He married Annie McClellan in '50. J. (Sam.), of Morm. col., see 'Ladd.' J. (Wm), 1832, memb. of the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221.

Johnson (Wm), 1840, nat. of Boston and mate of the *Alciope*, engaged in trade at S. F. and getting a pass. in June '41; also grantee of town lot in '44. iv. 669; v. 679. From '42 he owned a lighter in company with Leese; asking in '44 for a license for his boat, he called himself an Irishman and naturalized Mex. (There are indications that in '40–1 there were 2 of the name at S.F., one of whom came as pilot on the *Trinidad*.) In '45 he bought the Gutierrez rancho on Bear River, where he lived from that time, being often named in the *N. Helv. Diary* as making trips up and down the river. His ranch was on the immig. route and is mentioned by all parties from '45. v. 23, 452, 484. In June '47 he married Mary Murphy, who in Nov. was advertised as having left him and later became Mrs Covilland. In '52 he was the claimant for his rancho. iv. 671; and a little later (or earlier, as would appear but for the land claim) he either died or went to the Sandwich Islands. J. (Wm.), 1842, surg. U.S.N. at Mont. *Maxwell*. J. (Wm.), 1847, sergt Co. C, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; owner of S.F. lot. J. (Wm S.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); later a prominent citizen of Monterey Co., holding several county offices; claimant for El Pleito. iv. 655; cashier of the Salinas City bank '82. He is also said to have lived in '48–9 and '75 at Stockton.

Johnston (Abraham R.), 1846, capt. Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons, who came with Kearny from N. Mex., and was killed at S. Pascual. v. 336, 343-4; author of a published *Journal* of the march. J. (Wm J.), 1847, Co. C. Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Sutter's employ in '47–8, and at the Coloma mill when gold was discovered. Johnstone (A.), 1847, at S.F. from Hon. on the *Currency Lass;* went back on the *Columbia*. J. (Charles), 1834, Dane in the Mont. dist '34–7. iii. 412. *Larkin's Accts*. Jonas, 1840, doubtful name in Farnham's list of arrested foreigners.

Jones, 1841, com. of H. B. M. S. *Curaçoa*. iv. 38, 564. J., 1841, mr of the *Llama*. iv. 567. J., 1846, orderly sergt Cal. Bat. *Lancey*. J., 1846, sailor of the *Savannah;* in the mines '48. J., 1847, mr of the *Confederacion*. v. 577.

Jones (A. F.), 1846, came to S. José with wife and 3 children. *Hall:* perhaps the J. ment. in the mines from S. José '48. J. (Albert G.), 1844, Amer. who got naturalization papers. iv. 453. J. (C.), 1848, passp. from Hon. J. (Cárlos), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). J. (Chas E.), 1847, in S.F. list of letters. J. (David H.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). J. (E.), 1846, purser's clerk on the *Warren:* at Mont. '48.

Jones (Elbert P.), 1846, Kentuckian lawyer and overl. immig. who practised law in S.F., was the 1st editor of the *Star* in '47, kept the Portsmouth House, was member and sec. of the town council, took an active part in political wrangles, became the owner of many city lots, and I think gave his name to Jones St. v. 645, 648–53, 657–8, 676, 678, 680, 685. He married Sarah Kittleman of the Mormon colony in '47, and lived in S.F. till after '50, dying at Charleston, S.C., in '52. Jones was a man of much talent and versatility, not in all respects of model character. J. (Eli), 1847, at Hon. from S.F. on the *Currency Lass*. J. (H. L.), 1847, blacksmith in Sutter's employ '47–8; had a family. J. (Harold), 1846, sailor on the U.S. *Dale*.

Jones (Mrs Isabella), 1846, one of the Mormon col. v. 546; owner of a S.F. lot '47; never went to Utah. J. (James H.), 1842, Amer. farmer naturalized in '44 claiming 2 years' residence, being then a resident of N. Helv., where he still lived apparently in '45–7. iv. 341. J. (John), 1837, trader at S.F. J. (John), 1846, at S. José. *Hall*. J. (John), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. before '53, when his widow, Sarah—who came with him in '47—married D. McC. Murray. She lived at Healdsburg, where she died in '79.

Jones (John Coffin, Jr), 1830, Boston man and long a merchant at Honolulu, where he was also U.S. consul. He had large transactions with Cal., which he visited nearly every year in '30–8, as mr or sup. of his own vessels, the *Volunteer*, *Louisa*, *Harriet Blanchard*, *Avon*, *Bolivar*, *Griffon*, and *Russelas*, finally marrying Manuela, daughter of Cárlos Carrillo. iii. 85, 145, 180, 381, 383-4, 461; iv. 101, 104–5, 117, 141. After settling his affairs at the Islands and making a visit east, he came back on the *Julia Ann* from Panamá in '41, and

settled at Sta B., though still making visits to Hon. I have many of his original business letters, and others on current events in the south, which have much historical value. iv. 291, 333, 523, 563, 566, 640. Early in '46 he sailed with his family on the *Admittance* for Boston, where he died a few years later. His widow was claimant for Sta Rosa Isl. iv. 643; which Jones with A B. Thompson had stocked with cattle and sheep; also for La Calera. She is still living in '85, having married, I think, a man named Kittle. J. (John M.), 1846, nat. of Ky and prob. overl. immig.; at S.F. and S. José '48 50; memb. of constit. convention '49.

Jones (Nathaniel), 1846, nat. of Tenn.; overl. immig. with wife and son from Mo. Leaving his family at Chiles' rancho in Napa Val., he served in the Sanchez, or Sta Clara, campaign, and then settled in Contra Costa, where he still lived in '82 with wife and 5 children. Portrait in *Contra C. Co. Hist.*, 264. He served as sheriff, public administrator, and county supervisor. His daughter, Martha A., born in '47, married John Slitz. The son who came with him, at the age of 2 years, was Robinson M., a newspaper man, farmer, teacher, county surveyor, and warehouseman, living at Martinez in '82 with wife, Nettie Renwick, and 3 children. J. (Nathaniel V.), 1847, sergt Co. D, Morm. Bat.; in Kearny's return escort. v. 453, 477, 492. J. (Owen), 1841, at S.F. J. (Peter), 1834–5, Frenchman at Mont. J. (Robert), 1836, named in Mont. accounts. J. (Sam. E.), 1846, son of Zacarias; resident of Mont. Co. '59–70. J. (T.), 1848, passp. from Hon. J. (Thomas), 1840, one of the S. Blas exiles, arrested at Los Ang. iv. 14, 18. J. (Thomas), 1841, Amer. immig. of Bartleson party. iv. 270, 272, 275, 279; in '45 signed the S. José call to foreigners. iv. 599; in '46 applied for land at S. José. J. (T. H. or M.), 1848, at N. Helv. May.

Jones (Thos Ap Catesby), 1842, commodore U.S.N., in com. of the Pac. squadron, taking possession of Mont. See iv. 39, 298–329, 569, 631, 636, 640, 652, 665; v. 579. He was again in com. of the squadron in '48–9. J. (Thos Jeremiah), 1821, Engl. sawyer; baptized at S. Juan B. in '23, and naturalized in '41, at which time he had a native wife. Jeremiah J., often ment. in records of '39–40, and perhaps one of the arrested foreigners, may have been the same man. ii. 444, 496; iv. 17.

Jones (Walter), 1846, at S. José. *Hall.* J. (Wm), 1838, doubtful name of an Amer. captured by Mex. pirates and forced to work as a slave in the mines; at Mont. with wife and two children in '44, acc. to Geo. Reed, in *S.F. Calif.*, May 22, '47. iv. 119. J. (Wm), 1843, immig. from Or. in the Hastings party. iv. 390; nothing more known of him unless he is the J. who left N. Helv. for Or. in '46. v. 526. J. (Wm), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Sonoma '71–4. J. (W.D.), 1847, in U.S.N. '47–54, spending the rest of his life at Vallejo, where he died in '76. J. (Wm Owen), 1816, pilot of the *Lydia*. ii. 275. J. (Zachariah), 1846, overl. immig. who settled at S. José with wife and 5 children, Margaret, Reuben, Sam. E., and Clark. He kept a hotel in '47, built a saw-mill at Los Gatos '48, and was still living in '60. One of his daughters married Josiah Belden in '49. Jongh (Wm F.D.), 1846, in com. of a gun in Marston's Sta Clara campaign. Jonvera (Louis), 1829, Frenchman, age 28, at S. José April.

Jordan (J.), 1841, carpenter on the U.S. *St Louis*. J. (Jackson), 1848, owner of S.F. lot; perhaps the same. J. (Louis), 1842, trader at Los Ang. '42–6, being regidor in '45–6. iv. 341, 633–4; v. 625. J. (Mariano), 1846, at Los Ang. J. (Philip), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Jourdain (Étienne), 1847, at Los Ang.; Fr. consular agent at S.F. '48. v. 614–15. Joy (Manuel), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); Cal. claim of $20 (v. 462). J. (Wm), 1848, clerk for C. L. Ross at S.F.; still in S.F. '54.[1] Joyce (John), 1846, one of the Mormon col., with wife, Caroline, and 2 daughters, Augusta and Helen F. v. 546. He was a carpenter who got a town lot in '47. v. 686; went to the mines in '48; was still at S.F. in '50; and in '64 lived at Centreville, Alameda Co., age 42. Possibly there was another Mrs J. and fam., who went to Utah and died before '84. J. (Thos), 1848, passp. from Hon. Joynes, (J.), 1845, sailmaker on the U.S. *Warren*.

Juan (Luis), 1840, reward offered for the discov. of his murderers at S. Diego. Juan (Ricardo), 1845, Frenchman at Branciforte, age 28, wife María Cota, child Jesus. Juan Bautista, 1836, Greek fishermen at Mont. Juan de Dios, executed at Mont. '45. Juan Evangelista, neophyte taken to Mex. by P. Serra. i. 321. Juarez (Andrés), soldier of Mont. comp. '36, age 19; juez of valley ranchos '46. v. 637.

Juarez (Cayetano), nat. of Cal.; soldier of S.F. comp. '28–31, corp. '32–5; but apparently acting as sergt from '33, being majordomo at Solano in '36, and later capt. of militia, engaged in many Ind. exped. iii. 701–2, 705, 720. In '41 he was grantee of the Tulucay rancho in Napa Val., where he built an adobe house and spent the rest of his life, being alcalde at Sonoma in '45, and grantee of Yukaya (Ukiah) in the same year. iv. 674, 678. In '46 he somewhat distinguished himself by his plans to rescue the Bear prisoners. v. 120; and by a famous swim of some 9 miles to escape capture. In '75 he gave me some rambling *Notas*. He died at Napa in '83, at the age of about 75. Portrait in *Napa Co. Hist.* J. (Francisco), at Branciforte '28–30. ii. 627; síndico '36. iii. 697; his wife was Dolores Cota; children in '28, Mateo and Antonio. J. (Francisco), at S. José '41, age 35, wife Andrea Pinto, child Narciso b. '29, Juan '31, María '32, Jesus '34, Paula '36, Juan de Dios '38, Natividad '40. J. (Joaquin), at Brancif. '30–45, age 60 in '45, wife Pascuala Lorenzana, child. Luis b. '17, Solano '33. ii. 627. J. (José), soldier of S.F. comp. '37–9. J. (José C.), at Brancif. '45, age 26, wife Fernanda Figueroa, child José. J. (José Manuel), at Brancif. '28; at S. Isidro '36; at S. José '41, age 39, wife Pascuala Figueroa, children Benjamin b. '29, Gertrudis '30, Andrea, '35, José M., Jr, '36. J. (José María), at Brancif. '30. ii. 627. J. (Marcos), soldier at Mont. '34. iii. 673; at Sonoma '44, age 45. J. (Mateo), at La Brea, Mont., '36, age 23, wife Tomaso Galindo, child Trinidad. J. (Vicente), at S. José '33–41, age 23 in '41; also a soldier in S.F. comp. '37.

Judd (Hiram), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Judd (Zadock K.), 1847, ditto; in Utah 82. Judson (Henry), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died Mokelumne Hill '49. Julian, 1845, at N. Helv. iv. 578, 587. He was a French Canadian who settled on a rancho in the upper Sac. Val., and is said by Bidwell to have joined Gillespie and Frémont, and to have been killed by the Ind. in May '46. Julio, neophyte alcalde killed in '13 near Mission S. José. ii. 324–5. Julio César, ex-neophyte of S. Luis Rey, living in '78 with a son and 3 grandchildren at Tres Pinos, S. Benito Co., where he gave me an interesting narrative of old-time *Cosas de Indios*. Juncosa (Domingo), 1771, Span. friar, nat. of Cataluña, who came on the *S. Antonio*. He was one of the first missionaries of S. Luis Ob., though not present at the founding, and he served there until 1774, when he retired to his college. Very little appears in the records about this padre; mention in i. 173, 176, 178, 188–9, 196.

Kaan, 1848, at N. Helv. Kal (C.), 1846, doubtful name at Los Ang. Kalohe, 1848, passp. from Hon., with wife. Kamp (Harold), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Sonoma '71–82. Kampt, 1846, blacksmith at N. Helv., had a fight with Daylor. Kane (Elias K.), 1848, lieut of dragoons in Graham's battalion from Mex. v. 522; capt. and asst Q. M. at Mont. '50. K. (Peter), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died before '82. K. (Wm S.), 1847, at S. Pedro. Kapawa, 1848, passp. from Hon. Kappis (Geo.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Karr (Wm), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Katt (Wm), 1798, Boston sailor at S. Diego. i. 545, 654. Kaufman (Julius), 1837, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Kay (James), 1838, at Mont. Kays (John C.), 1846, at Los Ang.; at Sta B. from '48 to '85; his wife was Josefa Burke. See 'Keyes.'

Keapnell (Fred.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Kearney, 1843, com. of the U.S. *Constellation*. iv. 564. K. (James), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). K. (John), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat., enlisting at S. Juan Oct. (v. 358). Kearny (Stephen W.), 1846, nat. of N. J.; lieut of 13th U. S. infantry from 1812; col 1st dragoons '36–46, stationed much of the time at Ft Leavenworth. In '46, being put in com. of the exped. to N. Mex., he

was made brigadier-gen. and sent across the continent to occupy Cal. His march to Cal., defeat at S. Pascual, and final mil. operations of '47 with Stockton are recorded in v. 197, 328, 334–56, 385–99, 473, 483. For his controversies with Stockton and Frémont, his rule as mil. gov. from March 1 to May 31, '47, his return east overland, and his prosecution of Frémont, see v. 411–62, 489–90, 543, 564, 645, 460–2. The affair at S. Pascual must be regarded as an inexcusable blunder on Kearny's part, but otherwise his course in Cal. was consistent and dignified in the midst of difficult circumstances, and his military record throughout his whole career was an honorable one, the violent tirades of Benton and other partisans of Stockton and Frémont being for the most part without foundation in justice. He died in '48. His name is borne by one of San Francisco's principal streets. His wife was a step-daughter of Clarke, of Lewis and Clarke exploring fame.

Keeney (Jonathan), 1848, miner from Or., where he still lived in '82. Keeny, 1845, of Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 579; prob. 'Kinney,' q. v. Keffer (J. L.), 1847, commander's clerk on the U. S. *Columbus*. Kehoe (Joseph H.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. at Mont. '48. Keith (Wm), 1833, Amer. physician who had lived some years in Sonora. He came to Cal. prob. with Santiago Johnson and John Forster. iii. 409; and lived at Los Ang. for 3 years as surgeon and trader, going back to Hermosillo in '36. He returned to Cal. in '48, went to the mines, and died at or near Stockton soon after '49. The *Sonorense* of Oct. 6, '48, contains a very flattering notice of his services in Sonora. Kekuacaca, 1848, passp. from Hon.

Kell (John M.), 1846, mid. U.S.N., who took part in Marston's Sta Clara campaign of '46–7. v. 380. K. (Thomas), 1846, nat. of Engl. and overl. immig. from Mo. In the mines '48–9, and later a resident of S. José or vicinity, till his death in '78 at the age of 84. He left 4 or more sons and 2 daughters, the latter being the wives of C. Colombet and T. Carrol. Kellett, 1837, lieut in com. of H. B. M. S. *Starling* of Belcher's exped. '37, '39. iv. 106, 142–6; capt. of the *Herald* in '46. v. 578.

Kelley, 1846, at N. Helv. K. (Geo.), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). K. (Hall J.), 1834, Amer. enthusiast on the subject of Pacific coast colonization, who visited Cal. en route to Or.; writer of books, pamphlets, and letters on his favorite subject. See iii. 409–11; iv. 129, 147; also *Hist. Or.* K. (Henry), 1831, Amer. sailor on the *Leonor*. iii. 405; at Sta B. '36, age 46 and single. K. (James), 1840, in Farnham's list of arrested foreigners. iv. 17. K. (John H.), 1842, sailor in Sutter's employ at Ross; at S. José '44; at N. Helv. '45. iv. 578, 587; prob. one of the Bears in '46. v. 110; in Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); in the mines '48–50; last seen by Bidwell '51. K. (Nicholas), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). K. (Wm), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Sutter's employ '47–8 as boat-builder and lumberman. K. (Wm), 1826, mr of the *Washington*. iii. 149. See also 'Kelly.'

Kelliher (Jeremiah), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Kellogg (Benjamin F.), 1846, Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). The K. family seem to have been overl. immig. of this year, but I am unable to distinguish between the members. K. (Frank), 1846, resid. of Napa Co. to '68 and later. K. (F. E.), 1846, overl. immig. from Ill. with a family; Napa Co. official '50, '56; perhaps same as Frank. K. (Fred.), 1845, mid. on U.S. *Warren*. K. (H.), 1848, named in Mont. accounts. K. (Irwin), 1846, near St Helena '69; father-in-law of Wm Nash.

Kelly, 1816, mr of the *Atala*. ii. 282. K., 1824, mr of the *Hawaii*. ii. 519. K. (James), 1847, musician Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). K. (John), 1847, Co. K, ditto; at N. Helv.; owner of S.F. lot. K. (Philip), 1847, Co. I, ditto; died in Calaveras '60. K. (Thomas), 1839, pilot of a Peruv. brig at S.F. K. (Wm H.), 1847, mr of the American whaler *Georgian*: died '72.

Kelsey (Andrew), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party. iv. 270, 275, 279; went to Or. in '43 with his brothers, but returned in '44 with the party bearing his name. iv. 390, 444–5. He prob. served under Capt. Gantt in the Micheltorena campaign of '44–5. iv. 486; and took part in the Bear revolt.

v. 110; perhaps joining the Cal. Bat., though I find no definite record of his name. In '47 he and his brother with others bought live-stock of Salvador Vallejo and obtained the privilege of grazing their cattle near Clear Lake. Andrew and a man named Stone went to live at the place where Kelseyville —so named for him—now stands, thus becoming the 1st settlers of Lake Co. The natives were numerous, and under oppression became hostile; K. and S. were men who scorned to use conciliatory methods with 'Injuns and such varmint;' and they were both killed, as they well deserved to be, in '49; but soon a force was sent to butcher hundreds of the Ind. in vengeance.

Kelsey (Benj.), 1841, brother of Andrew, and one of the Bartleson party, accomp. by his wife, Nancy A., the 1st woman who came to Cal. by the direct overland route. iv. 270, 272, 275, 279. What has been said of Andrew above may be applied to Benj., except what relates to the former's death. iv. 390, 444–5; v. 110, 148. The brothers called Napa Val. their home from '45, and though they worked sometimes at N. Helv., they preferred the adventurous life of hunters. They were rough men, often in trouble with the authorities. Though one of the owners, Benj. did not live at the Clear Lake establishment, but his treatment of Ind. carried practically as slaves to the mines did much to provoke the killing of his brother. The family lived in Or. again '51–5, later in Texas, and at various points of southern Cal. in '60–78 or later. There were 2 children in '45, and the scalping of a daughter on the way to Texas is mentioned. Ellen K., said to have been born at N. Helv. Aug. 2, '45, may have been his daughter.

Kelsey (David), 1844, brother (or possibly father) of Andrew and Benj.; came to Or. in '43, and to Cal. in the Kelsey party of '44 with his wife, 3 daughters, and perhaps a son. iv. 444–5. He settled at French Camp, but died at Stockton in '45 of small-pox, from the effects of which disease Mrs K. became blind. v. 674. Of the son nothing appears. A married daughter, Mrs Rebecca Fowler, left her husband and was married by Sutter, in Dec. '45, to Grove Cook. Josephine married Dr C. Grattan, and died at Stockton in '71. America married Geo. F. Wyman in '46, and a 4th daughter became the wife of Willard Buzzell. K. (Samuel), 1844, brother of Andrew and Benj., and member of the Kelsey party from Or., having started with Hastings in '43, but turned back on meeting his brothers. iv. 269, 444–5, 453. I have his autog. letter of Sept. 7, '44, at Sonoma, on troubles in which the brothers were involved in connection with the Bale affair. He was prominent in the Bear revolt and a signer of the original proclamation of June 14th, in my possession. v. 95, 104, 110, 153; also one of the Cal. claimants (v. 462). Nothing appears about his family or what became of him. K. (Wm), 1847, boat-builder at N. Helv.

Kemble (Edward C.), 1846, printer who came with the Mormon colony, though possibly not a member of the church. v. 546. He served in Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); and from April '47 was editor of the *S. F. Star*, succeeding Jones. v. 657–9. His connection with the *Star* and its successors, the *Star and Californian* and *Alta California*, as editor or proprietor, continued to '55, though he was also the founder of the Sac. *Placer Times* and its editor in April–June '49. He was sec. of the S.F. council in '48, and somewhat prominent in local matters. vi. 649, 656; being regarded as a young man of good abilities and character. After '55 he went east, and in the war of '61–5 was connected with the army as paymaster, subsequently spending some years from '67 on the Pacific coast as inspector of Ind. affairs; and being later connected with the Associated Press in N.Y., where he still lives in '85, a card from him on 'Early journalism in S.F.' appearing in the *Bulletin* of Feb. Kempsey (Bartholomew), 1848, died in '61. *Herald*. Kempat (Geo. W.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Kemsey (Thomas), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358).

Ken (John M.), 1845, mid. on the U.S. *Savannah*. Kendall (Alva), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Kendrick (John), 1789, mr of the *Columbia*, the 1st Amer. vessel to visit the N.W. coast, sighting the Cal. coast on the way north. He visited Mont. in com. of the *Aranzazu* in 1794, and in

'99 was perhaps sup. of the *Elsa*. i. 445, 523-4, 545. Kennedy (Andy), 1848, said to have come to Cal. with Col Davis. K. (Edm. P.), 1836, com. of the U. S. *Peacock*. iv. 104-5, 140-1. K. (Edw. P.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). K. (James), 1831, Irishman who in '35 got a lot at Mont., and in '36 was a clerk for Watson, age 46, and single. iii. 405. Naturalized in '41, when he lived at S. José, and claimed 10 years of residence in Cal.; at Sta Cruz '42-3. K. (Joseph), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons; fatally wounded at S. Pascual. v. 346, 345. K. (Wm A.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Kennersly (A. J.), 1847, Co. E, ditto. Kenney (Chas), 1847, watchman at Mont. '47-8. K. (Wm S.), 1847, inspector of hides at S. Pedro; called Guillermo S. Kene. Keno (T.), 1846, one of the Donner relief party (?); had a claim on the Cosumnes; at Stockton in '80. *Sac. Co. Hist.* Kentzburg (Adolphus), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Kenway (Geo. S.), 1847, from Hon. on the *Gen. Kearny*, and went back on the *Toulon*.

Kerby (John), 1844, sailor on the schr *California*. Kern (Edward M.), 1845, artist of Frémont's exped., and author of a published *Journal*. From the outbreak of the Bear revolt he commanded the garrison at N. Helvetia, ranking as lieut in the Cal. Bat. He started east with Stockton in '47, but was left behind ill, and sailed from S.F. in. Oct. on the *Com. Shubrick:* owner of a S.F. lot; Kern river and county are named for him. iv. 583, 585; v. 3, 6, 123, 244, 298-9, 359-60, 450, 453-4, 538, 675. Kerphy, 1847, mr of the *Maria Helena*. Kerr (Thomas), 1847, owner of S.F. lot.

Keseberg (Louis), 1846, Prussian, member of the Donner party, with wife Philipine, and children Louis and Ada. Both the children perished, the parents surviving. v. 531, 534, 541, 544. K. was the last of the party to be rescued; was forced to subsist on human flesh longer than his companions, among whom he had been unpopular from the first, and by some of whom—but chiefly by Capt. Fallon and his disappointed treasure-seekers of the last relief party—he was charged with robbery and murder. On this man have been concentrated in the public mind all the horror and loathing arising from the events of that terrible winter; he has been pictured as a fiend exulting in his cannibalism. It is fair to state that the charges rest on no tangible evidence, and that K. is entitled to be regarded as an unfortunate victim. His narrative as given by McGlashan bears every mark of truth, while the statements of his accusers are clearly tainted with exaggeration and falsehood. A portrait is given by McG., p. 220. Keseberg worked for Sutter as supercargo of his launch in '47, and later for Vallejo at Sonoma; went to the mines in '48-9; kept a boarding-house and hotel at Sac.; and was later a brewer at Calistoga and Sac. He made and lost several fortunes, being the victim of successive reverses by fire and flood. His wife died in '77; and in '80 he was living at Brighton, at the age of 66, in extreme poverty, with two grown-up daughters, both idiots. Two other married daughters survived, and 7 of his children had died. He was a man of intelligence, good education, and much business ability; and his record in Cal., except as affected by suspicions growing out of the affair of '46, was a good one. In '85 I have not heard of his death.

Ketchum (Thomas E.), 1847, lieut Co. B, N. Y. Vol., leaving N. Y. with recruits after the departure of the regiment. v. 503-4, 511; capt. of Cal. volunteers in the war of '61-5; and later brigadier-gen. of militia. A resident of Stockton, '71-82. Kettle, 1848, at S.F. from Tahiti. Kettleman, see 'Kittleman.' Keyes (John), 1843, Irish steward on the *Soledad*, who had a barber-shop at Mont., but went soon to Los. Ang. and Sta B., where he married a Miss Burke, and still lived in '70; claimant for Cañada de Salsipuedes. iv. 400, 642. Apparently identical with John C. 'Kays,' q. v. K. (Robert C.), 1845, overl. immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party, who went to Or. early in '46, but came back in '47; at Mont. '48; sheriff at S. José '49. v. 526, 576, 579, 587. K. (Mrs), 1846, of the Donner party, but died before reaching the Sierra. She had a son in Or., whom she expected to meet at Ft Hall, and who was possibly Robt C. Keyser (Guy M.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Utah '81.

Keyser (Sebastian), 1840, nat. of the Austrian Tyrol, a trapper who came overland to Or. with Sutter in '38, and again joined him at N. Helv., possibly not till '41. The first definite record is a letter of introd. from Sutter to Suñol in Aug. '41. iv. 117, 120, 139. He accompanied Dr Sandels in his valley travels of '43, having then selected a rancho adjoining Dickey's; was naturalized in '44, getting a grant of the Llano Seco rancho in Butte co. iv. 671: in '45 settled on Bear River as half owner of Johnson's rancho, serving also in Capt. Gantt's company. iv. 486. In '46 he was probably a Bear Flag man, may have served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358); had part of his left hand blown off; and married Elizabeth Rhoads, who left him soon, but returned to make him happy in '47. He was one of the 4th Donner relief party. v. 541; sold his interest in the rancho in '49; and subsequently lived on Daylor's place, running a ferry on the Cosumnes for Daylor and Grimshaw, by the sinking of which craft he was drowned in '50. He left one child and $15,000 in gold-dust. His widow became Mrs Pierce, and was living in Fresno co. 72. I have a letter of that year, in which she gives information about Keyser. Khlébnikof (Cyril), 1820, agent of the Russ. Amer. Fur Co. at Sitka, who visited Cal. in '20, '25–6, and '30–1. ii. 263, 317–19, 383, 644, 648; iii. 146, 213; iv. 160. Khorstof (Nicholas), 1806, mr of the *Juno*. ii. 70.

Kilbey (James), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469), reënl. Kiddey (Wm), 1848 (?), Engl. liquor dealer at Sta Clara '76. Kiernan (John B.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. Stockton after '60. Kiesler (Lafayette), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Sonoma '48. Kilborn (Wm K.), 1847, mr and owner of the *Henry* '47–8. v. 578; of the S.F. firm K., Lawton, & Co. '48–9. Kilburn (Benj.), 1846, Cal. Bat. Co. B, artill., enlisting at S. José (v. 358); owner of a S.F. lot '47. v. 676. K. (Ralph L.), 1842 (?), a settler of Napa Val. from '44, but generally accredited to '42. iv. 341. In later years he stated that he built a mill on Dr Bale's rancho in '43. I find nothing about the manner of his coming. Naturalized '45, and subsequently married by Sutter; in '47–8 had an interest at Benicia, where he built houses for Larkin. v. 673. Alcalde at Napa '49; county treasurer '50; cl. for lands in '52. He died at Rutherford in '79, age 70. His daughter married a man named Lockwood. Kild (Adam H.), 1835, named as one of the owners of Palo Colorado rancho, Mont. Kileven (Tom), 1806, mate of the *Peacock*, in prison at S. Juan Cap. ii. 38; perhaps the following.

Kimball, 1806, mr of the *Peacock*. ii. 37–8, 109. K. (Hazen), 1848, overland Mormon immig. met by Bigler at the Humboldt sink in Aug.; memb. of Soc. Cal. Pion., and a resident of S.F. '83. Kimsey (Alvis and Thos L.), 1847, owners of S.F. lots. Kinch, 1847, mr of the *Com. Stockton*. v. 577. King (Ed A.), 1847, mr of the *Elizabeth* and purchaser of the *Primavera*; mr of the *Hope* in '48. v. 577, 580; lumber dealer and underwriters' agent at Mont. '48; harbormaster '49 at S.F., where he still lived in '54. K. (Henry), 1839, clerk in Sutter's employ.

King (Henry), 1845, one of Frémont's party, who served as capt. and commissary of the Cal. Bat., and went east on the *Com. Shubrick* in Oct. '47. v. 94, 360, 450, 453–4, 583. Joining Frémont's 4th exped. in '48, he was frozen to death before reaching Sta Fé, and probably eaten by his companion. He seems to have been a brother of James King of William. K. (John H.), 1846, overland immig. who played poker in Eureka down to a late date, acc. to the papers. K. (John M.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). K. (Manuel), 1835, Portuguese on Larkin's books '35–8. iii. 413. K. (Robert), 1834, Engl. lumberman, who was one of Graham's men in '36–8, and was arrested in '40, but left at Sta B. sick. iii. 412; iv. 17. Naturalized in '41 and arrested for stealing lumber at Sta Cruz in '42, but escaped from jail; perhaps the man named in *Larkin's Accts* '45. K. (Thomas), 1848, passp. from Hon. K. (Wm), 1846, came to S. José. *Hall*. K. (Wm), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

King of William (James), 1848, nat. of Georgetown, D. C., assuming the affix 'of William' at the age of 16, from his father's given name, to distinguish himself from others named James King. He came to Cal. by way of Panamá

and Valparaiso in Nov. '48, made some money in the mines, worked as clerk for Reading & Co. at Sac., and in '49 opened a bank at S. F., his family from the east joining him in '51. In '54–5 he was obliged to close his business, and was employed by Adams & Co. until the failure of that firm. In Oct. '55 he started the S. F. *Evening Bulletin*, and began a violent, fearless, and desperate crusade against prevalent corruption in the city. Though harsh and often injudicious in his methods, bitter in his prejudices, and generally disposed to abuse all who did not agree with his ideas of reform, he was honest in stating facts, and aimed to be just in his attacks; and he was indirectly the instrument of great good to the community. He was shot in May '56 by James P. Casey, a politician and newspaper man whose unsavory record he had exposed, and his murder led to the organization of the famous Vigilance Committee. In my *Popular Tribunals*, vol. ii., the reader will find much information about King; and there is a sketch of his life and a portrait in the *Contemp. Biography*. He left a widow and 6 children, some of whom still live in S. F. in '85. Kingery (Sam.), 1848, nat. of Ohio; resid. of S. Luis Ob. co. '68–83. Kingsbury, 1846, doubtful mention of a major at Sutterville. *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 18. K. (Elisha), 1848, on roll of Soc. Cal. Pion. Kingsley (Francis), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). Kink (Robert), 1843, doubtful name of an Englishman at Branciforte in '45, age 36, wife Estofana Juarez, child Robert. v. 43. Kinley, 1846, doubtful mention at Hock Farm.

Kinlock (Geo.), 1830, Scotch carpenter and trader at Mont. with his wife, Mary Anderson, also Scotch, and the first foreign woman who lived in Cal. As their son Geo. David—the 1st child of foreign parents born in Cal.—was born in '30, they may have arrived a year or two earlier. From '30 K.'s name appears constantly in all kinds of Monterey records. In '36 his age was 39. He died about '58. His son Geo. D. in '48–9 was with Rose & Reynolds at Rose Bar. There was a daughter Catalina born in '33. iii. 179–80, 221, 609; iv. 17. Kinnane (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). Kinney (A. and S.), 1845, overl. immig., perhaps of the Grigsby-Ide party. A. had a family and perhaps went to Or. in '46; S. was a 'hard case,' employed by Sutter during the winter, and went back east in the spring. v. 526, 579. K. (James), 1847, teamster in Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Kinns (Alex.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. at Sonoma Dec. '47. Kinsey, 1845, at N. Helv.; and a Dan. D. Kinsey is named in one list as one of the Stevens party of '44. Kintring (Chas M.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Kirby (Henry), 1839, Engl. steward of the *Corsair*, who kept a restaurant at S.F. in '40; a witness against Capt. Hinckley in '40–1. iv. 119. K. (James), 1844, attendant of a sick sailor at Mont.; perhaps same as John K., a sailor. K. (Richard C.), 1846, Engl. tanner, who left a whaler on the Or. coast in '45, and came by land to Cal. with a party the next year. v. 526. He worked at his trade for Sutter during Bear Flag times, and later had a small tannery in the North Beach region at S.F. In '47–8 he worked at Sta Cruz; as miner and trader in the mines '48–9 he made a small fortune, which he soon lost in a city speculation; and from '50 he was engaged in the manufacture of leather at Sta Cruz, where he still lived in '79, and I think in '85. Portrait in *Sta Cruz Co. Hist.*, 16. Kirchner (Henry), 1848, partner of Weber at Stockton. *Tinkham.* Kirk (Thomas), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Kirkwood (James and John), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); there was also a James, Jr, at Mont. in '47. The K.'s were overl. immig. mentioned by Bryant. Kisling (John W.), 1846, Danish sailor at S.F., who got a lot in '47, went to the mines in '48, and returning lived in town to '59, later at S. Mateo, and died in '61, leaving a widow and 2 children.

Kittleman (John), 1846, one of the Mormon colony with a family; owner of S.F. lot '47; died at Sta Cruz '52. His children, each of them obtaining a S.F. lot, were George; Thomas, who married Angelino Lovett at S.F. in '47, and was a constable in the same year; Sarah, who married E. P. Jones; and Wm, who died in Utah '55, leaving a widow and 6 children living at Centreville, Utah, '85. None of John's 4 children survives in '85. v. 546, 678, 680,

685. Kleinbroth (John), 1847, musician N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lot. v. 678. Kleinschrooth (John), 1847, Co. G, ditto; owner of S.F. lot; in S.F. '52; in Germany '82. Klengel (Francis), 1847, Co. C, ditto. Klee (Wm), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Klopper (Michael), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Knapp (Albert), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Mont. '48. K. (Joel B.), 1848, came from Hon. and went to the mines. K. (M.), 1849, from Hon. on the *Julian*. Knight, 1846, said by Lancey to have come with Kearny; a newspaper writer in S.F. '84. K. (Henry), 1840, one of the S. Blas exiles. iv. 18. K. (Henry), 1844, Swiss, at S.F.; age 40; perhaps same as preceding. K. (John), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Ukiah '71–82. K. (Thomas), 1841, German sailor and sawyer, who left the *Alert* and got a passport. K. (Thomas), 1845, native of Me; trader in La, Ark., and Mo.; overl. immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party, or of the Swasey-Todd branch of that party. iv. 576, 579, 587. All his property, including a stock of goods for sale, was destroyed by the explosion of a keg of powder under his wagon in the Sierra. He settled in Napa Val., took part in the Bear revolt. v. 110; and had some experience in the mines. In '51–70 he was a farmer in Napa and Sonoma counties; being owner of the Moristal or Berreyesa rancho. v. 671–2; and later a dealer in real estate at S. F. In '72 he wrote for me his *Recollections*, containing much information about early times and men; and in '79 he dictated another and briefer statement of *Early Events in Cal.* His wife was Serena Haines, married in '54; and in '72 they had two children, Chas P. S. and Thos G. He still resides in S. F. '85, at the age of 65.

Knight (Wm), 1841, nat. of Ind., naturalized and married to a native in N. Mex., who came with the Workman-Rowland party, returning in '42 to bring his family. v. 278–9. He settled in '43 on the Sacramento, at the place named for him, Knight's Landing—obtaining in '44 a renewal of his naturalization papers that had been lost. He served Micheltorena in Gantt's comp.; was a signer of the S. José call to foreigners; got a land-grant in '46; and took an active part in the Bear revolt, perhaps serving in the Cal. Bat. iv. 486, 501, 573, 599; v. 106, 110, 114–19, 637. After the discovery of gold he established Knight's Ferry on the Stanislaus, where he died in '49. He was a great hunter, and though said to have been educated as a physician, was a man of very rough ways, violent in temper, always ready to take offence, and to settle all differences by force. His title to lands, resting on Sutter's general title and a fraudulent grant from Pico, was not confirmed; and though reputed to be rich, his heirs are said to have received very little. Three of his daughters, still living in '85, I think, married respectively Chas F. Reed, J. N. Snowball, and Nathaniel Jacobs. A good sketch of Knight is given *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 31.

Knoss (M.), 1846, Co. B, artill. Cal. Bat., enlisting at Sac. in Oct. (v. 358). Knott, 1847, mr of the *Sweden*, bringing recruits for the N.Y.Vol. v. 511. Knowles (Richard), 1846, one of the Mormon colony, with his wife; owner of S.F. lot '47. v. 546, 678. He died in the faith, and his widow was living in Utah '84. Knox (Sam. P.), 1841, com. of the *Flying Fish*, of U.S. ex. ex. iv. 241, 565.

Kob (Geo.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Koeger (Henry E.), 1846, at S. José. *Hall.* Kohler (Deoden), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. K. (Theodore G.), 1845, said to have arrived this year. iv. 587; in '49 a clerk for Wells & Co., S. F.; later connected with the Cal. press; died at S.F. '75. Kolan, 1846, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list. Kolmer (Michael), 1846, accomp. by wife and 3 children; settled near Bodega, one daughter marrying Wm Howard and another Wm Benitz. *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 201. Köenig (Wm), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); drowned in Sac. Riv. '47. Kontz (John G.), 1847, Co. F, ditto. Kook (Chas), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). K. (Theodore), 1839, at S. Diego.

Kooser (Benj. Park), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill.; nat. of Pa. He was a printer and connected with the press, even before his discharge, working as pressman on the *Californian* in '47, and writing letters for the eastern

papers. To one of his letters on the gold discov. in the *N. Y. Herald* is attributed much influence in directing the 1st stream of gold-seekers to Cal. After quitting the mil. service he was connected chiefly with S. Joaquin Co. papers till '65, having married Belle Ward of S. José in '62. Then he became editor and publisher of the Sta Cruz *Sentinel* for 11 years, his valedictory address appearing May 27, '76. He took a deep interest in pioneer reminiscences, and wrote many articles on the subject, his *Pioneer Soldiers of Cal.*, an account of the artill. company, being published in the *Alta* of '64. v. 520. In '76 he went east as centennial commissioner for Cal.; and died at Sta Cruz in '78, at the age of 56. Korn (Julius), 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol. under another name. Kornish, 1847, ditto. Kosier, 1848, mr of a launch at N. Helv. Kostromitinof (Peter), 1829, Russ. manager of Ross. '29–36; and in '40–1 agent for the sale of Ross and settling up all Russian business in Cal.; also visiting the country several times in later years on the same mission. ii. 651; iii. 426; iv. 161–4, 174–5, 178–80. Kotzebue (Otto von), 1816, com. of the Russ. exploring ship *Rurik*, and author of a *Voyage of Discovery;* and again com. of the *Predpriate* in '24, and author of a *New Voyage*. For notice of his visit and writings, containing much useful information about Cal., see ii. 212–13, 278–80, 299, 309–10, 373, 517, 519, 522–5, 587, 590, 592, 597, 602–3, 645–6. Kountze (Wm), 1847–8, Mormon, at Sutter's mill. *Bigler.*

Kraft (Chas), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Krauss (Chas), 1847, musician, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Kreutzer (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518). Krewzburg, 1847, named at N. Helv. as one of the N.Y. Vol. Krienan, 1847, named in '48 as a deserter from the N.Y. Vol. Krohn (John M.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Krusof (Stephen), 1822, mr of the *Apollo*. ii. 643.

Kunhardt, 1848, from Hon. on the *Sayadahoc*. Kuntze (John C.), 1847, at N. Helv. and S.F., where he owned a lot. Kuppertz (Gerard), 1836, mr of the *Peor es Nada*. iv. 105; in '37 (or '34) he announces that he has succeeded Sill & Co. as a baker at Sta B. Kuprianof (Ivan), 1840, ex-gov. of the Russ. estab. in Alaska; visited Cal. on the *Nikolai*. iv. 105, 167, 174–6. Kurtz (Lewis), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Kuskof (Ivan A.), 1808, Russ. explorer of the coast in 1808–11; founder of Ross in '12, and manager of that establishment until succeeded by Schmidt in '21, having visited S.F. in '16. ii. 80–2, 88, 198, 203–4, 210, 212–13, 267, 280, 294–318, 373, 630, 672–3. Kutchback (Chas), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Kyburz (Daniel), 1847, owner of S. F. lot. K. (Sam. E.), 1846, overl. immig. from Wisconsin with his wife and her brothers. Entered Sutter's employ as a kind of superintendent, and is often mentioned in the *N. Helv. Diary*, '47–8, also owning a S.F. lot in '47. He took an active part in events connected with the gold discovery; and in '48–9 kept a hotel at Sac. In '50–4 he seems to have been a trader at S.F. Mrs K. had two children born at Sutter's Fort, one of them, a son, in Feb. '48; and she was living at Clarksville, El Dorado co., in '80.

Labastida, soldier-teacher at S. José '22. ii. 603. Labra (Juan Ant.), soldier, sentenced to death at Mont. for robbery 1781. Lacousse, 1848, Canadian at Bear River and Mormon Diggings. *Brooks.* Lacy (Sam.), 1839, mr of a Peruv. brig at S.F. Ladd (Milton), 1845, one of the men lost on the *Warren's* launch '46. iv. 384, 587. L. (Sam.), 1846, one of the Mormon colony, who went by the name of Johnson; formerly a soldier, being a teacher of tactics on the *Brooklyn;* went to Utah, where he still lived in '84. v. 546, 550. L. (S. G.), 1847, at Benicia. Laez (Mazario), claimed to have been grantee of land in Sta Clara co. 1785.

Lafleur (Louis), 1846, Canadian in Co. G, Cal. Bat., enlisting at S. José Nov.; went east with Com. Stockton '47. v. 454; but returned, and in Dec. '48 was drowned in the Yuba. Laframboise (Michel), 1832 (?), chief of the H. B. Co. hunters in Cal., making half a dozen or more visits in '32–46, especially in '35–42. The date of the first visit is uncertain. iii. 392–3, 408; iv. 135, 213, 220. Lafrenz (C. F.), 1847, from Hon. on the *Xylon*. L. (J. H.),

1848, passp. from Hon. Lagos (J. B.), 1848, ditto. Lagrace (Fran.), 1849, perhaps one of the arrested foreigners. iv. 17.

Laidlaw (Geo.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Laighton (John B.), 1835, lieut in Mex. navy stationed at Mont.; went to S. Blas to join his corps in '36. He was an American. Laine (Thos H.), 1847, nat. of Mo., who came to Cal. at the age of 15, and became a prominent lawyer of Sta Clara; memb. of the state senate '74–7, and of the constit. convention of '78. Laird (John W.), 1847, nat. of Pa and overl. immig. with his family. In Feb. '48 he kept a ferry on the Sac. Riv. at Montezuma. v. 674; acc. to the newspapers Mrs L. had a son born on the Amer. Riv. in May '47, but it was prob. in '48. Laird kept a store at Angels, living also at Stockton and other places; but in '50 settled in Stanislaus co., where he died in '78, leaving a widow—a sister of Thos Pyle—and three children.

Lajeunesse (Basil), 1845, Canadian trapper and member of Frémont's exploring party, who was killed by Ind. on the Or. frontier in the night attack on Frémont's camp, April '46. iv. 583, 587; v. 24. L. (François), 1833 (?), probably brother of Basil, said to have visited Cal. either in the Walker party or in one of the H. B. Co. parties. He was one of Frémont's men in '44, but did not reach Cal. iii. 391. Lake (John), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247).

Lamanon, 1786, with La Pérouse. i. 435. Lambaren (Juan), 1842, adj. of the batallon fijo, who died '44. iv. 289. Lambdon, 1847, at N. Helv. Lambert (John A.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Lamoine, 1847, mr of the *Francos*. Lamoreux (Louis), 1840, Canadian carpenter, age 37, at Los Ang. with a N. Mex, passport; perhaps his name was Lamoreau, still at Los Ang. '48. Lamotte (François), 1845, negro deserter from the *Héroine* at Mont. Lamplicie (Wm), 1824, mate of the *Rover*. Lampman (Wm L.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in Mexico '82. Lance (Wm), 1847, Co. E Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl.

Lancey (Thomas Crosby), 1846, nat. of Me, born in '24, and a sailor from '42; a coxswain on the U.S. *Dale* in '46–9. After his discharge from the navy in '49 he took charge of a store at Mormon Isl., and later was drayman, teamster, and stage-driver in the Sac. region till '51, when he came to S. F., and has since resided here as mining agent and painter. For 4 or 5 years, in '85, he has been confined to his room, and much of the time to his bed. He kept a journal during his service in the navy, supplemented with many items obtained from later observations, reading, and association with pioneers, with a view to publication in book form as material for history. Being prevented by failing health from carrying out his purpose, he furnished a part of his historical gleanings to the S. J. *Pioneer* for publication in '79–81. The result, *Lancey's Cruise of the Dale*, preserved in my Library in scrap-book form, v. 190, is in many respects the most complete collection extant of data on the conquest of Cal. The author has shown not only indefatigable zeal, but marked ability in his researches. The matter is not always systematically arranged; the effect is marred by typographic errors, resulting chiefly from the newspaper medium of publication; the author is often in error respecting matters resting on Spanish documentary evidence; and he is, in my opinion, excessively American in his views; but with all its faults, the work merits praise, and justifies me in placing the author high in the list of those who have done faithful work on Cal. history. Lancey also wrote a sketch of the N. Y. Volunteers, published in *Clark's First Regiment*.. (Died in '85.)

Landaeta (Martin), 1791, Span. friar, who served chiefly at S.F., and died at S. Fern. in 1810. Biog. ii. 115–16; mention i. 510, 514, 576–7, 706, 712, 721; ii. 130–1, 159–60. Landers (Ebenezer), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Salem, Utah, '82. L. (Wm), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); sheriff in '48; died at S.F. '50. Lane, 1848, sutler in Graham's battalion (v. 522). L. (Emmeline A.), 1846, one of the Mormon colony. v. 546. L. (Joseph), 1848, passed through Cal. on his way from Sta Fé to Or.; a prominent man in the north. See *Hist. Or.* L. (Lewis), 1847, sergt Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). L. (Samuel), 1846, one of the men lost on the *Warren's* launch. v. 384. Lané, 1842, doubtful name of a ranch owner near S. Luis Ob.

Lang (Charles), 1828, Amer. smuggler at S. Diego '28–9; ii. 551; iii. 139, 168. L. (Chas), 1848, from Boston on the *Sabine*. L. (John P. and Willis), 1848, brothers from Mo., at Sutter's Fort and in the mines. Langdon (Maurice), 1846, came with Kearny. *Lancey*. Lagenberger (A.), 1848, German miner on the Yuba and Stanislaus '48–9; later a trader at S. Gabriel and Anaheim, where he lived in '80 with 7 children by his 1st wife, a daughter of Juan P. Ontiveros, married in '50. Langle, 1786, with La Pérouse. i. 428, 431–3. Langlois (A.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Langlois (William), 1840, Canadian, exiled with the Graham party, who returned in '41; perhaps the Laingles named at Sonoma in '50. iv. 18, 33, 37, 120. Langsdorff (G. H. von), 1806, German naturalist with Rezánof at S. F., and author of a book of *Voyages and Travels*, containing a narrative of the author's visit and observations in Cal. ii. 46–7, 65–76, 115, 128, 130, 138–40, 164, 176. Lanman (Joseph), 1847, lieut U. S. N., com. of the *Warren* '47–8. v. 581. L. (Stephen), 1846, sailmaker on the U. S. *Dale*. Lansing, 1847, mr of the *Citizen*. v. 577. Lanson (J.), 1847, blacksmith at S. Diego.

La Pérouse (Jean F. G.), 1786, French navigator, the first foreign voyager to touch the coast of Cal. after Span. occupation; and author of a *Voyage* which contains much valuable information about Cal. See account of his visit and book in i. 428-40; also ment. i. 282, 475, 509, 512, 519, 527, 619; ii. 23, 131, 616. Lapierre (Louis), 1845, Canadian boat-maker of Frémont's party. iv. 583. He is said to have built a schooner for Sainsevain at Sta Cruz in later years. Laplace (Cyrille P. T.), 1839, com. of the French man-of-war *Artémise*, and author of a *Campagne de Circumnavigation*. iv. 152–5; ment. iii. 695, 700; iv. 93, 101, 165. Lappeus (James H.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lot; trader at Sac. '48; married in '49 to Ann Hitchcock. He went later to N.Y. and Idaho, and in '82 lived at Portland, Or., where he had been city marshal, and for 12 years chief of police.

Lara, sentinel at Los Ang. '37. iii. 519. L. (Antonio), alguacil at Mont. '36. iii. 675. L. (Casimiro), inválido of Sta B. comp. '32. L. (Fran.), soldier of S.F. comp. 39-42. L. (Fran.), killed at S. Pascual. v. 347. L. (José), one of the first settlers at Los Ang. 1781; Span., with an Ind. wife. L. (Juan), soldier and corp. S.F. comp. '37–42. L. (Julian), soldier at Sta B. before '37. L. (Romualdo), 1837. Mex. of the H. & P. colony, implicated in the troubles of '35, and sent to Mex. under arrest. iii. 281, 286, 288.

Lard (Fielding), 1846, overl. immig. with his family. The marriage of his daughter (Mary to R. S. Moultrie) on the trip is mentioned by Bryant; at Sutter's Fort in '47, and owner of a S.F. lot, but settled in Sta Clara Val., where he still lived in '60; often called Wm. L. (Joseph A.), 1846, came to Sta Clara; prob. son of Fielding. Lardner, 1842, lieut U.S.N., with Jones at Mont. iv. 308. La Reintrie (Henry), 1842, commander's sec. on the *Yorktown*.

Larios (Gracia), sent to Mex. as a prisoner '30. iii. 85. L. (José María), Mex. sold. who came between 1780 and '90; from '91 a settler at S. José, and later at Las Aromas, near S. Juan B. He was a blacksmith and builder of mills, but was chiefly noted as a bear-hunter, being killed by a grizzly in 1818. i. 642, 716, 718; ii. 135, 170, 387. His first wife was Juliana Linares, and the 2d Eusebia Álvarez; his children were Antonio, Manuel, José Dolores, Justo, María del Pilar, Antonia, and Antonina. L. (Justo), son of José M., b. at S. José 1808; soap-maker and ranchero who served as militia artilleryman in the war against Micheltorena '44–5, and for a short time under Castro in '46; grantee of Cañada de los Capitancillos in '42. iv. 671; all his horses were taken by Frémont. He made two successful visits to the mines in '49–50, but in later years lost all his land and other property, through no fault of his own, as he believes. In '78, living at Gilroy, he gave me an interesting narrative called *Convulsiones en California*. His wife was Cecilia, daughter of Joaquin Castro, married in '33; children '41, Adelino b. '34, Juan '36, Olivero '39, Soledad '38. L. (Manuel), son of José M., b. at S. José 1798. He seems to have served as a soldier in '15–29, and was later an alférez of militia, serving in Gov. Alvarado's time. In '39 he was grantee of Sta

Ana rancho near S. Juan B., which was finally confirmed to him. iii. 673, 713. In '40 he was juez at S. Juan, and took part in the arrest of the foreigners. iii, 693; iv. 20. He was, like his father, a famous bear-hunter, took part in various exped., and his rancho suffered much from Ind. depredations. iv. 362; v. 662. He died in '65. His wives were successively María A. Pacheco, Guadalupe Castro, and Rosario Armas, by whom he is said to have had 22 children. In '78 his son (or grandson), Estolano Larios, gave me some information on the *Vida y Aventuras* of Don Manuel.

Larkin (Thomas Oliver), 1832, nat. of Mass., b. at Charlestown in 1802, in business at Wilmington, N.C., from '21 to '30, and in '31 accepting an invitation from Capt. Cooper, his half-brother, to join him at Monterey. His mother was then married to a third husband, Mr Childs. L's passport from the gov. of Mass. is dated Sept. 2, '31, and he came on the *Newcastle* via Honolulu, arriving in April '32. iii. 364, 408. In '32 he was employed by Cooper as clerk, or accountant; in Feb.–Sept. '33 he did a small commission business, and then with a capital of $500 he opened a little store at Mont. for the sale of groceries, grog, produce, and dry goods, starting a flour-mill the next year, and dealing to a considerable extent in lumber. In '33 he was also married on board the *Volunteer* at Sta B., by Consul Jones of Honolulu, to Mrs Rachel Holmes, née Hobson, his fellow-passenger on the *Newcastle*, who had come to join her husband, Capt. John C. Holmes, but on arrival had found herself a widow. iii. 365, 408, 652. She was the 1st Amer. woman to live in Cal., and her son Thomas O., born in April '34, was the 1st child born of Amer. parents in Cal. Having the proverbial Yankee shrewdness in trade, with no inconvenient veneration for the revenue laws, Larkin prospered from the first. In his ledgers he has left careful memoranda of his wealth on Jan. 1st of each year as follows: '35, $2,650; '36, $4,708; '37, $5,623 (chiefly in house and mill, for he had spent all his money on the house and had no goods); '38, $11,013; '39, $13,788; '40, $15,895; '41, $21,493; '42, $37,958; '43, $49,147; '44, $60,535; 45, $60,175; '46, $66,644. He did not seek to become a Mex. citizen, but in '36 obtained a carta, which was renewed from year to year. He took no part openly in politics, but quietly supported Alvarado's movement in '36. iii. 461; iv. 141. I have much of his business corresp. from the first. In '39 he made a special effort to induce whalers to touch at Mont. iv. 92. In '40 he did all that he could for the comfort of the arrested foreigners, but because he did not join in the loud protests and absurd threats of Graham and his gang he was the subject of some unfavorable criticism at the time and later. iv. 8, 9, 24, 32-3. He visited Mex. in '40–1 on business. iv. 102, 207; on his return took a contract to build the Mont. custom-house; and in '42 did good service in maintaining friendly relations between Com. Jones and the Californians. iv. 307, 310, 329. The same year he established a branch store at Sta Cruz in charge of Josiah Belden; but an incendiary fire destroying $6,000 worth of lumber in '43 made this part of his business unprofitable. In '43–4 he had somewhat intimate business relations with Gov. Micheltorena, making loans to the govt, and doubtless was induced by personal interests to look with too much favor on the cholo cause, making also another visit to Mex. on govt business, and bringing back the small-pox, among other results. iv. 354, 356, 401–3, 405, 473, 478–9, 558–9, 563, 651. On his return he assumed the position of U.S. consul at Mont., his appointment having been made at Wash. in '43 and renewed in '44, and from the first was active in sending accurate information to his govt respecting Cal. affairs, as well as in the routine duties of his office. iv. 385, 408, 428, 430, 450, 454, 531, 589-98. Larkin's closeness in money matters, in contrast with the reckless prodigality affected by many, prevented his ever reaching in a certain sense the highest popularity, but he was always respected by the better classes of natives and foreigners as a man of honorable conduct, of sound judgment, and of conservative though not selfish views on general topics. He was a man of slight education, but of much tact and practical good sense. Duly devoted to the interests of his govt and of the Amer. immigrants, he had no sympathy with filibusterism, and did not ignore the rights and prejudices of the Californians. He fully believed that, either in

the event of war with Mex. or by purchase, the people and local rulers might be induced voluntarily to transfer their allegiance to the U.S. At the end of '45 he was formally appointed a secret and confidential agent of the administration at Wash. to bring about this result; and from the beginning of '46, turning over his private business to Talbot H. Green, he worked earnestly, and as he believed with good prospects of success, to make friends for the U.S. and to counteract the effects of the few who favored an English protectorate. v. 4–28, 54–76, 109, 142, 219–20. Frémont's foolish bravado at Gavilan, and the still more foolish and criminal Bear revolt, were wellnigh fatal blows to his plans; but still he did not despair, and having used his influence with Com. Sloat successfully in favor of a conservative policy, v. 224–54, he went south with Stockton, hoping with the aid of his associate, Abel Stearns, to induce Castro and Pico, with the people of the south, to submit without resistance, artfully presenting to them the danger that the U.S. forces, in case the report of war should prove unfounded, as in '42, would retire and leave Cal. at the mercy of the Bears. That Stockton took effective and dishonorable steps to prevent the success of these plans, fearing that the submission of the gov. and general would interfere with the immediate prospects of himself and his associate filibusters, is no discredit to Larkin, whose course throughout is worthy of all praise, his statesmanship being incomparably superior to that of the opera-bouffe 'conquerors' of Cal. v. 271–2, 281. Returning to Mont., L. was appointed acting U.S. naval agent, interesting himself also in the release of the Bears' captives at N. Helvetia. v. 281, 298–9, 304. In '45–6 he was a correspondent of the N.Y. *Herald* and *Sun*. In Nov., while on his way to visit a sick daughter at S.F., L. was captured by the Californians under Manuel Castro, became a witness of the fight at Natividad, and was carried south to be retained as a captive till the end of the war. He was kindly treated, there being no ill-will toward him, and the intention being to utilize the possession of so prominent a man either in exchange or in making favorable terms of capitulation. v. 358, 364–5, 367–70, 402. Returning north in '47, he served as naval store-keeper, and his appointment as naval agent was confirmed in Wash. v. 614. He was also a member of the legislative council which never met. v. 433. He took, however, but slight part in public affairs. v. 443, 448, 455, 571; being notified in June '48 that his functions as consul and confidential agent terminated in May with the treaty of peace. He had become the owner of various S.F. lots, and in partnership with Semple, the founder of Benicia in '47. v. 653, 660, 671–4. In '49 he was a member of the constit. convention, and his naval agency was discontinued by orders from Wash. In '50–3 he resided with his family in N.Y., but returned to S.F. and gave his attention to the care of his property. Though unable to sustain his title to a S.F. grant and the Sta Clara orchard, he was the successful claimant for the Flugge and Jimeno ranchos in the Sac. Val. v. 665–6, 670–1; and these, with his possessions in S.F., Mont., and Benicia, made him a very rich man. His sons had also been the grantees in '44 of a rancho in Colusa. iv. 671. Larkin died at S.F. in '58. He was a man to whom nothing like just credit has hitherto been given for his public services in '45–6. Portraits are given in *Colton's Three Years in Cal.*, *Annals of S.F.*, and there are photographs in the library of the Soc. Cal. Pion. A street in S.F. bears his name. Mrs L. died in '73, at the age of 66. The children were Thos O. b. in '34; an infant son who died in '36; Fred. H. b. in '37, d. '69; Adelaide who died at S.F. in '46; Francis R. b. '40, d. 74; Alfred O. born in '48; and a daughter who married Sampson Tams. Thomas, Alfred, and Mrs Tams are still living, I think, in '85. The Larkin manuscripts furnished for my use as material for history by representatives of the family have been named in my list of authorities, with some comments, in i. 49–50. They constitute a most magnificent and unequalled contribution to the history in which the father of the donors took so prominent and honorable a part. L. (Wm M.), 1843, on the roll of the Soc. Cal. Pion. iv. 400. Larragoyli (Rafael), 1822, mr of the *S.F. de Paula*. ii. 474. La Roche (Eugene), 1846, witness in the Santillan case '55, age 33. La Rocque (Geo.), 1848, Canadian miner from Or. on the

Henry: went back in '49 to Or., where he died in '77, leaving a widow and 4 children. Laskey (Alex. B.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); killed by Ind. '48.

Lassen (Peter), 1840, Danish blacksmith who came to Amer. in '19, to Or. overland in '39, and to Cal. by the *Lausanne*, landing at Bodega, and thence proceeding to Sutter's Fort, S.F., and S. José, where he worked at his trade through the winter of '40–1. iv. 117, 120–1, 136. In the spring of '41 he built a saw-mill near Sta Cruz, which he sold to Graham early in '43. Dr Sandels describes him this year as a travelling blacksmith and hunter between S. José and Sac.; he had a hut on the Cosumnes in Nov.; applied for naturalization, and selected a rancho. In '44 he got his papers and his land-grant of Bosquejo on Deer Cr., Tehama co. iv. 670–1. His place is often mentioned in '45–6. iv. 229, 580; v. 22, 24–5, 102; he was with Gillespie and Frémont and probably one of the Bears in '46; but is said to have gone east in the Stockton party of '47, returning prob. with Chiles, in '48; but I think there may be an error in this, and that L. went no farther east than Fort Hall, his mission being to divert immigration into the Lassen route to the upper Sac. Val. He was owner of a S.F. lot in '47. In '50 he sold half of his rancho and stock, engaging in unfortunate steamboat speculation at Sac. which soon ruined him financially. In '51 he settled in Indian Val., Plumas Co.; and in '55, as miner and farmer in Honey Lake Val., Lassen co. In '59, while on a prospecting tour in the region north of Pyramid Lake, he was killed by Ind., or possibly white men disguised as Ind., being then 59 years old. Portrait in *Plumas, Lassen, and Sierra Co. Hist.*, 56. His memory is preserved in the name of Lassen peak and county.

Lasso de la Vega (Ramon), 1781, Mex. alférez of the S.F. comp., and sometimes habilitado; retired on half pay in '94; later a teacher at S. José; died in 1821, at the age of 64. Biog. i. 470–1; ment. 340, 342–3, 385, 554, 642, 693, 716. Lasuen (Fermin Francisco), 1773, Span. friar who served as missionary, chiefly at S. Diego till 1785, when he was chosen president of the missions, a position held until his death at S. Cárlos in 1803. In all the annals of the Fernandinos there is presented no more admirable character than that of Padre Fermin. Biog. ii. 8–10; ment. i. 122, 194–6, 248–9, 266–7, 300, 302–4, 316, 328, 388, 398–406, 417, 422–5, 432, 439, 441, 454–9, 469, 471, 474, 476, 489, 491–3, 498–9, 512–13, 522, 531, 537, 542, 544, 553–5, 557, 559–64, 568, 573–4, 576, 578–99, 600–23, 626, 655, 686, 689, 709–11, 727–8; ii. 3, 146, 159, 165, 378, 623.

Lataillade (Cesáreo), 1842, Span. of French descent, and member of a Mex. trading firm, who came as sup. of the *Trinidad*. iv. 341, 569. He became well known as a man of business, making Sta B. his home. From '46 he was vice-consul of Spain at Mont., being allowed to reside at Sta B. from '47, and being the grantee of Cuyamas rancho in '46. iv. 590; v. 218, 615, 632. His name often appears in official commun. during the mil. régime of '47–8; he was mentioned in connection with idle rumors of revolts. v. 586; and took a prominent part in arresting the murderers of the Reed family. v. 640. He accidentally shot and killed himself at Sta B. in '49. His wife was María Antonia de la Guerra, who was claimant for several ranchos, iii. 635; iv. 642, became the wife of Gaspar de Oreña, and is still living in '85. Latham, 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Lathrop (Geo. W.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Lauber (Matthew), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Lauff (Chas August), 1844, German sailor on the whaler *Warren*, transferred to the *Tasso*, and making a trip to Callao with Capt. Cooper. iv. 453. In '45–6 he worked as a lumberman in Marin; in '46–7 served in the Cal. Bat., Co. B, artill. (v. 358); went to the mines in '48–9; and in '49 was pilot on the bay and S. Joaquin. From '50 he lived at different places in Marin co., being in '80 on a rancho near Bolinas, with wife—María J. Cibrian, daughter of Gregorio Briones, married in '62—and 9 children. Portrait in *Marin Co. Hist.*, 64. Laughlin, 1827, see iii. 160. L. (James), 1848, nat. of S.C., who came from Or. to the mines; died in Stanislaus co. '78. L. (Richard), 1828, Amer. trapper who came from N. Mex. with Pattie's party, with a passport dated

Paso del Norte, Apr. 18, '27. iii. 163, 178. He settled at Los Ang. as a carpenter. ii. 558; got a carta in '31; and later owned a vineyard, perhaps marrying a native. He is named in various records of '34–43, took part in the Micheltorena campaign of '45. iv. 495; and is said to have had a garden near S. Buen. in '46. He died at the end of that year, at the age of 44. Laure, 1830, drowned at S. Luis Ob. in attempting to land from a ship. iii. 180. Laurend (M.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Laurencel (Henry), 1848, roll of Soc. Cal. Pion. Lavallette (Eric A. F.), 1847, com. of the U.S. *Independence*. Lavin (Thos), 1844, Engl. who received a pass.

Lawlor (John), 1827–8, mr of the *Kurimoko*, in trouble in the south by reason of his smuggling operations. ii. 551, 564; iii. 94–5, 134–5, 147. He was lost on a voy. from Hon. to Australia in '34, as mr of the *Alpha*. Lawrence, 1848, sailor on the *Isaac Walton*. L. (Henry), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). L. (J. C.), 1848, died in Utah before '77. L. (John), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). L. (Joseph Vicente), 1821, nat. of N.Y. who landed from the *Blackwood* at Bodega and came to S. F. in a boat. ii. 478. In '23 he went to Los Ang., where he was baptized in '24, married María Arriola, and in '29 was still there with wife and son, age 32. ii. 496, 525, 558; iii. 179.

Lawrey (Amos G.), 1846, Amer. mason and perhaps overl. immig., who in '47 worked on the 1st brick house built at Mont. for G. D. Dickenson, whose daughter Margaret he married a little later. In the *Salinas Index*, Oct. 23, '76, 'Jack the Pioneer' (Swan) tells how the young man went to Hon. for a wedding outfit, and attempting to smuggle the goods ashore, had to purchase them anew at a round price; and indeed his arrival at Hon. on the *Charles* in Feb. '48 is recorded. L. died at S. José in '81, having been blind for many years. He left a widow and 3 grown children, one of them Mrs Hollenbach. Lawson (Henry), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). L. (John), 1847, Co. B, ditto; died at Mont. '49. L. (John), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Lawton, 1848, overl. immig. with Johnson. L., 1848, of Kilborn, L., & Co., S.F. L. (Benj. H.), 1834, mr of the *S. Feighton*. iii. 384.

Layden (Wm), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died at Honolulu '54. Layton (Chas), 1847, ordinance sergt Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. v. 519. A nat. of Engl. who had served in the British army; in the mines '49–52; later lighthouse keeper at Pt Pinos; died at Mont. '55, being fatally wounded while attempting to capture the outlaw García. His widow—née Charlotte Wade, and mar. in '43—was in '78 the wife of Geo. C. Harris at S.F., where a daughter, Mrs Amos Burr, also lived. One son was a sailor and another lived in N. South Wales. *Swan*. L. (Christopher), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in '82 at Kaysville, Utah. Lazaref (Andrew), 1815, mr of the *Suvirof*, and of the *Ladoga* in '23. iii. 307, 492. L. (Michael), 1823, mr of the *Creser*. ii. 492, 519. Lázaro (Nicolas), 1805, Span. friar who served for a brief term at S. Fern. and S. Diego, where he died in 1807. ii. 115; iii. 159–60.

Leach (Kendrick N.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in '83 at Fountain Green, Ill. Leahy (Dan.), 1845, Irish cooper at Sutter's Fort '45–6, and prob. an overl. immig. iv. 578, 587. In '47 owner of a lot at S.F., where he still lived in '48–54. He died in Nevada '75, leaving a family in Or. Leandry (Juan B.), 1827, Ital. who came by sea at the age of '23. iii. 176. In '32 he joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. iv. 221; in '36 kept a store at Los Ang.; was naturalized in '39. Juez de paz '40–1, holding other local offices; owner of part of S. Pedro, and grantee of Los Coyotes, where he died in '43. iii. 614, 633, 637; iv. 629, 633. Leary (Wm), 1844, deserter from the *Warren* near Mont.; perhaps at Sonoma '48.

Leavens (Wm), 1846, one of the men captured with Alcalde Bartlett by Sanchez at S.F. (v. 377). Leavenworth (Thaddeus M.), 1847, nat. of Conn., physician and episcopal clergyman, who came as chaplain of the N.Y.Vol. v. 504, 511. He took some part in matters pertaining to church and schools, and was alcalde of S.F. in '47–9. v. 648–52, 657. He was also owner of town lots, and a street in the city bears his name. His official acts have been severely criticised, but I find no data for a just estimate of his character. In '50 he went to Sonoma co., where he was claimant for a part of Agua Caliente ran-

cho, iii. 711, and where he still lived in '82. Leavy (Owen), 1847, corp. Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. The name was perhaps Leary. v. 529. Lebeau (Joseph), 1846, Crl. Bat. (v. 358). Lecky (Wm C.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons, killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. Lecointe, 1845, com. of the *Hérone*. iv. 566. Lecoq (Martin), 1834, Frenchman in a Mont. list. Leddy (Michael), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died in Mendocino co. bef. '83. Ledesma (José), grantee of land at S. Gabriel. v. 628.

✓ Lee, 1847, a son said to have been born to Mrs Lee in Jan., at N. Helv. L., 1847, of L. & Reily, bakers, Mont. L., 1848, flogged and imprisoned for attempt at murder near S. José. L. (Barton), 1848, nat. of N.Y., who came from Or. to the mines; member and successor of the Sac. firm of Priest, L., & Co.; prominent also in local politics. He failed for a large amount in '50, and went to live in the Sandwich Isl., but returned to Cal., and died at Sac. in '56. L. (Cornelius R. V.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); presid. of the regulators at S.F. '49; died at Sta B. in '63. L. (Elisha), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. L. (James R.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Vallejo in '82. L. (John C.), 1847, Co. F, ditto. L. (Lawton), 1845, one of the men lost on the *Warren's* launch in '46. iv. 587; v. 384. L. (Milton), 1847, trader at Mont. L. (Sam.), 1846, mate of the *Euphemia* '46–8. L. (Theodore), 1846, mid. on the *Congress;* act. lieut Co. A, Stockton's naval bat., '46–7. v. 386. Levy (Wm), 1848, miner on the Yuba.

✓ Leese (Jacob Primer), 1833, native of Ohio, b. in 1809, and engaged in the Sta Fé trade from '30, who seems to have come from N. Mex. late in '33, but perhaps went back and came again in July '34, engaging in trade at Los Ang. iii. 388, 409. In '36 he came to Mont. with Gov. Chico, whose good-will he succeeded in gaining, formed a partnership with Nathan Spear and Wm S. Hinckley, obtained a lot at S.F., and on it built the first solid structure in town before July 4th, being naturalized in Sept. iii. 421, 431, 705, 709; iv. 86, 116; v. 680. The next year he erected a larger store on the beach, and married Rosalía, sister of Gen. Vallejo, much against the general's wishes. He had a lighter, the *Isabella*, running on the bay and rivers, and the business of the firm, in exchanging goods for rancho products, was profitable; but he quarrelled with Spear and Hinckley about the division of the $13,000 profits, and the partnership was dissolved in '38, though L. continued the business for several years, failing to get the appointment of receptor in '39, and getting another town lot in '40. iii. 700, 705–6, 709–10; iv. 98; v. 679. In '41 he was grantee of the Cañada de Guadalupe, Visitacion, y Rodeo Viejo rancho at S.F., and of Huichica at Sonoma; and this year he sold out his store to the H. B. Co. iv. 37, 179, 217, 671. He also transferred his residence and place of business to Sonoma, owning one lighter in comp. with Wm Johnson, and another, the *Rosalía*, with Salv. Vallejo. In '43 he went to Or. with a drove of cattle. iv. 377, 390; and in '44–5 he was alcalde at Sonoma, having serious quarrels with Victor Prudon. iv. 445, 448, 678–9. In '46 he was to a certain extent a sub-agent for the carrying-out of Larkin's plans. v. 63; and for this reason, perhaps, having accompanied the Bears to Sac. as interpreter, was thrown into prison by Frémont with the Vallejos and Prudon. v. 112, 119–21, 208–9. His *Bear Flag Revolt*, an original MS. in my col., is one of the best narratives extant on the subject. v. 187. He had a 'Cal. claim' of $5,189, besides a claim for the construction of a wharf at Mont. v. 467; i. list auth. In '47 he is named as a member of the Sonoma council. v. 668; and is said to have made considerable money in the mines '48–9. He made a voyage to China in '49 on the *Eveline*, under an arrangement with Larkin; and subsequently resided at Mont., holding some local offices; being the claimant for several ranchos. iii. 678–9; iv. 671; and in '55 vice-president of the Soc. Cal. Pion. He was an uneducated but a very intelligent man, active and enterprising in business, whose many speculations were marked by boldness rather than ability; and his large property, with that of his wife, all disappeared. In '63 he obtained, in company with others, a concession of lands for colonization in L. Cal., but the scheme was a failure; and about '65 he left Cal. for the east. I have no definite record of his subsequent career, but in

Feb. '85 an apparently reliable newspaper report represents him as living at S. Antonio, Texas, in good health, but extreme poverty, an appeal being made to pioneers in his behalf. Portrait in *Annals of S. F.* and *Hesperian.* Mrs Leese lives at Mont. in '85, and has 7 grown children. She furnished for my use a *History of the Osos*, of no special value. A daughter, Rosalía, born at S.F. in '38, and the 1st child born at Yerba Buena, iii. 710, died, and her name was given to a younger daughter. The oldest son, Jacob, was born in '39, and resides in '85 at Salinas, where he has been county clerk and deputy sheriff, his wife being an Estrada, a niece of Gov. Alvarado. One of Leese's daughters married a son of José Abrego. (L. returned to Cal. in '85.)

Lefèvre (Minard J.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Lefort (Geo.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Le Fourri (François), 1831, from N. Mex. with Wolfskill or Jackson. Legar (Miguel), 1602, sergt in Vizcaino's exped. i. 98. Legarda (José), 1841, mr of the *Jóven Carolina.* iv. 566. Legare (Burnett), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died at sea '66. L. (Wm H.), 1847, ditto; died at Los Ang. '47. v. 625. Legendre (Louis), 1847, Fr. settler in Russ. Riv. township, where he was murdered after '52. *Son. Co. Hist.*, 358–60. Legge, 1844, officer in the *Modeste.* Leggett (Wm), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Lehigh, 1847, son said to have been born to Mrs L.; perhaps 'Leahy,' q. v. Leicer, 1844, Walla Walla chief. iv. 545; see 'Elijah.' Leick (Chas), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Leidesdorff (Wm Alex.), 1841, nat. of the Danish West Indies, son of a Dane by a mulattress, who came to the U.S. as a boy, and become a master of vessels sailing from N.Y. and N. Orleans. He came to Cal. as mr of the *Julia Ann*, on which he made later trips to the Islands down to '45. iv. 279, 566. Engaging in trade at S.F., he got a lot in '43 at the cor. of Clay and Kearny streets, and in '44 or '45 built a warehouse on the beach at Cal. and Leidesdorff streets. iv. 669, 678; in '46 building the City Hotel on his 1st lot, and in '47 buying from Ridley the cottage at the cor. of Montgomery and Cal. streets, where he passed the rest of his life. iv. 678, 680. In '44 he obtained naturalization papers and a grant of the Rio de los Americanos rancho. iv. 673; and from Oct. '45 served as U.S. vice-consul by Larkin's appointment. iv. 188, 557, 589–90, 665. His corresp. of these years, especially with Larkin, is a most valuable source of historical information. In '46 he had controversies with Forbes, Ridley, and Hinckley, who were not intensely American enough to suit this Danish citizen of Mex.; visiting New Helv. and Monterey; and in this and the following years becoming owner of many city lots. v. 3–4, 28, 136, 178, 239, 295, 648–9, 678, 680. In '47 having a Cal. claim of $8,749 (v. 432), and launching the 1st steamer that ever sailed on S.F. Bay, v. 577–8, 646, he was not only one of the town's most prominent business men, but a member of the council, treasurer, and member of the school committee, taking an active part in local politics. v. 455, 648–52, 656. He died in May '48, at the age of 38. He was an intelligent man of fair education, speaking several languages; active, enterprising, and public-spirited; honorable for the most part in his transactions; but jealous, quick-tempered, often quarrelsome, and disagreeable. His estate, burdened by heavy debts at the time of his death, after the gold excitement became of immense value. It was administered by W. D. M. Howard, with the assistance of C. V. Gillespie, and was for years the subject of complicated litigation; but the title of Capt. Folsom, who had found the mother and other heirs of Leidesdorff at St Croix Isl., and had bought their interests, was finally adjudged to be valid.

Leigh (Isaac), 1846, one of the Mormon Col. with his wife. v. 546; never went to Utah. Leighton (James C.), 1848, at S.F. from Tahiti; lieut of S.F. guards; of firm L., Swasey, & Co. v. 681. L. (Nathhniel S.), 1840, Amer. carpenter who got a carta at S.F. in Oct.; at Mont. in '42. iv. 120. L. (Peter), 1838, named in Larkin's accts. Leinhard (J. H.), 1847, in Sutter's employ '47–8. Leister (Thomas), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Leiva, maj. of Jamul near S. Diego, killed by Ind. '37. iii. 614; iv. 68. L. (Antonio), at S. Juan Cap. '46, age 23. L. (Francisco), soldier at Sta B. '32; wife María C. Valencia; at Sta B. '50. L. (José), soldier of S.F.

comp. '39–42; at Los Ang. '46. L. (Juan), corporal at Sta B. before '37; at Los Ang. '46. L. (Miguel), soldier at Sta B. '33. L. (Ramon), ditto. L. (Rufino), corp. of Sta B. comp., in com. of escolta at S. Buen., where he was killed by Ind. in '19. ii. 333. L. (Santiago and Teodoro), at Los Ang. '46. Lelland (John M.), 1847, owner of S.F. lot; perhaps McLelland. Lelong (Martin), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Lem (Wm), 1828, Engl. sailor who deserted from a Fr. whaler at Todos Santos and came to S. Diego; or perhaps left drunk at S.D. by the *General Sucre*. Leman (John), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at S. José Nov. Lemoine (G. D.), 1846–7, mr of the *Francisca*, and pass. on the *Elizabeth;* owner of S.F. lot. v. 578, 679. Lemon (Geo. F.), 1847, lieut Co. A, N.Y.Vol. v. 503; S.F. assessor '51; lieut-col N.Y.Vol. in the war of the rebellion; killed in battle '62. L. (James W.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 439); reënl.; at Weston, Utah, '81.

Le Netrel (E.l.), Fr. lieut on the *Héros*. iii. 129. Lenoir, 1845, Fr. hatter from Or. in the McM.-Clyman party; prob. returned to Or. '46. iv. 572, 525. Lenox (E. H.), 1848, Kentuckian in Sta Clara '68–76. L. (John A.), 1843, overl. immig. with his parents at the age of 2 years. The family settled at Sonoma, where John died in '74. *Sac. Union*. L. (J. W.), 1848, nat. of Ind.; in Sonoma co. '48–77. *Son. Co. Hist.* L. (T.), 1847, in Sutter's employ '47–8; had a family; prob. came in '46. All the preceding are prob. vague ref. to the same family. Leon (Andrés), in the Mont. revolt of '29; sent as prisoner to Mexico '30. iii. 69, 71, 85. Leon y Luna, 1793, mr of the *Active*. i. 544. Leonard (Geo. W. M.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); a colonel under Walker in Nicaragua; in N.Y. city '82. L. (Louis), 1845, overl. immig. with Hoppe and Harlan; went back east and died. *Balhaus*. Leonardo (Pedro B.), sirviente at Soledad 1791–1800. i. 499.

Lepage (François), 1842, Frenchman who got a carta at S.F.; owner of a lot in '45, which he sold to James Lick in '43. iv. 341, 639. L. (Nicholas), 1842, brother of François, who also got a carta. Lequez (J. V.), 1831, doubtful name of a Scotchman permitted to marry. Lerma, soldier killed by Ind. in '21. ii. 550. Leroux, 1847, guide to Morm. Bat. v. 433. Leroy (Joseph), 1833, Frenchman, aged 29, at the Verjeles rancho near Mont.; perhaps the same man was an otter-hunter with Nidever in '30–40. iv. 119. L. (R.), 1829, Fr. surgeon at Sta B. and Mont. Lester (Thomas), 1817, Engl. sailor baptized as José Tomás Ignacio, and living at S. José '29–33. ii. 284, 286, 393, 602; perhaps the same who went to Hon. on the *Mary Ann* in '47. Letterman (Henry), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358).

Levelain (Chas), 1843–4, Fr. boy who left the *Ferdinand* (?), and lived with Capt. Richardson at Sauzalito. iv. 400; at S.F. from '49; married a daughter of Eusebio Soto in '50; at Butte City '69; at S.F. '64–7. Levitt, 1848, mr of the *Eagle*. v. 577. Levick (Isaac), 1845, at S.F.; also in '54. L. (John), 1837, deserter from an Engl. schr with a man named Morgan. They built a cabin at what became the cor. of Dupont and Broadway, S.F. (?), and acquired a large fortune. He left Cal. in '57, and was lost on the *Central America*. *Herald*, Oct. 31, '57. iv. 118. Levin (Louis), 1835, at Los Ang. Levy (Thos), 1848, overl. immig. to Or. '46, and came from Or. to the mines; found dead at Mosquito '74, age 49. *Sac. Union*.

Lewis, 1847, of firm of L. & Lynch, Mont. '47–8. L. 1846, deserter from an Engl. man-of-war, who on pretence of having great wealth married an orphan who left him when she learned the truth; so wrote Leidesdorff. Perhaps Wm Lewis of '40. L., 1846, overl. immig. with Stephen Cooper. L., 1848, from Honolulu. L. (Abraham), 1848, nat. of N.Y.; in Sta Clara co. '76. L. (Allen), 1830, Amer. blacksmith, age 25, who came on the *Planet*. iii. 180; at Sta B. '36. L. (F.W.), 1847, mate of the *Elizabeth;* perhaps at Sta B. '50. L. (Geo W.), 1846, nat. of Mo., said to have come with his father's family and to have settled at Sonoma, where his mother lived in '80, and he was candidate for county assessor. L. (Henry), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). L. (H. E.), 1847, Co. E, ditto; at S. José '71–4; not in Clark's latest list. L. (Henry H.), 1827, Lieut on the U.S. *Independence*. L. (J.), 1848,

passp. from Hon. L. (James), 1845, doubtful name of the McM.-Clyman party. iv. 573. L. (James D.), 1843, sailor on the *Admittance*, disch. in '45. *Peterson's Diary*. L. (John B.), 1845, overl. immig. of the Swasey-Todd party. iv. 576, 587; one of the committee representing new-comers in the treaty with Castro in Nov. iv. 606; at Sonoma and Napa '46–8, and member of the Sonoma council '47. v. 668; at S. José '50. L. (John), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. Sta B. '48. L. (John), 1834, at Los Ang.; doubtful name. L. (Joseph), 1847, commander's clerk on the *Columbus*. L. (Joseph B.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. in Texas '82. L. (Louis), 1835, nat. of Pa, trader at Los Ang., age 25; accused of complicity in the Apalátegui revolt (iii. 282). L. (Sam.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Panguich, Utah, '82. L. (Thomas), 1833, Amer. from S. Blas, accused of illegal otter-hunting in Sept. In '36 he was at Los Ang., a single carpenter, aged 25. In '40 one of the Graham exiles, who returned in '41 and worked at Sta Cruz as a lumberman in '42–3. He may have been the Tom Lewis who accompanied John Brown on his famous ride of '46. iii. 393, 499; iv. 18, 33; v. 304. L. (Thomas), 1844, Engl., age 30, at S.F. L. (Wm), 1840, naturalized this year and named on Larkin's books. iv. 120. At S.F. and S. José in '41; in '45 at N. Helv., where he was married in Dec. His wife may be the Mrs L. who married Perry McCoon in Feb. '46, and died in June.

Libbey (Elliott), 1845, mr of the *Tasso* '45–8; also of the *Com. Shubrick* in '47. iv. 569; v. 577, 580. For assault on him and Spear at S.F., see iv. 589, 665–6. According to Thomes there was a 'woman in the case.' Capt. L. was the owner of a town lot in '46 (v. 685), and in '54 lived at S. Rafael. It is possible that he visited Cal. on some vessel from Hon. earlier than '45. Lichtenstein, see 'Lightstone.' Lick (James), 1848, nat. of Pa, piano-maker by trade, who had lived for over 20 years in Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru, and who came to S.F. from Callao on the *Lady Adams*, arriving Jan. 7, '48. He had already a small fortune, which he invested in S.F. lands (v. 678), and patiently waited for the increase in the value of his real estate to make him immensely wealthy. Among his enterprises of later years were a grand flouring mill at S. José, finished with mahogany in the interior, and the Lick House, in which some of the fine decorations in wood are the work of his own hands. He was an honest, industrious man, of much common sense, though noted for his many eccentricities and whims, and in his later years of irritable and thoroughly disagreeable temperament. He had no family, except an illegitimate son, who was recognized by him and spent some years with him in Cal. He took a deep interest from the first in the Society of Cal. Pioneers, to which he made liberal gifts. His great and well-merited fame rests on the final disposition of his millions, which, after provision for his relatives, were devoted to various scientific, charitable, and educational enterprises, for the benefit of the donor's adopted state. He died in '76, at the age of '80; and after the usual delays caused by financial and legal complications, the results of Lick's bequests are beginning, in '85, to assume practical shape.

Light (Allen B.), 1835, negro, who deserted from the *Pilgrim*, or some other vessel, and became an otter-hunter. iii. 413. He was known as Black Steward, his encounter with a grizzly bear in the Sta B. region being mentioned by Alfred Robinson, and other adventures by Nidever. He was one of Graham's men in '36–8; and in '39, being a naturalized resident of Sta B., was appointed by the govt agent to prevent illegal otter-hunting. iv. 91; at Los Ang. in '41, and in '46–8 at S. Diego, still a hunter. L. (James), 1846, nat. of Me, and one of the Mormon Col., with wife and child, though sometimes accredited to the N.Y. Vol. v. 546. He lived in S. Joaq., and later at Sauzalito; but from '50 was a resident of Humboldt co., where he died at Arcata in '81. His wife Mary J., died in '75. Lightstone (Frank), 1845, German soap-maker and chandler; original name Franz Lichtenstein, who came from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party, and settled at S. José '46. iv. 572, 587; still living in Sta Clara co., I think, in '85.

Lillie (Leonard G.), 1846, nat. of N.Y., prob. overl. immig. from Ill., and settler in Napa Val. He died at Calistoga in '72, age 48, leaving a widow and

6 children. Limantour (Joseph Yves), 1841, Fr. trader in Mex., who came to Cal. as sup. of the *Ayacucho*. iv. 279, 563. The schr was wrecked near Pt Reyes, and L. opened a store at S.F. to dispose of the cargo '41-2. He came back in '43-4, '47, and '52-3. v. 449, 576. During the visit of '43-4 he furnished aid to Gov. Micheltorena, and received in return, as there seems to be no reason to doubt, several grants of land. In '52-3 he presented his claims before the land commission. iv. 352, 386, 402, 511, 559, 634, 655, 671-4. His chief claim, to about half the site of San Francisco, was at first confirmed by the commission; but in '58 was rejected by the district court, the grant being pronounced a forgery supported by false testimony. This famous case is more fully noticed elsewhere (see vol. vi.). The truth would seem to be that L. had really obtained grants of land at S.F. and elsewhere; but that in later years, by forged papers and with the aid of Ex-gov. Micheltorena, he overreached himself by attempting to improve the location and extent of his grants. He is still, in '85, a wealthy resident of the city of Mexico. Limcante (Blas), 1806, sailor on the *Peacock*, arrested at S. Juan Cap. ii. 38. Limon (Cayetano), 1781-2, Mex. alférez, who came to Cal. in com. of escort to Rivera's colony. i. 342-4, 361, 364-5. Limon (Fran.), criminal at S. Fern. '39. iii. 638. L. (Fran.), apparently a lieut; at Mont. '46; went to Mex. with Flores '48. v. 41, 407-8. L. (José M.), 1842; sub-lieut of the batallon fijo; suspended in '43. iv. 289, 354, 364.

Linares (Fran.), at Los Ang. '46. L. (Ignacio), settler at S. José 1786. i. 477. In 1793 inválido, wife Gertrudis Rivas, child. Salvador, Marcela, Francisco, Mariano, Nicolasa, Santos, Antonia, and Rosa. L. (José), llavero, at Sta Inés '39. iii. 664. L. (José de la Cruz), grantee of Nogales '40. iii. 633; at S. Gabriel '46. L. (Juan José), soldier of the guard at S. José mission 1797-1800. i. 556. L. (Margarito), Mex. soldier at Mont. '36. L. (María Ant.), grantee of Los Carneros '42. iv. 655. L. (Miguel), at Los Ang. '46. L. (Ramon), soldier at Sta Cruz and S. José 1795-1800. i. 496, 556; inválido of the S.F. comp. 1819-21. L. (Rafael), at the Natividad fight (v. 333). L. (Rosa), had a son in the Mont. school '43. L. (Santiago), shot for murder at Los Ang. '41. iv. 630. L. (Vicente), grantee of rancho at S. Luis Ob. '42. iv. 656. L. (Victor), soldier at S. Diego '26. ii. 549; in '37 grantee of Tinaquaic. iii. 656, 557; in '39-40 maj. at S. Luis Ob., and militia alférez. iii. 683; iv. 13; in '42 grantee of Cañada de los Osos. iv. 655; in '46 juez at S. Luis. v. 638, where he still lived in '51. Linch, see 'Lynch.'

Lincoln (John), 1822, mr of the *John Begg*. ii. 474. L. (Jonas), 1847, son of Seth, who came at the age of 10, born in Engl. He was later a member of the Pac. Stock Exchange, S.F., and died, as did his wife, in '76, leaving 7 children. L. (J. S.), 1847, candidate for the S.F. council. v. 650; prob. same as the following. L. (Seth S.), 1847, from Hon. with wife and 2 children on the *Francesca*. He was the owner of several town lots in '47-8, and by some is said to have been a Mormon preacher. v. 547. All the family except Jonas left S.F. for Australia and were lost at sea.

Linder (Francis), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Lindsay, 1848, mr of the *Tasso*. L. (J. H.), 1845, at S.F. June '46. *Terr. Pion., 1st An.* L. (Thomas), 1841, immig. from N. Mex. in the Workman-Rowland party, called a 'mineralogist' in the Rowland list. iv. 278-9. In '44 he settled at what was later Stockton, building a tule hut. He went south—as the entire pop. of Stockton—with Sutter in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 486; and soon after his return, in the spring of '45, was killed by Indians, his body being burned with the hut. iv. 516, 543, 674. Lineda (Arcadio), 1789, lieut in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Linel (Joseph), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. Link, 1848, from S. José to the mines. Linn (James S.), 1847, owner of S.F. lot; also at N. Helv., Sta Clara, and in the mines '47-8; had a family. Lino, neoph. at Sta Cruz 1817. ii. 388. L., sacristain at Sta B. '38. iii. 655. Linson (Fran.), a litigant in Los Ang. district '39. Linton (James), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Linty (J.), 1846, Cal. Bat., Co. B, artill. v. 358.

Lipp (Carl), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Vallejo '71-82. Lipper (Augustus), 1847, Co. G, ditto. Lippincott (Benj. S.), 1746, nat. of N.Y.

who came overland with Bryant, being wounded on the way by Ind. v. 528. He was active in raising recruits for the war, and served as lieut of Co. H, Cal. Bat., acting also as asst Q. M. v. 359, 361. In this connection he is often called Geo. M. Lippincott, but I find no evidence that there were two of the name. In '47–8 he lived at S.F., being a gambler by profession, owner of town lots, v. 678, and a candidate for the council. v. 650. He was a member of the constit. convention of '49, representing S. Joaq. co. in the 1st legislature, and Calaveras in those of '55 and '61. He was a popular man as trader, politician, and 'one of the boys.' He died in N.J. '70, at the age of 55. Lippett (Francis J.), 1847, nat. of R.I., capt. Co. F, N.Y.Vol., and in com. of the garrison at Sta B. v. 504, 514, 584, 631; owner of a town lot, v. 685, and from '48 a lawyer at S.F. to '52 or later. v. 686; member of the constit. convention of '49; col of 1st Cal. infantry in war of '61–5; at Providence, R.I., '71; Boston, '74, and Washington, D.C., '82. Lisa (Dan.), 1816, nat. of Mass. who came on the *Lydia*, and was baptized at Sta B. '18 as Daniel Mártir José de Sta Rosa. The name was prob. Daniel Eleazer, the surname being unknown. L. (José Manuel), 1816, brother of Dan., bapt. at Sta B. '16. ii. 277. Lisárraga (José M.), 1842. iv. 642.

Little, 1837, mr of the *Griffon*. iv. 104; perhaps Wm C. iv. 141. L. (August), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. L. (John), 1848 (?), trader and postmaster at Coloma. L. (Milton), 1843, nat. of N. Y. and overl. immig. of the Walker-Chiles party, being wounded by Ind. on the trip. iv. 392, 394, 400. He settled at Mont. as a trader in '44, and from that time his name constantly appears in various records. He got a carta in '44, was a partner of Belden in '45, was 2d alcalde in '46, serving on the 1st jury, and having a Cal. claim. v. 289, 637 (462). In '48 he married Mary Eagar, also visiting the gold mines. After '49 he continued to trade at Mont., holding several county offices, being claimant for lands, iv. 656, and dying in '79 at the age of '67, He left a widow and several children. Littlefield (Geo.), 1845, mr of the *Hopewell*. iv. 536.

Littlejohn (David), 1824, Scotch farmer and carpenter from Callao on one of Hartnell's vessels. ii. 526; baptized in '25 at S. Cárlos as Francisco Javier David; joined the comp. extranjera in '32. iii. 221; naturalized in '33, being then 40 years old, married to a native, and owner of some cattle. In '34 he was grantee of Carneros rancho, Mont. co., later confirmed to his heirs. iii. 677; named often in Larkin's accounts and other records '34–46. Being partially insane (?), he objected to the plundering of his rancho by Frémont's men and narrowly escaped with his life. He died a little later, and his widow married José M. Castro before '50. Littleton (John), 1826, Engl. sailor who landed sick at Mont. from the *Rover*. iii. 176; ii. 609. In '29, being 22 years old, he worked at the inn when able; lived with Larkin in '36; and is last mentioned in '37.

Livermore (Robert), 1822, nat. of London, b. 1799, apprenticed to a mason, from whom he ran away in '16 and went to sea. After serving in the U.S. navy he left that service on the S. Amer. coast and joined the allied fleet under Lord Cochrane, taking part on the *Esmeralda* in the naval operations at Callao (which were in '20–1), and perhaps joining an exped. to the north (though he could not apparently have been in the gulf of Cal. in '22. See *Hist. N. Mex. St.*, ii.). Leaving the naval service he shipped on the *Colonel Young*, a trading craft, from which he deserted in Cal., probably in '22, the date of her arrival, ii. 478, but possibly later on another trip of '25. iii. 29. There is a strange confusion in records of his coming, the date being given by different writers all the way from '16 to '29. He is understood to have lived some years on the Laguna or Alvires rancho, spending some time in the south at S. Gabriel, and working in the Sta Clara redwoods; but this was prob. later, as Geo. Frazer, of '33, is named as his comrade. The earliest original record is in '29, when, being maj. on the rancho of Torre and Mulligan, he claimed to be 23 years old, and to have come in '19, intending to remain and marry, *St. Pap., Sac.*, xiii. 3, both of which statements must be erroneous. In another record of '29, being a resident of S. José, 'Roberto' said he had de-

serted from the *Conoliango* about '21, was 22 years old, and had been baptized at Sta Clara (as Juan Bautista Roberto). *Dept. St. Pap.*, xix. 3. I have a receipt of money from L., dated Los Pozitos, in '25. *Alviso, Doc.*, 6; but this may be a slip of the pen for '35. He is mentioned at S. José in '30 and 31, but as intending to quit the place. *Vallejo, Doc.*, xxx. 61, 313. In '42 he writes of a cattle-brand that he had used for 15 years (since '27). *Estudillo, Doc.*, ii. 54. Soon after '30 he went to the Tularcitos rancho, where he married Josefa Higuera, widow of Fuentes Molina, as early as '34, if we follow the padron of '41, which makes his daughter Casimira 6 years old, though the date is generally given as later, and before '37—when Edwards visited him—he had established himself on the Pozitos rancho, in what was later called Livermore Valley, and where he spent the rest of his life. iv. 86, 117. In '39 he was apparently granted the rancho on Apr. 8th. *Leg. Rec.*, iii. 61; but 2 days later it was granted to Salvio Pacheco, prob. as a formality, L. not being a citizen. He at once bought the property in partnership with José Noriega, whose interest he purchased later. In a list of foreigners of '40—when L. was perhaps arrested, iv. 17—as per extract furnished by J. A. Forbes for my use, L. is said to be 36 years old, and to have come with Mancisidor on the *Coronel Yon* 20 years ago. In '40–1 he had some dealings with Sutter, iv. 134, 233, being called 39 years old in a padron; and in all these years he had much trouble with the Ind., being wounded in one of his exped. In '44 he was naturalized, being a resid. for 'over 20 years,' and having a large family. In '46 he rendered some service in carrying despatches. v. 246–7; about this time purchased the Cañada de los Vaqueros of the Alvisos; and his place was a well-known station on the route from Mont. and S. José to Sac. The two ranchos were later confirmed to him. iii. 712; iv. 671; and the former sailor became a rich man. His reputation is that of a hospitable and honest man, a good representative of his class. In '51, through the medium of a neighbor named Strickland, who had a sister living in England, L. resumed commun. with his relatives after 35 years of silence. The original corresp., *Livermore Papers*, MS., chiefly of his brother, Wm C., in London, has been furnished to me by Valentin Alviso, his son-in-law. The corresp. extended from '51 to '57, showing L.'s father to have died in '26, and his mother in '48, but several brothers, sisters, and other relatives still survived; and the English builder's views and advice respecting Cal. ranchero life must have been more amusing than instructive to Don Roberto. One suggestion was to surround his rancho with a ditch, and another to brand his cattle. Livermore died in '58. Portrait in *Halley's Contem. Year-Book*, 563. He left a widow and 8 children. His son Robert, b. in '40, still resides, '85, in Livermore Valley with wife, Teresa Bernal, and 6 children. Portrait in *Alam. Co. Hist.*, 16. One of the daughters, Josefa, is the wife of Valentin Alviso.

Livingstone (John W.), 1846, lieut U.S.N., com. of the *Congress* '46–8. v. 253, 577; rear-admiral living in N.Y. '77. L. (Peter F.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); I have his letter of Apr. '48 at S.F., in which he expresses his desire to buy a tract of land near the presidio as soon as discharged; alcalde at S José '49. He died at Sonora '73. Lizalde (Ignacio), at Sta B. '37, wife María Ign. Arellanes, 3 children. L. (Juan), soldier of S.F. comp. '39–42. L. (Pedro), corporal of S. Diego comp. 1797. i. 562; settler at Los Ang. 1808. ii. 349. Llanos (Wm), 1846, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list. Llepe (Jerome), 1834, doubtful name of an Engl. hatter at Mont., age 27. Lloyd (Horace), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518); perhaps the L. in Alameda co. '55–78. Lobar (Juan), 1831, from N. Mex. in the Wolfskill party. iii. 387. Lobato (Miguel García), Mex. lieut of engineers, who perhaps came with Echeandía in '25. He is mentioned in connection with the trial of P. Martinez in '29–30. iii. 84, 99; and was sent to Mex. in '30 as a comisionado by the junta de guerra. L. (Diego), at S. Gabriel '46. Lobo (Juan), resid. of Los Ang. '46; prominent at the fight of S. Pascual. v. 352. L. (Juan José), settler at Los Ang. 1790. i. 461. L. (Juan José and Santiago), at Los Ang. '46. L. (Marcial) at S. Diego '26. L. (Pedro), sergt at S. Diego '25–8. ii. 543.

Locke, 1795, mr of the *Resolution*. i. 538, 625. L. (James O.), 1829, mr

of the *Brookline* '29–30. iii. 146. In '40, at Boston, he jumped from a 3d-story window and fractured his skull. Lockwood (Isaac), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at S. José '50. L. (Wm A.), 1842, prof. of mathematics on Com. Jones' fleet. iv. 368.

Lodge (Michael), 1822, Irish carpenter, who, in '29, was living at Mont., age 30, married to Martina Castro. ii. 479. I have his autograph letter of May '28. His name appears on Larkin's books in '33–47, his business being that of lumberman, and from about '37 owner of a rancho near Sta Cruz. In '40 he was arrested but not exiled (iv. 17), though in '41 fined $20 for applying an opprobrious epithet to the Mex. govt. In '45 he is named in the Branciforte padron as 50 years old, wife 39, children Refugio b. '32, María Ant. '35, Miguel '39, Joaquin '41, and María '42. In Nov. '47 he was still a lumberman at Soquel, but I have no later record of him, or of his family, except that one of his daughters married Thos Fallon. Loesa, chaplain of the S. Blas transports, 1791–1800. i. 655. Loeser (Lucien), 1847, lieut Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. v. 518; sent east with despatches '48.

Logan (Joseph B.), 1847, sergt Co. I, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; died at Springfield, Tuol. Co., '57. L. (L. L.), 1846, from Mich.; a soldier in N. Mex. '61–4, when he was fatally wounded by the Ind. *Watsonville Pájaro Times.* L. (Wm), 1824, owner of a vineyard at Los Ang. '31. ii. 526; prob. same as Wm Lobe, named in '40 as an Amer. carpenter from N. Mex., who had been 14 years in Cal., married, and 38 years old. iii. 176. Loker (Wm N.), 1845, Amer. trader from Mo., and overl. immig. of the Hastings party. iv. 586–7; clerk in Sutter's employ from Jan. '46; in charge of the Bear prisoners. v. 125, 80; lieut Co. A, Cal. Bat., and later adjutant; had a Cal. claim (v. 462); went east with Frémont, and testified at the court-martial. v. 453–6. In '76 he is named as a broker at St Louis. Lomer, 1848, Mont. firm of Coppman & L. '48–9.

Londerman, 1848, at N. Helv. Long (Dr), 1847, at N. Helv.; mining at Parks Bar '48, with his brothers. L. (A. K.), 1841, com. of the *Relief*, U.S. ex. iv. 271. L. (A. R.), 1848, capt U.S.N., on the *Warren;* com. of marine guard at S.F. L. (David), 1847, came on the *Fama*, perhaps earlier, and worked at S.F. '47–8, for Ward & Smith, and for Leidesdorff; at N. Helv. on Leidesdorff's launch '48. L. (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). L. (John P.), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at Mont. Oct.; had a Cal. claim for quarters and clothing (v. 462); in the mines at Park and Long bars '48. L. (Wm or Willis), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); living in Vaca Valley '74. Longdeau (Maurice), 1846, with Kearny from N. Mex. v. 337. Longley (Wm Rufus), 1846, came from Hon. on the *Euphemia*, as clerk for Davis, '46–7; clerk at Mont. for naval store-keeper, and agent for McClurg & Co.; 2d alcalde at Mont. '48; also trading in the mines. v. 637. Look, 1843, doubtful name of a saloon-keeper at Mont. acc. to newspapers. Loper (Andrew J.), 1846, Co. E, Cal. Bat., enlisting at Sonoma Oct. (v. 358).

Lopez, sailor sirviente at Sta Cruz. i. 496. L. (Alejandro), at Los Ang. '46. L. (Antonio), settler at Los Ang. '13. ii. 359; in '32 invál. of the Sta B. comp., wife Gertrudis Félix, child. Josefa, Filomena, Juan José, Bernardino, and José María. L. (Baldomero), 1791, Span. friar; founder of Sta Cruz, where he served till his retirement in '96; guardian of S. Fernando College '18–25. Biog. i. 497–9; ment. i. 494, 576; ii. 397–8, 402, 431–2; iii. 21. L. (Bernardino), son of Antonio; regidor at Los Ang. '37–8. iii. 509, 636; encargado of S. Gabriel '47. v. 628; had a Cal. claim (v. 462); still at Los Ang. '48. L. (Bonifacio), juez del campo at S. Diego '35. iii. 615; in charge of the mission '48. v. 620. L. (Capistrano), at S. Juan B. '44; mentioned in connection with the Frémont-Gavilan affair of '46. v. 18; in later years a noted desperado finally hanged at Sta Cruz. L. (Cayetano), artisan-instructor 1792–5; i. 615, 725. L. (Claudio), settler at Los Ang. '11; maj. at S. Gabriel '21–30; alcalde at Los Ang. '26. ii. 349, 560, 568. L. (Cornelio), resid. of Los Ang. '36–48. L. (Estévan), 1602, corp. in Vizcaino's exped. i. 98. L. (Estévan), at Los Ang. '28–39. L. (Francisco), at S. Fern. '39; sec. in the juzgado at Los Ang. '41. iv. 641; named as discov. of the southern gold mines

in '42. iv. 630–1; grantee of Los Álamos '46. v. 627; clerk in governor's office '45; juez de campo '46. v. 626. L. (Francisco), corp. of Sta B. comp. '32; wife María Ant. Félix; grantee of Temescal '43. iv. 643; living on his rancho '45. L. (Gerónimo), at Los Ang. '46. L. (Gregorio), at Sta B. before '37; wife Antonia María Ortega, and one child; in '46 maj. of S. Juliancancho. v. 202. L. (Ignacio), soldier of S. Diego comp.; partido elector of S. Diego '42, and elected to legislature. ii. 454, 462, 543; took part in revolution of '31. iii. 201; juez de campo '36. iii. 616. L. (Jacinto), 1799, Span. friar who served for brief terms at S. Antonio and S. Juan B., retiring in 1801. i. 558, 577; ii. 153, 159. L. (Joaquin), soldier killed on the Colorado 1781. i. 363. L. (José), brother of Ignacio, at S. Diego, engaged in the revolution of '31. iii. 201; owner of land at S. Juan Cap. '41–3. iv. 371, 624, 626; killed by Ind. at Puma '46. v. 617; but another of the same name was regidor at S. Diego '40. L. (José Ant.), Mex. convict '29–34. L. (José de Jesus), soldier of the S.F. comp. '39–42. L. (José M.), at Sta Cruz, 1794. i. 606. L. (José M.), soldier of Sta B. comp. before '37; at Los Ang. '39–48, being zanjero in '44. iv. 633. L. (Juan), settler at Los Ang. 1798–9; i. 606; ii. 349. L. (Juan), at S. Diego, engaged in revolt of '31. iii. 200–1; grantee of Cañada de S. Vicente '46. v. 619; iii. 612. L. (Juan José), 1842, Mex. cornet in batallon fijo '42–5. iv. 289. L. (Juan B.), killed at Mont. '25. iii. 26. L. (J. B.), otter-hunter '30. iii. 145. L. (Leandro), at Los Ang. '46. L. (Manuel), ex-llavero S. Antonio '40. iii. 687. L. (M. J.), owner of Jesus rancho, S. Diego, '36. iii. 611–12. L. (María Ign.), wife of Joaq. Carrillo; grantee of Sta Rosa '41. iv. 673. She was a half-sister of Pio Pico's mother, Ignacio and José being her brothers. Her sisters were Josefa, wife of Véjar, Juana, wife of Juan Osuna, and María Ant., wife of José M. Aguilar. L. (Nicolás), owner of a house at Sta B. '48. v. 632. L. (Pedro), sirviente at S.F. 1777. i. 297. L. (Pedro), at S. Fern. '39, age 50; grantee of Tujunga '40. iii. 634; still at S. Fern. '56. L. (Rafael), soldier at Sta B. '32, wife María Ortega. L. (Ramon), Dominican friar from L. Cal., at S. Diego occasionally 1791–1800. i. 655. L. (Tiburcio), soldier of Sta B. comp. before '37; at Los Ang. '46. L. (Theodore), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in Tuol. co. '77. Lord (Joseph M.), 1847, owner of boats on bay and river '48–9; in S.F. after '70.

Lorenzana (Apolinaria), 1800, one of the foundlings sent from Mex. to Cal., who lived at Sta B. and S. Diego, never married, and became known as La Beata, devoting her life to charity and teaching, a favorite godmother at baptisms. i. 606; ii. 169. She was at S. Luis Rey '21–30. ii. 553; and was grantee of Jamacho and Cañada de los Coches in '40, '43, iii. 611, 621, the former being confirmed to her by the land commission, but taken from her by some legal hocus-pocus that the old woman never understood. In '78 she was living at Sta B., entirely blind and supported by friends and the county. Her *Memorias de la Beata*, dictated for my use, contains many interesting items on early times. Her name of Lorenzana is that of the archbishop of Mex. given to all foundlings from that asylum. L. (Felipe), at Sta B. before '37, wife Natividad Ruiz, 4 children; ranchero in '45. L. (Inocente), juez de policía at Sta B. before '48. v. 631. L. (Jacinto), at Sta B. '37, wife Cármen Rodriguez, 3 children; síndico in '40. iii. 655. L. (José), at Branciforte '45, age 29, wife Manuela Salazar, child. Josefa b. '36, Prudencio '37, Benita '38, Juan José '40, Rosario '42; a man of same name at Sta B. '50–5. L. (Macedonio), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–22; at Brancif. '28, wife Romualda Vasquez, child. José Apolinario b. '19, Bernarda, Juana, Arcadio '24, and Pedro. ii. 627; in '35, '39, síndico. iii. 696–7; '38 regidor. iii. 697; '45–6 2d alcalde. iv. 641, 664; in '45, age 53, additional children, Juan b. '25, Matias '26, Fernando '30, Jesus '35, Faustino '36, José '37, Ricardo '40, Trinidad '44. L. (Manuel), alguacil at Sta B. '39. iii. 654. L. (Timoteo), killed in '31. iii. 673. L. (Tomás), soldier at Sta B. before '37. L. (Vicente), at Los Ang. '12–48, a carpenter, age 50 in '39. ii. 350.

Loring (Sam.), 1836, Amer. cooper, age 26, in a Sta B. list. iv. 118; died at Los Ang. '49. L. ('Major'), 1845, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list

Lornes (John), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Losaya (José M.), killed a man at Sta B. '40. iii. 655. Loughray (Andrew), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Louis, 1847, mr of the *Providence*. L. (Henry), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). L. (J. Gros and P. Gros), 1846, Cal. Bat., Co. B, artill. (v. 358). Lount (Seth H.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); killed by Rogue Riv. Ind. '55. Louzade (James), 1840, one of the exiles to S. Blas. iv. 18.

Love (Harry), 1843 (?), arrived in Oct. acc. to records of the Soc. Cal. Pion. iv. 400. His wife was Mary Bennett, widow of Vardamon B. of '43. She was living in Sta Clara Co. '55. L. (John), 1846, lieut Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons as per muster-roll; prob. did not come to Cal. Loveall (Stephen), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Lovejoy (A. L.), 1848, Or. lawyer in the mines. *Burnett*. Lovelain (L. F.), 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Loveland (Cyrus C.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in Sta Clara Co. '83. L. (J. B.), 1848, at Monterey. Lovett, 1848, mr of the *Eagle*. L. (Angeline M.), 1846, a woman of the Mormon colony. v. 546; married to Thos Kittleman in Dec. '47 at S.F.

Low (James C.), 1848, Q.M. sergt N.Y.Vol. v. 503; acting order. sergt; disch. for physical disability Sept.; owner of S.F. lots; in S. F. '54; d. at S. Rafael before '82. L. (Thomas), 1831, perhaps one of Young's trappers. iii. 388; at S.F. in '40. Lowe, 1847, mr of the *Sta Cruz* schr '46–8. v. 580. Lowe (Mrs W. H.), 1846, at S. José '81. Lowery (Anthony W.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at S.F. '74–8. Loy (Horace), 1848, teamster in Sutter's employ. Loze (M. M.), 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358).

Lucas (John), 1838, Engl. lumberman in the Sta Cruz region named in Larkin's accounts. iv. 119; one of the exiles of '40, who returned in '41. iv. 18, 33. Luce, 1848, mr of the *Tepic*. v. 580. L. (S. B.), 1847, mid. on the U.S. *Columbus*. Lucío (Juan Saenz de), 1806, Span. friar who served at S.F., retiring in '16. ii. 374–5, 131, 159–60, 386, 394. Luco (Juan M.), 1847, Chilian and mr of the *Natalia* '47–8. v. 579; claimant for the Ulpinos rancho. iv. 674; somewhat prominent in land matters, and still in S.F. '85. Ludloff (Charles), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Lugo (Antonio María), son of Francisco, nat. of Cal., b. at S. Antonio 1775, and a soldier till 1809, when he settled near Los Angeles. ii. 350, 353. In 1810 he was grantee of S. Antonio rancho, confirmed to him in later years. ii. 112, 352, 565–6, 633, 664. In '16 and '18 he was alcalde at Los Ang. ii. 350; juez del campo '33–4. iii. 635, 257–8; in '37–8 memb. of the ayunt., taking some part as commissioner in the troubles between north and south. iii. 599, 519, 556, 636; grantee of Chino in '41. iv. 634; ment. occasionally in connection with Ind. affairs and other public matters, having a claim of $5,000 against the govt '42–6. iv. 338, 497, 626, 629, 634. He was a wealthy and widely known ranchero, uneducated but of good character. He died in '60. His wife was María Dolores Ruiz; and his daughter Merced married Stephen C. Foster. José del Cármen and Felipe were his sons. L. (Bernardino), at Sta B. before '37, wife Isabel Leiva. L. (Felipe), son, I think, of Ant. M., born about 1808; regidor at Los Ang. '32–3, '36–7, '44–5. iii. 635-6; iv. 633; in '39 a lieut. iii. 583; and partido elector. iii. 590; and juez in '40. iii. 637. After the Amer. occupation he was justice of the peace and supervisor, residing at La Mesa; still living in '78.

Lugo (Francisco), Mex. soldier who came from Sinaloa with his family soon after 1769, living at Los Ang. and Sta B. i. 461; ii. 100. He died at Sta B. in 1805, and may be regarded as the founder of the Lugo family in Cal. His wife was Juana Vianazul (one record seems to say Juana M. Rita Martinez), and he brought four children from Sin., Salvador killed when a boy by being thrown from a horse, José Antonio a soldier at Sta B., who left a family, Tomasa who married Capt. Raimundo Carrillo, ii. 100, and Rosa who married Alférez Cota and was the mother of Josq. de la Torre's wife, dying in 1790. i. 665. Five children were born in Cal., José Ignacio, Antonio María, and Juan, all soldiers; María Antonia who married Ignacio Vallejo, and María Ignacia who married José Ruiz. L. (Francisco), at Pilar-

citos rancho '25–6, being juez de campo '35, iii. 674, age 37, wife Juana Briones, child. Cayetano b. '31 (at Sta B. '51), Juan de Mata '34, Francisco '36; in '39 grantee of Paraje de Sanchez, iii. 677, for which his widow was claimant in '52; juez auxiliar '44. iv. 653.

Lugo (José), sergt of the Sta B. comp., and alférez '39–46, involved in several revolts and in the affair of the cañon perdido of '48. iii. 641; iv. 476, 539, 541, 651; v. 35, 586, 588. Known as El Chato. L. (José del Cármen), son of Antonio María, b. at Los Ang. '13; regidor at Los Ang. '38–9. iii. 636; grantee of S. Bernardino '42. iv. 635; juez de campo '44. iv. 633; prominent in the Chino fight and in several Ind. exped. of '46–7. v. 312–14, 403, 566, 617, 625; alcalde of Los Ang. '49. About '51 he sold his rancho to the Mormons, and from that time has lived at Los Ang., in good circumstances till about '63, when he lost his property. In '78 he dictated his *Vida de un Ranchero* for my use. He had a wife and four daughters. L. (José Ignacio), son of Francisco, soldier at San Juan B. before 1800, and later settler at Los Ang. i. 558; ii. 350; maj. at S. Fern. '17; in '32 inval. of Sta B. comp.; wife Rafaela Romero, child. Magdalena and Luis; at Los Ang. '46. L. (José María), juez del campo at Los. Ang. '36, '38. iii. 636; one of the grantees of S. Bernardino '42; a son of Ant. María; still living at S. Bern. '50. L. (Juan), corp. at Sta B. before '37; at Los Ang. '48. L. (Luis), at Sta B. 1790, when his wife died in giving birth to twins. L. (María Guadalupe), wife of Sergt Verdugo, d. 1780. i. 663. L. (Miguel), at Sta B. '37, wife Isabel Fernandez, 2 children. L. (Nicanor), had a Cal. claim for horses $1,970 (v. 462). L. (Rafael), soldier at Sta B. before '37. L. (Santiago), appraiser at Purísima '35. iii. 665; regidor at Sta B. '37. iii. 654; juez de paz '41. iv. 641. L. (Seferino), soldier in 1777; one of the earliest settlers at S. José. i. 312, 477–8; wife Gertrudis Pacheco. L. (Trinidad), soldier at Sta B. '32, wife Rosario Dominguez, 6 children. L. (Vicente), one of the grantees of S. Bern. '42, son of Antonio M.; justice at S. Gabriel '50; supervisor Los Ang. Co. '62–3.

Luis, 1836, Ital. fisherman at Mont., age 26. Luis, Ind. in Sutter's employ; one of the 1st Donner relief; refused to eat human flesh, and was himself killed and eaten. v. 531–2, 534, 537. Lujan (José), 1797, Span. alférez of S. Diego comp. to 1806, when he left the country. i. 544, 647; ii. 101. L. (José María), at Los Ang. '46. Luker (Wm), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Sonora, Cal., '83. Lumsden (Wm), 1834, Engl. pilot on the *Margarita*, age 31, registered at S. Blas. iii. 412; in '36–7 at S. Diego. iii. 618; in '40 arrested at Sta B., but released at S. Diego. iv. 14, 17; in '44 at S.F. and in '48 at Mont. Luna, Dominican friar from L. Cal., at S. Gabriel '29. iii. 96. Lunia (Joseph), 1834, Frenchman in a Mont. list. Lunt (Dan.), 1848, mate of the *Euphemia*. Lupton (Durah), 1848, at S. José '76. Luque (Gabriel), soldier killed by Ind. on the Colorado 1782. i. 352, 362. Lusiano (Basilio), zanjero at Los Ang. '47. v. 626. Luskey (Joseph), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); died before '80. Luther, 1848, at Sutter's Fort with family. Lutz (Wm D.), 1846, sailor on the *Cyane*; at Phil. '77.

Lyman (Chester S.), 1847, clergyman who came from Hon. on the *Euphemia*, with letters to Colton and Larkin. In Sept. he was appointed surveyor for the middle department, and in '48 made surveys at S. José and N. Almaden. v. 665. He remained in Cal. till '50, returning in '54 from New Haven to testify in the N. Almaden case. L. (J. H.), 1841, physician from Mass. who came from N. Mex. with the Workman-Rowland party. iv. 278. He returned east in '43, perhaps via Oregon as he had intended. Wilson says he came back with his family and was in S.F. '77; but Given thinks he never returned but is still in Mass., though G. could not find him in '83.

Lynch, 1838, at Mont. '38–9. L., 1847, of the firm L. & Lewis Mont. '47–8. L. (Ferdinand), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). L. (James), 1847, Co. F, ditto; nat. of Pa, of Irish parentage; on a rancho at Pleito, S. Luis Ob., '71–4; at Jolon, Mont. Co., '82. Quigley tells some very absurd stories about him. L. (John), 1842, Engl. sailor on the *Jóven Guipuzcoana*, arrested at S.F. for mutiny; still in S.F. '44, age 30. L. (Joseph Peter), 1847, corp. Co.

G., N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); one of the murderers of the Reed family at S. Miguel, executed at Sta B. '48. v. 632, 640. L. (Patrick), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 199); at S.F. '71–82.

Lyon (Albert G.), 1846, nat. of Va and overl. immig. from Mo.; in Sonoma from '48; died '79, leaving a widow and 9 children. Lyons (Aaron), 1847, sergt Co. D, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; sheriff of Mont. Co.; died '65. L. (Geo.), 1848, at S. Diego; possibly in '42. L. (Peter), 1840, at Mont. '40–1; said to have aided in the arrest of the foreigners. iv. 22, 120; later in Sutter's employ, which he left in '46. L. (R. M.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); at Sonoma '47. Lytle (Andrew), 1847, lieut. Co. E, Morm. Bat.; capt. of 100 on the return. v. 477, 493.

M. (J. F. B.), 1840, from Hon. on the *Don Quixote*, author of *Leaves from my Journal*. iv. 157. McAllister (Michael James), 1822, Irish blacksmith, known at Mont. '29 as 'el herrero loco,' age 38. Still worked at his trade and drank his aguardiente in '31–40, as shown by various records, also selling grog at his shop, without much profit perhaps, as he is said to have taken no pay from sailors. He had been an Australian convict for 7 years before coming to Cal., also called Patrick; died at Mont. '54. McA. (Robert), 1840, one of the Graham exiles. iv. 18, 33; perhaps returned, as there was a lumberman of his name in S.F. district '42, age 29. McArran (Robert M.), 1846, mid. on the U. S. *Independence*. McArthur (Henry), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Scipio, Utah, '82. McA. (Wm P.), 1848, ment. in *Alta* '51. McAulley (Alex.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). McBride (Haslam), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl.

McCaffery (Hugh), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). McCallum (James), 1828, Scotch carpenter at Mont. '28–9, age 22. McCann (Dan.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). McCarran (Joseph), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). McCartney (Bartholomew), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lot. McCarty (Dav. C.), 1847, Co. C, ditto; later a real estate agent and inspector of customs at S.F., where he died in '62 at the age of 41; an Irishman. McC. (Edward), 1847, Co. C, ditto; d. Sta B. '52. McC. (James), 1825, signs a receipt of payment from Robt Livermore; perhaps an error in date. McC. (Nelson), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). McC. (Wm), 1832, one of the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221; named on Larkin's books '33–4. McCarver (M. M.), 1848, Kentuckian from Or.; memb. of the constit. convention '49; went to Idaho later. McCaulley (James), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247); also ment. in Pt Reyes region.

McChristian (Patrick), 1845, overl. immig. of the Grisby-Ide party. iv. 579, 587; one of the Bears in '46, having given Robt A. Thompson a narrative of that affair, of which I have a copy. v. 110; in the mines '48–9; and after a short residence at Sta Cruz, a farmer at Sonoma, where he prob. still lives in '85. McClain (John L.), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. McClarcklin 1845, at S. José (McLaughlin ?). McClary (James), 1846, overl. immig. in Bryant's party. v. 528; served in Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); in lists of S.F. lot-owners and Cal. claimants. v. 685 (462); interested at Benicia '47; perhaps in some cases confounded with McClurg. McClaskey (Wm I.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. '66.

McClellan, 1842, went to Or, with Joel Walker in '43. McC., 1847, at Sutter's Fort June–July. McC. (Dav. Frank), 1843, nat. of Tenn. and overl. immig. of the Walker-Chiles party (iv. 392). He went east in '46 with his uncle, Jos. Walker, but came back in '48, being a trader and butcher in the mines, with several visits to the east, until '53, when he settled on a Contra Costa farm, where he still lived in '80. McC. (John), 1848, nat. of Pa, who died at S.F. '63, age 73. McC. (Michael T.), 1848, brother of Dav. F., and overl. immig. of the Chiles party with family; in Sonoma Co. '80. He had 15 children; one of his daughters was the wife of John A. Paxton, a well-known banker of Marysville and Austin, Nev. McCloud (Wm), 1847, from Hon. on the *Xylon*.

McClure (James), 1847, owner of S.F. lot; at Benicia; perhaps 'McClary'

q. v. McC. (John), 1841, from N. Mex. in the Workman-Rowland party. iv. 278; in '43 he went with Leese to Or. iv. 390; and was still there as late as '60. McC. (Wm), 1845, doubtful name of an overl. immig.; prob. went to Or. and not Cal. iv. 578. McClurg (James R.), 1847, trader from Hon. on the *Xylon*, also sup. of the *Francesca;* member of the firm McC. & Co. (Abell and Chever) at Los Ang. to Feb. '48; owner of S.F. lots '47. v. 678; at Mont. '48; at S.F. from '48; also interested at Benicia. He died at S.F. '57, age 42. McClusky (Philip), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

McComb (Benj.), 1848, overl. immig. from Mo.; perhaps his family were cl. for parts of the Entre Napa rancho. McCoon (Perry), 1844, Engl. sailor who may have come in '43. iv. 453. In Dec. '44 he was sent by Sutter to S. Rafael to obtain recruits for the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 486–501. Returning he worked awhile at the fort, but in Dec. '45 moved to a farm of his own near by. In Feb. '46 he married Mrs Lewis, who died in June; and in '47 he married Elitha C. Donner, having a launch on the bay and river. Mentioned as a miner at Weber Cr. and Hangtown '48–9. He become locally somewhat famous for his skill as a vaquero; but in '51 was thrown from his horse and dragged to death by the riata at his home on the Cosumnes. His widow married Benj. Wilder and was still living in '80 at Elk Grove. McC. (Robert), 1848, owner of S.F. lot. McCord (Alex.), 1847, sergt Co. A, Morm. Bat. v. 477. McCormick (James), 1847, left an Engl. vessel at Mont.; owner of a S.F. lot; in the mines '48; later a resid. of S. José. McCoy (Redding), 1845, nat. of N. J. and mate on the *Dromo;* disch. at Mont. iv. 587. Shipping on the *Fama* he was wrecked at Sta B. in '46; became an otter-hunter, having also several startling adventures with bears; got a S.F. lot in '47; at Bodega '48, and went to the mines.

McCracken (John C.), 1846, at N. Helv. prob. an overl. immig.; nat. of N. C.; died at Sonoma '70, age 55. McC. (Wm R.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). McCrady, 1845, one of Frémont's party. iv. 583.

McCue (Patrick), 1846, one of the Mormon col. with wife and 4 children. v. 546; owner of S.F. lot; worked as a blacksmith at Bodega and other places; going east in '52. McCulloch (Hugh), 1822, merchant of Lima and member of the Cal. branch of McC., Hartnell, & Co., who visited Cal. on the *John Begg.* ii. 474–7, 479, 492–3, 519, 613–14; iii. 24, 71. He died in Liverpool in '42. McC. (James), 1831, brother of Hugh, at Mont. '31–2; not behaving in a manner satisfactory to his relatives. McC. (Levi H.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Filmore, Utah, '82. McCusker (Mrs T. C.), 1843, nat. of Ga, from Or., maiden name not given; married in '45, at Sta Cruz to '59, in Mont. Co. to '81. McCutchen (John), 1846, overl. immig.; perhaps went to Or. v. 529. McC. (Wm), 1846, nat. of Tenn. and one of the Donner party with wife and daughter. He left the party before reaching the sierra and from Cal. went back with the 2d relief party. The daughter Harriet died, but the father and mother, Amanda M., survived, settling 1st at Sonoma, and in '48 at S. José, where McC. still lived in '80. v. 531–2, 534. Portrait in *McGlashan*, 244.

McDermott (Chas), 1848 (?), pres. of a Benicia lumber comp. in '48–9. McD. (David), 1847, mid. on the U. S. *Columbus.* McD. (D. A.), 1846, at S.F. '54. McD. (H.), 1848, from Hon. on the *Euphemia;* new passp. from Hon. Aug. McDonald, 1845, in Sutter's employ '45–6. iv. 578, 587; went to Or. Apr. '46. v. 526; but was perhaps back again in '48. McD. (Alex.), 1845, one of the men lost on the *Warren's* launch '46. v. 384, 587. McD. (Alex. C.), 1847, sergt-major N.Y.Vol. v. 503; at Sonoma to '59, and later on a rancho known as McD.'s station, between Cloverdale and Ukiah, where he died in '80 at the age of 65, leaving a widow, of the pioneer Smith family. McD. (Benj.), 1847, settler at Benicia. v. 672; married a daughter of Lundy Alford. McD. (Chas), 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol. under another name. McD. (D.), 1847, from Or. on the *Henry.* McD. (Wm), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). McD. (Wm), 1847, auctioneer at S.F. '47–8, of firm McD. & Buchanan. v. 680, 682; owner of town lots; died '48 at the age of 35. McD. (Wm), 1847, Engl. at Benicia '47–8. *Tustin;* perhaps same as Benj. McD. (Wm), 1846, testified at Napa '68 that he lived in Napa Val. '46–50; prob.

same as following. McDonnell (Wm), 1846, nat. of Mo. and overl. immig.; Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); disch. in Nov. at S. Diego; lived in Napa Co. to '50, marrying Eleanor Graves of the Donner party in '49. Later in Sonoma Co., acting as guide to the Geysers for many years; in '80 at Knight's Val. with family of 9 children. McDonough (Joseph), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); capt. in Meagher's brigade war of '61–5; at S.F. '82. McD. (Nicholas), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in L. Cal. '71–4; killed at La Paz. McDormant, 1847, at Sutter's Fort.

McDougal, 1816, sup. of the *Colonel*. ii. 278. McD. (Geo.), 1845, nat. of Ohio, and overl. immig. from Ind. in the Swasey-Todd party. v. 575–6, 587. He lived at Sta Cruz and Gilroy; served as a kind of unattached volunteer in the Cal. Bat. '46–7; was a 'broker'—that is, a gambler—at S.F. '47–8, becoming the owner of many town lots in partnership with Lippincott. v. 676, 679, 680; and a trader at Sac. in '48–9. His movements in later years were too numerous and complicated to be recorded here. He made several trips to the east, where he had a family, and about '53 began a roving life, rarely making his whereabouts known, and spending much of his time among the Ind. in Arizona and Mexico. In '67 he was found by a naval commander in Patagonia, but returned to Ind., and in '69 went to Washington, D.C., when he died in '72. He was an eccentric but brave and popular man. McD. (John), 1848, brother of Geo., and overl. immig. from Ind.; a member of the constit. convention '49, and elected lieut-gov., becoming gov. on the resignation of Burnett. He died at S.F. in '66 at the age of 49.

McDowell (Dugald), 1837, named in Larkin's books. McD. (James), 1845, overland immig., with his wife, Margaret Pyles, and daughter, Maggie A., age 3 years. iv. 578, 587. He came in a party which I am unable to identify, and most of the members of which went to Or. from Ft Hall. He was employed as a gunsmith by Sutter in '45–7, and possibly served in the Cal. Bat., having a Cal. claim for work (v. 462). In Aug. '47 he moved with his family across the Sac. Riv., where he bought a rancho and built a house. He was murdered in May '49. In '50 the widow had the town-site of Washington laid out on her land; married Dr E. C. Taylor in '51; and died at Washington in '83. The daughter Maggie became Mrs M. A. Hunt, and in '84, living at Washington, furnished me information about her family. Another daughter Harriet, in '81 Mrs Cooke, was born—prob. at the fort, though Mrs Hunt is sure it was at Washington—Feb. 21, '47; and a son Wm according to the newspapers in '48. McD. (John), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party, who went back to Mo. in '42. iv. 270, 275, 342. McDuff (J.), 1848, passp. from Hon. McDuffee (And. J.), 1847, connected in some way with the N.Y.Vol. (v. 499), but not on the roll; clerk in the naval store office at Mont. '47–8, and named in many records; trading at the dry diggings '48; at S. José '50. Clark calls him McDuff.

McElroy (Alex.), 1848 (?), long a resid. of Mariposa Co.; d. at Merced '82, leaving a widow and a married daughter; perhaps of Graham's dragoons (v. 522). McElroy (Hugh), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). McElvain (J.), 1846, lieut of Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336); not in Cal. McFerion (James), 1824, Scotch tailor from Lima. ii. 526; at S. Diego '28. v. 545; at Los Ang. '36, age 50 and single. McGee (Milton), 1843, overl. immig. of the Chiles-Walker party. iv. 392, 394. McGeehan (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). McGhee (John), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. at S. F. '61. McGill (James), 1847, Co. E, ditto. McG. (Pat.), 1847, Co. A, ditto. McGilvery, 1841, on the *Cowlitz*, from Columbia Riv. McGloene (James), 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol. under another name. McGlone (Wm), 1837, Irish sailor on the wrecked whaler *Com. Rogers*. iv. 118; employed in Graham's distillery and known as 'Billy the Brewer.' He was exiled in '40 but returned. iv. 18, 33; and I have his letter of '44 in which he complains that he has been 7 days in jail without food! Worked in Larkin's soap factory '45; perhaps joined Fauntleroy's dragoons '46 (v. 232, 247); and later Co. B, Cal. Bat., being wounded at Natividad. v. 371. He was at N. Helv. '47, in the mines '48; at Mont. '57, and a few years later was drowned

at Sta B. McGranaghan (Wm G.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). McGuier (A.), 1848, passp. from Hon. McGuire (John), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). McHollingworth (J.), 1846 (?), in S. Joaq. Co. '49. *Tinkham.*

McIntosh (Chas), 1843, Cherokee or Delaware half-breed, in the Walker-Chiles party. iv. 392, 400; at Mont. and N. Helv. '45, serving in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 486, 501; served in Cal. Bat. '46–7, taking part in the Natividad fight. McI. (Edward), 1823 (?), Scotch sailor who landed at Mont. from a trader. ii. 475, 495. In a record of '29 he claimed to have come in '23; in another of Dec. '33, to have been 12 years in Cal., or since '22; while in some accounts he is said to have visited Cal. in '13 and returned in '23. I think it likely he came on the *Rover* with Capt. Cooper. In '28 he was baptized at S. Cárlos as Edward Manuel. I have his letter of May '28. In '29 he appears in a Mont. list as a single carpenter, age 34. In '30 he bought Geo. Allen's interest in a Mont. inn for $90, becoming a partner of Wm Gralbatch. ii. 609; was naturalized in '33; got an otter-hunting license in '34, making a trip with Dye. iii. 395; still at Mont. '35. In '38, or perhaps a year or two earlier, he settled with James Dawson on the Estero Americano rancho near Bodega, iv. 117, being recorded in that year as agent for Vallejo and for the H. B. Co. In '39 he obtained a grant of the rancho, and is said to have left his partner's name out of the title, for which he was flogged by the irate Dawson, who proceeded to saw their house in two and move his half to another rancho. iii. 712; iv. 129. In '40 he guided Spalding of the *Lausanne* to S.F. iv. 172; and was in trouble on account of a Frenchman found murdered on his place. He was at N. Helv. in '44–5, taking part in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 483; but does not figure in the war records of '46–7. Owner of a S.F. lot '46. v. 685; alcalde at Sonoma '46. v. 297, 663; alcalde of S. Rafael '47. v. 668; when he leased his rancho to O'Farrell and went to live with his old comrade James Black, both of them dying in '70, McI. at the age of 75. McI. (Jas W.), 1837, pass. on the *Europa* to Hon. iv. 103. McIntyre, 1845, making shingles at Larkin's soap factory. McI. (H.), 1848, passp. from Hon. with family. McI. (John), 1843, overl. immig. of the Chiles-Walker party. iv. 392–3; nothing more known of him. McL. (Terance), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). McI. (Wm L.), 1847, asst surg. Morm. Bat. v. 477, 480.

McKaffray (Hugh), 1846, perhaps killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. McKay, 1846, mid. U. S. N., bearer of despatches from Wash.; perhaps 'Mackae.' McK. (Jean B. D.), 1825, hunter of the H. B. Co., who visited Cal. in '41 and prob. several times before. iii. 151; iv. 212, 214. McK. (John H.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in '80 claimed to have aided at Benicia in '48 in making the 1st casting in Cal.—a faucet for a still, made of copper balls. McKay (Thos), 1848, guide to Burnett's party from Or. McKean, 1847, mid. on the U. S. *Independence.* McK. (Wm W.), 1846, com. of the U. S. *Dale*, '46–7; v. 577; d. '65. McKee (James), 1848, at S.F. from Hon. June. McK. (James), 1847, murdered by B. K. Thompson at Stockton Jan. '48. McK. (James M.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. Mont. Dec. McK. (James R.), 1846, bugler Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons. v. 336. McK. (Wm H.), 1846, Scotch physician at Mont., who possibly came a year or two earlier; often named in records of '46–8 at Mont., S. José, and Sac., where in '48 he seems to have been engaged in trade. In '52 he was claimant for the Jacinto rancho, Colusa. iv. 671. He married, I think, a daughter of Estévan Munrás; and his son Robert, who in '76 gave me a valuable vol. of old mission records, still lives in '85 at Mont. or S.F. McKeever (James), 1844, hunter and adventurer of the plains known as Capt. Jack, killed in Idaho '77; claimed to have landed at S.F. in '44, to have aided in the revolt and war of '46–7, and to have a family at Sta Rosa. *S. F. Chronicle:* iv. 453. McKenzie, 1845, at N. Helv. '45, '47; with Aree in '46. iv. 578, 587; v. 109; perhaps same as the following. McK. (Bernard), 1846, carpenter and mason at Mont. '46–8; in the mines '48, discovering the dry diggings at Placerville. *Carson and Sacra.* A 'Capt.' McK. died at S.F. in '54. McK. (D'l), 1843, trader at S. Diego. McKern (Ed.), 1847, owner of S.F. lot; prob. 'Kern,' q. v.

McKinley (James), 1824, Scotch sailor boy left at S.F. or Sta B. by a whaler. ii. 526. This is the statement usually made in accounts of his life, and it is also said that he was but 11 years old, all of which may be erroneous. He is constantly named in commercial records from '30, when he was agent for Capt. Cooper at Mont., travelling much of the time, but making Mont. his home, and joining the comp. extranjera in '32. iii. 221. In '35 he went to Los Ang. as agent for Larkin; in '36 is named in a padron as a trader, aged 33; and from this year to '40 and later was owner of the *Aguacho* schr, making trips up and down the coast. iv. 101, 117. Perhaps arrested as a matter of form in '40. iv. 17. From '42 in partnership with Fitch and Paty, but it is hard to say what place he regarded as home; I have many letters written by him at different points. From '43 the firm had a store at S.F. v. 682; in '44–5 McK. took a leading part at Los Ang. in the movement of southern foreigners against Micheltorena. iv. 495, 505–8; also in '44–5 was one of the purchasers of the mission estates of S. Juan Cap. and S. Luis Ob. iv. 553, 627, 655, 659; v. 558. In '46 he seems to have transferred his residence from Los Ang. to Mont., where in Jan. '47 he was placed under arrest by Lieut Maddox with a view of extorting information about Calif. operations in the south. *Alviso, Doc.*, 209–10. He married Cármen, daughter of José Amesti, in '48; was claimant in '52 for ranchos in Mont. and S. Luis Ob. counties. iv. 655; and died at Mont. in '75, leaving several children. Don Santiago was a man of good repute throughout his long career in Cal. I have a letter from his mother in '43. McK. (J.), 1841, boatswain on the U. S. *St Louis*. McKinney (Wm S.), 1847, mr of the *Primavera*. v. 580. McKinstry (Geo., Jr), 1846, overl. immig., who became the 1st sheriff of the northern district at Sutter's Fort '46–7. v. 675; active in relief measures for the Donner party, v. 538, on which subject his letters were published in the S.F. *Star;* passenger on the 1st steamer to Sac. '47. v. 579; also owner of a S.F. lot. v. 678. He was somewhat prominent in public affairs at Sac. in early mining times; and had a trading post on the Cosumnes '49–50. I find no record of him from that time till '71–4, when he was a physician at Old S. Diego, and gave me the valuable original *McKinstry Papers*, including some of his summons to jurors, etc., as sheriff; and also some important records on the Donner party. He was an eccentric character while at S. Diego, spending much of his time in long tours among the Ind. Beyond a vague rumor of his death before '80, I have no trace of him after '74.

McLanahan (T.), 1847, mid. on the U. S. *Columbus;* doubtful. McLane, 1846, mr of the *Paladin*. v. 579. McL. (Geo.), 1839, at Mont. '39–40; named in Larkin's books. McL. (Louis), 1846, nat. of Del. b. '19, entered the navy '35, and came to Cal. as passed mid. on the *Savannah*. He served with Fauntleroy's dragoons. v. 232, 289; and took a prominent part in recruiting and organizing the Cal. Bat., becoming capt. of the artill. comp., and later in the campaign ranking as maj. vi. 359, 361. He was one of Frémont's commissioners who signed the treaty of Cahuenga, closing the war. v. 404–5, 434. In '50 he resigned his position in the navy and returned to Cal. to engage in a series of important industrial and financial enterprises, being manager of Wells, Fargo, & Co.'s express from '55 to '68, and of the Nevada bank from '75 to '82. He left Cal. a little later, but is still living in '8[illegible] was Sophie Hoffman of Baltimore, and there were 8 children. [illegible] *Contemp. Biog.* McLannan, 1846, from Hon. on the *Euphemia*. McLarey, 1846, sergt Co. B, artill. Cal. Bat. v. 358. McLean (Geo.), 1817, mr of the *Currency Lass* '47–8; perhaps 'McLane' of '39. McLean, 1848, kept a furniture shop at S.F., of firm McL. & Osburn. v. 678. McL. (James D.), 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). McL. (Wm S.), [illegible] ditto. McL., 1848, at S.F. from Tahiti. McLeod (Alex. R.), 1828, [illegible] of H. B. Co. hunters from the N. iii. 161; iv. 263. McL. (Evan), [illegible] 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). McL. (John C.), 1834, Scotch sailor on the *Bonanza* (?), in '34–6. iii. 412; returned to Cal. '50; and lived at Vallejo '60–79. *Solano Co. Hist.* McL. (John M.), 1838, on the *Cadboro*, agent of H.B.Co. McLine (Joseph), 1848, owner of a S.F. lot. McLoughlin (John), 1841, chief factor of the H.

B. Co., who visited Cal. on the *Cowlitz*. iv. 216–18, 250, 564; see also *Hist. B. Col.* and *Hist. Or.* McLown (Wm), 1839, sailor under arrest at S.F.

McMahon (Green), 1841, nat. of Mo., and overl. immig. of the Bartleson party. iv. 270, 275, 279. He went to Or., but returned in '45 with a party to which I have given his name. iv. 572–4. Possibly there was a James McM. in the same party. v. 573. He settled on Putah Creek, Solano Co., and died at Dixon in '84 at the age of 65. By the death notice it appears that his name was Samuel G. McM. (Jeremiah), 1848, Irishman at Mont. '47–8; seems to have died about '56. McM. (Nelson), 1841, brother of Green, and one of the Bartleson party. iv. 270, 275. He went east or to Or., and I think did not return to Cal., though he is mentioned also as one of the Clyman party of '45. iv. 573. McM. (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). McManus (James), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. '52. McMichael (Grove C.), 1848, nat. of Mo.; a gambler of good repute, killed in S.F. '54. McM. (Wm), 1831 (?), a sailor said to have visited Cal. about this time. iii. 405; settled at S.F. '51; a wharf superintendent '53–4; d. at sea '59, at the age of 55. McMillan, 1845, in charge of Sutter's launch; also called McMullen. McM. (Chas), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. after '60. McMonigle (Simpson), 1846, overl. immig. with Young. v. 529; served in Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); at Los Ang. '48.

McNamara (Eugene), 1846, Irish priest who had a grand scheme for colonizing Cal. with Irishmen to the glory of God and the discomfiture of the Yankees. His project has been generally given more importance in connection with English plans than it deserved. McN. came to Cal. on the *Juno*. iv. 592; v. 37, 215–23, 577, 636. McNeilly (John), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336). McPhail, 1848, from Or. with Brooks. McPherson (Chas J.), 1847, musician Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); living in N.Y. '84. McP. (Geo.), 1847, musician, ditto; d. Morrisania, N.Y., '69. McP. (James), 1826, on the *Rover;* on Larkin's books at Mont. '38; I have his autograph of '43.

McPherson (John C.), 1848; Scotchman of good education and considerable ability as a writer; but eccentric to the verge of insanity, and almost constantly under the influence of liquor in his later years. It is not quite clear how he came, but apparently overl. from Mo., where he had been a teacher; though it is also said that he went to Texas and served in the Mex. war. He appeared in the mines in '48, and is mentioned by Burnett and others as the author of a popular song, 'Yuba, dear Yuba,' and other poetical effusions. He spent his later years in wandering about the country and writing pioneer sketches for the newspapers, under the signature of Juanita. Many of his sketches were of real value. though generally overburdened with eulogy; and the author was always an inoffensive, kind-hearted man. In '80 he fell through the [illegible]-work of a railroad bridge over the Tuolumne Riv. and was killed. [illegible] (Peter), 1836, at Mont. McQuien (D.), 1848, passp. from [illegible]

McRae (A[illegible]), 1846, mid. U.S.N., bearer of despatches from Wash. v. 287. McR[illegible] murdered by Scott at Sonoma. McSpadden (James), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). McRoberts (J.), 1845; mid. on the U. S. *Witen*[illegible]. McT[illegible] (Donald), 1826, sup. of the *Colonel*. ii. 278. McT. (Duga[illegible]) to 1846, agent of the H. B. Co., visiting Cal. to sell the property of the comp. iv. 59[illegible]. McTucker (Henry), 1837, Amer. named in Larkin's book '37–41 as being in the Mont. district; perhaps arrested in '40. iv. 118, 17. In '42 he was in [illegible] Sutter's trappers, but quarrelled with S.; in '44 at S.F., age 24; took [illegible] the Micheltorena campaign, capturing Manuel Castro. iv. 486–7; in '45 [illegible] at Mont. and at N. Helv., where he had a fight with Geo. Davis. [illegible] record that I have found is that he left the fort Jan. '46 for Son[illegible]

Mace (P.), 1845, doubt[illegible] man at Cahuenga. iv. 595. Machado, ment. in '19, '23. ii. 354, 550. M., 1875, mr of the *Republicano*. iv. 568. M. (Agustin), at Los Ang. from '24. ii. 526; juez de campo '38, and grantee of Ballona '39. iii. 663, 636; age 42 in '39; juez de campo '48. v.

626; justice of peace in '56. M. (Andrés), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Antonio Ignacio), regidor at Los Ang. '33, '38–9 acting síndico and alcalde. iii. 635–6; died in '78 at the age of 81. M. (Barbara), at Los Ang. '48. M. (Benito), 1834, mr of the *Jóven Dorotea*. iii. 382. M. (Eugenio), celador at Mont. '44. iv. 431. M. (Dolores and Francisco), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Hilario), at Los Ang. '19–27. M. (Ignacio), at Los Ang. '38–48; grantee of Aguaje del Centinela '44; age 33 in '39. iii. 565; iv. 634. M. (Jesus), at S. Bern. '46; cl. for Buenavista '52. iv. 620. M. (José), at S. Bern. '46, age 27. M. (José Ant.), at Los Ang. '46. M. (José María), soldier of S.F. comp. '39; at Los Ang. '46. M. (Juan), at S. Diego '40. iii. 610; at Los Ang. '46. M. (Juana), daughter of José Manuel, a corp. of the S. Diego comp., and widow of Thos Ridington, who at S. Diego in '78, at the age of 64—though apparently about 40—gave me an interesting narrative of *Tiempos Pasados de Cal.* She has a son and 4 married daughters. M. (Manuel), regidor at S. Diego and in charge of Rosario rancho in '36. iii. 612, 615. M. (María Ant.), claimant for Las Vírgenes rancho. iii. 634. Machuca (José S.), a settler at Branciforte 1797. i. 569.

Maciel (Luis G.), 1842, Mex. lieut of the batallon fijo, suspended from his rank '43. iv. 289, 354, 364; but signed the treaty of Sta Teresa in '44. iv. 470. Mack (John W.), 1847, carpenter at Mont. '47–8; at Angel's Camp '49. M. (Wm), 1846, one of the Mormon col., who prob. did not come to Cal. v. 547. Macomb (Wm H.), 1847, lieut U.S.N., and acting mr of the *Lexington*.

Macondray (Fred. W.), 1822, nat. of Mass. and sailor on the *Panther*, which touched at Mont. from Chile. ii. 478. Subsequently he was mr of trading craft and remained some years in China. In '49 he came back to Cal. with his family and established the firm of M. & Co., being a prominent citizen of S.F. to the date of his death in '62. M. (John Oliver E.), 1832, brother of Fred. W., who came from Boston on the *Newcastle* with Larkin, having a consignment of goods. iii. 208. His name appears on Larkin's books '33–7; in '36 he was a clerk for Watson, being then 29 years old; taking some part with other foreigners in the revolutionary events of '36, and especially aiding in retaking Mont. from the Mex. who had revolted against Alvarado. For this service he thought he had a claim on the U.S. (!) for 3 leagues of land in Cal., writing from Dorchester in Oct. '46 to Larkin on the subject, and enclosing a letter from his brother. He was about to sail for China, proposing to come to Cal. later. Macy (Alex.), 1826, mr of the *Pe[illegible]ian*.

Madariaga (Bonifacio), Mex. clerk at Mont. from about [illegible] comis. de policía and regidor in '36–7. iii. 675. In '36 age 27, wife [illegible] Vallejo de Estrada (mother of Gov. Alvarado), children Dolores [illegible] Francisco '33. He went to Mex. in '42. Maddox (Wm A. T[illegible]), lieut of marines U.S.N. on the *Cyane* and *Congress*. After the occupation of Los Ang. he came to Mont. by land, capturing some Cal. of[illegible] the way, and was made com. of the garrison and of the central district, ranking as capt. in the Cal. Bat. He made an exped. to S. Juan [illegible] to Sta Clara [illegible] his comp. to take part in the final [illegible] 232, 289–90, 294, 358, 360, 383, 519, 639. I have [illegible] after '47. [illegible] Madison (Geo.), 1839, sailor sent away on th[illegible] robbing Spear's [illegible] perhaps [illegible] Joseph M. Mado[illegible] doubtful name at Mont. [illegible] (José M.), Mex. sergt [illegible] Zamorano pronunciamiento of '32. iii. 223.

Magee (Henry), [illegible] N.Y. Vol. [illegible] Diego '71–9. Mager (Adam), 1847, [illegible] Maggard [illegible] Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Magn[illegible]ier), 184[illegible] of the Stevens party. iv. 445, 453. He [illegible] a flour-[illegible] he advertises for sale in the *S. F. Californian* of Ap[illegible] Magnand, and Marquet. Acc. to the *Fresno* [illegible] Oliver and Francis, but the ref. is prob. to Delan[illegible] Mahony (John), 1848, in S.F. list of letter[illegible]

Main (James), 1844, at [illegible] (Russell M.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). Mainsf[illegible] Irish sawyer at Mont., age 30;

perhaps 'Rainsford,' q. v. Maison (Joseph), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Maitorena (José Joaquin), 1801, came to Cal. as cadet of the Sta B. comp.; alférez from 1806; lieut from '27; elected to congress in '28; died in Mex. '30. He was a drunken, good-natured fellow, with some skill as an accountant when sober. Biog. iii. 45–6; ment. ii. 47, 100, 109, 117, 238, 361, 364, 424, 530–1, 536–7, 571–2, 576, 676; iii. 61, 64, 88. Majors (Alex.), 1845 (?); later of the pony-express firm of Russell, M., & Waddell; doubtful date of arrival. iv. 587. At S.F. '70.

Majors (Joseph L.), 1834, nat. of Tenn.—some accounts say of Ky, Va, or Ohio—who came from N. Mex., perhaps with Graham. iii. 388, 412. At Los Ang. in Nov. '34 he signed, with other foreigners, a protest against being obliged to do military duty. In '35 he seems to have settled in the Sta Cruz region, and from that year his name appears often in Larkin's accounts and other records. He was one of Graham's men in the troubles of '36–8; and acc. to Job Dye's statement bought Tomlinson's interest in the Zayante distillery about '37, selling out to Dye a few years later. In '39 he was naturalized, calling himself Juan José Crisóstomo, prob. a name received at baptism in N. Mex. or Cal. About the same time he married María de los Angeles Castro, by whom he had 19 children. (See 'Marones.') He was arrested in '40 but soon released. iv. 17, 22, 24; receiving in '41 grants of the S. Agustin and Zayante ranchos, the latter of which he sold to Graham. iv. 655–6; yet in '42 he signed an appeal to the U.S. for indemnity for sufferings while under arrest! In '43 he signed a protest against Graham's offer of the services of foreigners to Micheltorena. iv. 356; and served as juez de campo at Branciforte. iv. 663; in '46 juez de paz, and a witness at the trial of Naile's murderer. v. 641–2; perhaps juez in '47; member of the Sta Cruz council '48. v. 642; alcalde and sub-prefect '49–50, and chosen delegate to the constit. convention. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, 102. He was claimant for the S. Agustin rancho, and a rich man in those years, but subsequently lost most of his property, dying in '68 at Sta Cruz, where his widow still lived in '80. Makárof, 1814, mr of the *Suvirof* '14–15. ii. 274, 306, 373. Malaco, a Suisun chief '17. ii. 339.

Malarin (Juan), 1820, nat. of Peru, and mr of the *Señoriano* in Cal. '20–2. ii. 293, 439–40, 467. In '24 he came back as mr of the *Apolonia*. ii. 518; and in '25 was chosen by Gov. Argüello to take the *Asia* and *Constante* prizes to Acapulco. iii. 26; for which service he was made a lieut in the Mex. navy. About the same time he married Josefa Estrada, and made Monterey his home, though still going to sea. Mentioned in '29–30, being partido-elector. ii. 613; iii. 49–50, 76, 82; signed the Zamorano pronunc. '32, being called into service as alférez. iii. 223, 672; in '33 mr of the *Leónidas*, capt. of the port, and grantee of Guadalupe rancho. iii. 383, 673, 677; ment. in '37–8. iii. 501; iv. 104; grantee of Chualar and mr of the *Cervantes* '39. iii. 677; iv. 102; justice and president of the tribunal superior '41–5. iii. 605; iv. 296, 357, 532; in '46 member of the Mont. council and of the 1st jury. v. 289, 637. He died in '49 or '50 at the age of nearly 60, leaving a large estate. Don Juan was a quiet, unobtrusive man of excellent character and much influence. His children in '36 were María Isabel, b. '26, Mariano '28, Concepcion '32, Urbano '35. One of the daughters married Cárlos Olvera, and lives, as does Urbano, at Chualar; and there was another son, Ignacio, a money-broker at S.F. in '83. M. (Mariano), son of Juan, educated in Peru; executor of his father's estate, and in that capacity successful claimant for the ranchos of Zanjones, Guadalupe, and Chualar; judge of first instance at Mont. '49; coroner '50–1; supervisor '56; member of the assembly '58–60; later a wealthy resident of Sta Clara, where he still lives in '85.

Malaspina (Alejandro), 1791, Spain. com. of an exploring exped. touching at Mont. i. 490–2, 498, 506. ii. 61. Malcolm, 1848, from Or. by sea, a companion of Brooks in the mines. M. (Alex. S.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). M. (Julian), 1814, sailor le[illegible] at Mont. by ship *Isaac Todd*. ii. 272, 277. Malcolia, 1848, passp. from Hon. Maldonado, 1821, an actor or revolutionary agent. ii. 431. M. (José Mari[illegible]), perhaps the same. Mex. clerk from Tepic; receptor of customs at Sta B. '33–5. iii. 377, 654; sec. of the

diputacion '34–6. iii. 250, 291, 426, 673; síndico and sec. of Mont. ayunt. '35–6. iii. 674–5. In '36 at Mont. age 38, wife Antonia Velarde, child Vicente, b. in Tepic '26. I have no record of him after his arrest in connection with the revolt of Mexicans against Alvarado in '37. iii. 525. Malherbe, mr of the *Eliza*. iv. 565. Mallett (Chas G.), 1845, Amer. sailor in care of the consul, from the *Warsaw*: shipped for Boston on the *California* or *Vandalia*. Mallogh, 1846, doubtful Irish settler at S. Luis Ob. *Quigley*. Mallory, 1846, mr of the *Prescott*. v. 580. Malloy (Ed.), 1845, deserter from the *Hopewell* at S. Diego. Malo (José Ramon), grantee of Purísima and Sta Rita ranchos, Sta B. '45. iv. 653; v. 558; at Sta Inés '54. Maltok (Richard), 1842, Engl. lumberman at S.F.

Manchester (Alex.), 1845, sailor on the *María* or *Morea*. M. (Thomas), 1846, overl. immig.; served in Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); owner of S.F. lot '48; in the mines '48; drowned in S.F. bay before '69. Mancilla (Tomás), Dominican friar in L. Cal. who visited S. Diego '29–30. ii. 552; v. 620. Mancisidor (Juan Ignacio), 1822, Span. supercargo of the *Col Young*, '22–3. ii. 474, 293; iii. 118. He came back in '25 on the *Thos Nowlan* and remained as agent of a Lima firm, being a resident of Los Ang. from '27. He was obliged to quit the country in '30 under the law expelling Span., and in spite of his petition of '28 to be allowed to remain. iii. 51–2, 100, 145. He had no family. Mangot, 1848, mr of the *Con de Talcahuano*. Manjares (Graciano), Mex. grantee of Saucito '33. iii. 679; in '36 age 35, wife Maximiana Góngora, child. Domingo b. '29, José '30, Ponciano '31, Estanislao '32, Juana '35; juez auxiliar in '42. iv. 653. Manrique (Miguel), com. of transports 1775, 1797. i. 241, 543. M. (Jose Ant.), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Juan), soldier of Sta B. comp. '32. M. (Julian), at Sta Ana rancho, Los Ang. '39, age 35; in '44 grantee of Laguna. iv. 621. Mansancli (María Ant.), at Mont. '36, nat. of Tepic, apparently the sister of the wife of Munrás. Manser (Jacob), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Manso (Juan), 1844, Span. trader in Virmond's employ; in '45 appointed commissioner to form inventories of the mission estates, and lessee of S. Fernando. iv. 550, 553, 637–8, 643, 683; v. 558, 630, M. (Lúcas F.), 1834, com. of the *Morelos* which brought part of the colony. iii. 267, 269, 383. Manson (Cephus), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). Manuel, N. Mex. of Sta B. garrison '46. v. 316. M. (Andrés and José), grantees of Guajome '45. iv. 621. Maqueda (Juan D.), 1791, piloto in Malaspina's exped. i. 490.

Mapes (Geo. W. and Walker B.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Maple (Dav.), 1847, carpenter on the *Independence*. M. (John), 1847, Co. H, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Marago (V.), grantee of Pauba. iv. 621 (Moraga ?). Maranasio (Tom), 1845, nat. of Oahu, in charge of custom-house boat at Mont. Maraviof, 1825, mr of the *Elena* '25–6. iii. 146. March (Edwin), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. '60. M. (Wm J.), 1847, employed at Fitch's Sotoyoma rancho '77–8. Marchand (J. B.), 1848, owner of S.F. lot. Marchena (Fern.), 1844, ditto. iv. 673. Marcy (Sam.), 1847, 2d mr on the U.S. *Independence*.

Marcy (Wm G.), 1847, A. A. Q. M., U. S. A., commissary of N.Y.Vol. v. 503, 511. A son of the sec. of state at Wash.; went to the mines with Colton in '48; sec. of the constit. conven. '49; member of the legislature '55; pay-master in the navy from '61; at Wash. '71–4; living at Alameda '82. María de Jesus (Madre), 1800, sent from Mex. in charge of foundlings. i. 606. Mariano, leader in Sta B. outbreak '24. ii. 532. M. (Man.), 1828, Mex. convict released in '36. Marin, Ind. chief for whom Marin Co. was named; vaguely mentioned '16–24. ii. 328, 558, 598. Mariné (Fruto), a soldier of Mont. comp. '39. M. (Juan), 1795, Span. artilleryman retired after '21 with rank of lieut de premio from '27; at S. Gabriel '28, age 60. ii. 543; iii. 51; perhaps his name was 'Mariner.' Mariner (Juan), 1785, Span. friar who served at S. Diego till his death in 1800. Biog. i. 654; ment. i. 388, 422, 455, 459, 553, 576–7; ii. 106–7.

Mark (Joseph), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). M. (Louis), 1847, Co. E, ditto; d. before '80. Market (Augustine), 1847, Co. D, ditto. Markham

(Mrs E.), 1846, came to Sta Clara Co.; maiden name not given. Markof (Alex.), 1845, Russ. visitor, who published a narrative. iv. 562. Marks (Chas), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). Marlin (Hen.), 1845, doubtful name of an immig. iv. 578. Marones (José), at Branciforte '45, age 33, wife María Castro, child. José Joaq. b. '40, María '41, Danira (?) '42, Santa (?) '43, Roberto '44. I think this may be intended for 'Majors, q.v. Maroni (Fran.), at Mont. '39–41. Marple (Dav.), see 'Maple.' Marquet, 1845, doubtful member of Frémont's party. iv. 583. *Martin.* Marquez (Fran.), grantee of Boca de Sta Mónica. iii. 633; a blacksmith, age 47.

Marquez (Manuel), 1842, Mex. lieut of the batallon fijo '42–5. iv. 289; implicated as an accomplice in a poisoning case and transferred to Sta B. '43. iv. 364, 641; adj. and instructor of the S. Luis Ob. defensores '44. iv. 407; at Mont. Apr. '46. v. 41. M. (Rafael), soldier killed by Ind. on the Colorado 1781. i. 363. Marquinez (Marcelino), 1810, Span. friar who served chiefly at Sta Cruz, and left Cal. in '17. Biog. ii. 387; ment. ii. 149, 159–60, 218, 326, 384, 394, 421.

Marron (Jesus), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Juan María), had a house at S. Diego '21. ii. 546; took part in the revolution of '31. iii. 201; regidor '35–6, an elector in '36, being owner of the Cueros de Venado rancho attacked by Ind. iii. 483, 611, 615; iv. 67. He was juez suplente in '39–40. iii. 616; owner of land at S. Juan Cap. '41. iv. 626; grantee of Agua Hedionda '42. iv. 620; and juez in '44. iv. 540. In '45 he was elector de partido and admin. of S. Luis Rey. iv. 540, 620–1; 623–4; and in '46 alcalde. v. 325, 329, 618–19. He died in '56. His widow, Felipa Osuna, b. at S. D. 1809, and still living there in '78, gave me her *Recuerdos* of early times, to which is attached a col. of original *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, presented by her brother. Marsh (Eton S.), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. v. 685. M. (Geo.), 1826, purser of H. B. M. S. *Blossom* in Beechey's exped. iii. 121.

Marsh (John), 1836, nat. of Mass. and graduate of Harvard, who after residing in Wisconsin and Mo. spent 6 years in New Mex. and Sonora, and came to Cal. early in Jan. '36 from Sta Fé. iv. 117–18. Presenting his diploma as a physician to the ayunt. of Los Ang. he got in Feb. a license to practise medicine; but came to the north early in '37, in which year Edwards met him in the Mont. district, v. 86, and from which time his name appears on Larkin's books. He seems to have travelled considerably in the northern districts, but in a year or two became the owner of the rancho of Los Médanos—also called Pulpunes, Umpines, and later New York, at the foot of Mt Diablo, near the modern Antioch—granted to Noriega in '35. Here he built a rude hut and spent the rest of his life, gradually accumulating wealth in live-stock. In '40 he was arrested but not exiled, had some dealings with Sutter, and wrote letters to Mo. for the purpose of encouraging immigration. iv. 9, 17, 23–4, 134, 265. In '41 he received the 1st immig. party, Bartleson's, at his rancho, and afforded them much assistance, though he made the new-comers pay well for his services and grievously offended many of them by his meanness. iv. 272–5, 347. The officers of the U.S. ex. ex. also came in contact with him this year, and Dr Pickering, *Races of Men*, 102; *Wilkes' Narr.*, v. 193–4, mentions the Dr as his former classmate and friend. His *Letter to Com. Jones*, of '42, on the state of the country, is a doc. of some value, as the writer was an intelligent, observant man. iv. 348. In '44 he was naturalized; and in '44–5 joined Sutter's force against the Californians, with a view to disorganize it, made a contract with the govt to furnish Ind. horse-thieves in comp. with Capt. Gantt, and signed at S. José the call to foreigners. iv. 486, 491, 516–17, 543, 599. He took but slight part in the troubles of '46–7, v. 7, 17, 641, leading for the most the life of a hermit, though he wrote a long letter to Lewis Cass on the country and its prospects. He took much interest in politics, desiring to see Cal. in possession of the U.S., but not favoring filibusterism. In '48 his house was robbed, and he tried his fortune in the mines. He was murdered, by a party of young Californians, on the road between his rancho and Martinez in '56, at the age of 52. One of the murderers was sent to prison for life some ten years later. Dr M. was a peculiar and gen-

erally disagreeable man, whose notorious parsimony kept him constantly in trouble with most that came in contact with him; yet he was apparently an honest man, of more than ordinary ability, and several of the Californians, among them Vallejo, speak of him in terms of warm praise. He left a son in the east, who is said to have joined him just before his death; he seems to have had some children by an Indian woman; and John Currey, who was his attorney and gives much information about him, states that about '51 he married a teacher from Mass., who died a few years later.

Marshall, 1846, widow, married to James Smith at N. Helv.; perhaps mother of Henry. M. (Earl), 1846, nat. of N.J. and one of the Mormon col., with his wife, Letitia Dorsey. v. 46. A milkman at S.F.; in Alameda Co. from '50; died '81, leaving a widow. Portrait in *Alam. Co. Hist.*, 24. M. (Henry), 1845, Engl. immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party, with mother, brother, and sisters. iv. 579, 587. He was employed by Sutter, and during the Bear revolt was stationed at the fort, v. 79, 125, but later enlisted in the Cal. Bat. and was wounded at Natividad, v. 369, 371, recovering in time to serve with Weber in the Sta Clara campaign (v. 379). After the war he lived at Sonoma, Petaluma, and Benicia, going to the mines in '48. In '50 he settled in Green Valley, Sonoma Co., where he still lived in '78. His reminiscences as given to R. A. Thompson are in my collection, and were published in the *S. J. Pion.*, Aug. 10, '78. His sister Eliza was the wife of James Gregson; another was Mary A. Marshall (James W.), 1845, nat. of N.J., a carriage-maker and carpenter by trade, who came overland to Or. in '44, and in the McMahon-Clyman party to Cal. the next year. iv. 572, 574, 587. He entered Sutter's employ and is often named in the *N. Helv. Diary* '45–8. He seems to have taken part in the Bear revolt (v. 101), and to have gone south with the Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Returning north he resumed his work at the fort, and in Aug. formed a partnership with Sutter to build a saw-mill on the Amer. River, selecting a site at Coloma and beginning work at once, with half a dozen workmen. Here in Jan. '48 he made the famous discovery of gold, for full particulars of which see vol. vi. There have been attempts to show that M.'s companions have been deprived of the credit due them in this connection; but it seems clear that M. was the first to see the metal, and his visit to the fort Jan. 28th on 'very important business' is recorded in the *Diary*. He is doubtless entitled to his fame as the discoverer of gold. Sutter has also been praised as the real discoverer, and indeed if he had not settled in the Sac. Val., or Cabrillo had not discovered Cal., or Columbus America, the 'glittering particles' might have been found by another man under different circumstances. Marshall was not able to protect his mill and land at Coloma from the raids of miners and lawyers, and for many years led the life of a miner and prospector without much luck. In '70 his *Life and Adventures*, by Geo. F. Parsons, was published at Sac.; and subsequently a small pension was paid M. for some years by act of the legislature. He is still living in '85 at the age of 73, and seems always to have borne a good character. I have an original daguerreotype taken in early years; and his portrait may also be found in the *Annals of S. F.: Plumas Co. Hist.*, etc. (He died near Coloma in Aug. '85, after the above was written.)

Marshall (John), 1845, brother of Henry and overl. immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 579, 587; at Sonoma '47. M. (John), 1836, Amer. age 45, in a Los Ang. list. M. (Joseph), 1836, on Larkin's books '36–7. M. (Robert), 1834, mr of the *Catalina* '34–5, '43. iii. 381; iv. 564. M. (Wm), 1845, Amer. deserter from the *Hopewell* at S. D. iv. 587; in '46 in charge of Warner's rancho charged with theft in April. *S. D. Arch.*, 320; and in Dec. entertained Kearny and his dragoons. v. 339. A little later he was an instigator of the Pauma massacre, for which crime he was hanged in '51. v. 589. M. (Wm P.), 1841, Engl. physician on the *Index;* at Mont. '42. Marst (Wm), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. Marston (J. D.), 1847, teacher at S.F. v. 656–7, 685; married Mar. '48 to Miss S. Still. M. (Ward), 1846, capt. of marines on the U.S. *Savannah;* in com. of S.F. garrison; and of the force that marched to Sta Clara against Sanchez Jan. '47. v. 380–3, 659.

Martell (James L.), 1846, purser's clerk on the U.S. *Dale* and *Southampton;* disch. '49 and lived at S.F. to '85, being part of the time a custom-house officer. Martiarena (José Manuel), 1794, Span. friar and founder of S. Juan Bautista, where he served to 1804 when he left Cal. Biog. ii. 153–4; ment. i. 500, 557–8, 576, 689, 712; ii. 131, 159–60. Martin, 184?, of M. & Dent, Mont., '47–8. M., 1848, came with family in party of Peter J. Davis. *Sta Clara Co. Hist.*, 660. M., 1848, leader of a party from Or. *El Dorado Co. Hist.*, 182. M. (Augustus), 1847, a witness at Los Ang.

Martin (Dennis), 1844, overl. immig. of the Stevens party, iv. 445, with his father and brother, returning in '45 to rescue Schallenberger at Donner Lake and the party left on the Yuba. iv. 454. He worked for Sutter in '45–6, but I find no definite record of him in the troubles of '46–7, or in mining times of '48–9. He was a hunter and lumberman, settling in S. Mateo Co., where he still lived in '78 and later. M. (Ed.), 1847, sergt Co. C, Morm. Bat. v. 477; in '82 at Salt Lake City. M. (Edw. J.), 1848, nat. of Ireland, who came by sea from Chile in Nov. He became prominent in various enterprises, being for many years treasurer and sec. of the Hibernia Bank. He died in '80 at the age of '61, leaving 8 children. M. (Jesse B.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Sutter's service at the discov. of gold '48.

Martin (Fernando), 1811, Span. friar who served at S. Diego till his death in '38. Biog. iii. 619; ment. ii. 345, 394, 551–2, 655; iii. 19, 91, 96, 102, 317; iv. 63. M. (John), 1822, Engl. or Scotch sailor who left the *Orion*. ii. 478. In '24 he was admitted to the church at S. Juan B. ii. 526; in '29 had been living for several years at S.F. presidio; in '30 was at Mont. ii. 609; in '31 he got permission to cultivate a league of land at Gotoqui, or S. Patricio; at S.F. '32. He was known as the 'old Scotch carpenter,' and lived for some time at Reed's rancho, being in '37 on the Corte de Madera de Novato rancho, Marin Co., which was granted him in '39. iv. 86, 117; iii. 711; owner of S. F. lots '41–5. iv. 669; v. 684; in '46 applied for land in S. José dist. I find nothing about him after his claim before the land com. in '52. M. (John), 1848, passp. from Hon. M. (Juan), 1794, Span. friar who served 27 years at S. Miguel, where he died in '24. Biog. ii. 620; ment. i. 561, 576, 664, 675; ii. 45, 149–50, 159, 325–6, 384, 394, 655.

Martin (Julius), 1843, nat. of N. C. and overl. immig. of the Walker-Chiles party, with wife, Elizabeth McPherson, and 3 daughters. iv. 393, 400. Early in '44 he settled, or established his family, in the Gilroy region, working at different places for a few years; prob. in Sutter's force '44–5. iv. 486. I have his letter of July '45. In '46 he served under Frémont and Fauntleroy. v. 16, 22 (232); and later commanded a comp. of S.F. volunteers in the Sanchez campaign. v. 381; owner of S.F. lots '47. v. 684; at N. Helv. '48. From '50 he lived on his farm near Gilroy, owning also land in Napa, though he finally lost most of his property. He was blind from about '61; still living in '81, and I think in '85 at the age of 81. His 3 daughters that crossed the plains were Mary wife of P. B. Tully, Arzelia Mrs Lewis, and Martha Mrs Oldham; three others born in Cal.—one of them perhaps in '44—were Susan Mrs Bartlett, Georgie Mrs Johnson, and Julia Mrs Hornback. M. (J.B.), 1847, nat. of Va, and one of the earliest settlers of Ione Val., having crossed the plains with Childers and Hicks. Claimant for the Cosumnes rancho. iv. 671; still living at Sutter Cr. '81. M. (Montgomery), 1846, lieut in Cal. Bat. on detached service. v. 360; clerk for Larkin '47; and still at Mont. '48. M. (Patrick), 1844, Irish immig. of the Stevens party with his sons Dennis and Patrick, Jr. iv. 445, 453; owner of S.F. lot '47. His daughter married James Murphy.

Martin (Thomas S.), 1845, nat. of Tenn. b. '18, resid. of St Louis '40–5, and one of Frémont's party in '45. v. 583, 587. He served in Co. A, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); went east with F. in '47; and came back in the exped. of '48–9. In '49–53 a horse-trader in dif. regions; then settled with a wife at Sta B., still to some extent a trader and hunter, also serving as city marshal and deputy sheriff. In '78 he gave me a *Narrative of Frémont's Exped.*, which is in some respects valuable, as the official journal has never been published, but is

marred by the author's tendency to claim participation in many Cal. events which he can only have known by hearsay. Many parts are notably accurate; and others have but slight foundation in truth. iv. 505; v. 107, 168–9, 172, 189. M. (Wm H.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of a S.F. lot; at Oakland '71; d. Stanislaus Co. '74. M. (Wm J.), 1843, Amer. mason who came overland in the Chiles-Walker party. iv. 393, 400; though sometimes accredited to the Stevens party of '44. iv. 446; still living '72. Martinau (A.), 1846, Co. B, artill. Cal. Bat. (v. 358).

Martinez (Agustin), juez de campo '31, '46, in Mont. dist. iii. 672, 637, 566. M. (Andrés), at S. José '41, age 40, wife María de J. Narvaez, child. Jesus M. b. '34, Antonio '36, Luciana '21, Mariana '27, Cármen '28, Flavia '31, Concepcion '33; Cal. claim '46–7 (v. 462). Still at S. José '50. M. (Bartolomé) soldier at Soledad 1791–1800. i. 499. M. (Blas), at Salinas, Mont., '36, age 40, wife Josefa Amézquita, child. Eugenio b. '21, María Josefa '23, José '26, Emiliana '27, Francisca '30, Leon '32, Juan '33; grantee of Tucho '35, iii. 679, and of Laureles '39. M. (E.), sentenced to presidio '45. iv. 654. M. (Estévan), 1779, com. of the S. Blas transports on the coast, 1779–99. i. 328–9, 378. 430, 444, 505. M. (Felipe), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Francisco), Span. age 45, who left Cal. on the *Thos Nowlan*. iii. 51.

Martinez (Ignacio), 1800, nat. of the city of Mex. b. 1774, who entered the mil. service as cadet of the Sta B. comp. in 1799. i. 639; promoted to alférez of the S. Diego comp. from 1806, being also much of the time habilitado. ii. 99–101, 110, 341, 424–5, 540. In '17 he was recommended for promotion to lieut of the Sta B. comp., but by some error at Madrid or Mex. the commission was made out for the S.F. comp., and to S.F. he had to go much against his will, his name appearing on the rolls—as comandante in '22–7 and from '28—down to '32, taking part in some Ind. exped., as fiscal in some criminal cases, and being otherwise mentioned in connection with routine duties of his position, besides being a member of the junta or diputacion in '24, '27. ii. 235, 361, 370, 440, 500, 512–13, 537–8, 583–4, 592, 640; iii. 20, 36–7, 64, 75, 88, 110, 121, 132, 156, 186, 191–2, 701. In '31 he was retired with use of uniform and full pay, being credited with 41 years of service. Meanwhile he had obtained, in '29, the Pinole rancho, Contra Costa, regranted in '42. iv. 672; and here—after having apparently lived at S. José for several years, being regidor in '34–5, and serving as comisionado for the secularization of S. Rafael in '34—he went to live in '36 or a little later. ii. 594, 664; iii. 193, 346, 716, 718, 730. In '37 he was alcalde at S.F. iii. 703, 705, 552; suplente of the junta '39. iii. 590; a creditor of Sutter. iv. 132, 134; defeated the Ind. in '40. iv. 76; and entertained Wilkes in '41. iv. 245. He was living at Pinole in '41 with his wife, Martina Arellanes, age 53, and 6 daughters, Encarnacion b. 1808, Susana '24 (who soon married Capt. Hinckley, and after his death Wm M. Smith), Francisco '24, Rafaela '27, María '29, and Dolores '31. Another daughter, María Antonia, was the wife of Capt. Richardson; others married Victor Castro and Dr Tennant. His son Vicente J., b. in '18, was still living in Contra Costa '82, with seven children by two wives, Guadalupe Moraga and Nieves Soto. I cannot give the date of Don Ignacio's death, but it was before '52, when his heirs were claimants for Pinole. He was not popular as an officer, being haughty and despotic, as it seemed to his men, and he was several times reproved and unfavorably criticised by his superior officers; but as a ranchero he is spoken of as a very courteous and hospitable man. The town of Martinez takes its name from him or his family. M. (Ignacio), at S.F. '43, age 23; also named—perhaps another—as lieut of militia at S. José '37. iii. 732.

Martinez (José), 1875, com. of the *Asia*. iii. 24–5, 146. M. (José), son of Ignacio, lieut of militia at S.F. '37. iii. 701; in '41 living in S. José dist., age 27, wife Cármen Peralta, children Rafael b. '39, Alejandro '41; Cal. claim '46–7 (v. 462). He was noted for his liberality and for his skilful horsemanship, but was killed in '64 from an entanglement with his riata. A second wife was an English woman named Tennant. M. (José Ignacio), soldier killed by Ind. on the Colorado, 1781. i. 359–62. M. (José de Jesus), at Los Ang. '46

M. (José Manuel), ditto. M. (José María), settler at S. José before 1800; alcalde in 1797 and 1806. i. 716, 719; ii. 134. His wife was María García, son Máximo, brother Reyes, sister Juana. M. (Josefa), grantee of land in Mont. Co. '44–5. iv. 656. M. (Juan), soldier killed on the Colorado, 1781. i. 359, 362. M. (Juan), at Mont. '36, age 36, wife Francisco García, child. Cármen b. '25, José Blas '26, Francisco '29, María '34. M. (Juan, Juan Andrés, and Leonor), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Juan de Jesus María), 1831, Dominican from L. Cal., at San Gabriel, '31–2. iii. 311, 641. M. (Leocadio), carpenter and settler at S.F. and S. José before 1800. i. 499, 634, 716, 718.

Martinez (Luis Antonio), 1798, Span. friar who served at S. Luis Ob. for 32 years. A very able man and prominent in missionary annals, but rather in the industrial and political than in ecclesiastical phases of his profession. He was banished in '30 for alleged complicity in the Solis revolt, and wrote from Madrid '32–3. Biog. ii. 618–19; ment. i. 689; ii. 148, 204, 219, 224, 235–6, 255, 276, 311, 327, 384, 394, 438, 441, 479, 493, 516–17, 576, 655; iii. 21, 51, 84–5, 92, 94, 98–100. M. (Máximo), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–23; in '33 and '44 grantee of Corte de Madera, Sta Clara. iii. 711; iv. 671; regidor at S. José '33–4. iii. 729–30; in '41 age 51, wife Damiana Padilla, child. Nicolás b. '28, Evinisa (?) '26, José Ant. '33, Dolores '34, José María '35, Guadalupe '38, Clara '41. M. (Miguel), at S. Bern. '46, age 50. M. (Pedro Adriano), 1797, Span. friar who served at S. Juan B. and S. Miguel, retiring in 1804. Biog. ii. 149; ment. i. 558, 577; ii. 159–60. M. (Rafael), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Santiago), N. Mex. at Los Ang. with families, applying for land '42–6. iv. 343, 572, 635. M. (Sixto), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Vicente), son of Ignacio; militiaman S.F. '37; at S. José dist '41, age 29, wife Guad. Moraga, child. Francisco b. '38, Merced '39; síndico of S. José '43. iv. 685; Cal. claim '46–7 (v. 462). Marx (Ernest), 1847, musician N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Mascarel (Joseph), 1844 (?), French mayor of Los Ang. '65, and resident '80. iv. 453. Mashim (Rosistof), 1840, mr of the *Baikal*. iv. 101. Mason, 1848, keeper of a gambling and grog shop at Sta B. M. (Alfred), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. Sac. before '83. M. (E.), 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Mason (Ignacio), at S. Gabriel '39, age 27, a jeweller; perhaps 'Mazon.' M. (John), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). M. (Marcos or Anthony A.), 1816, 'Anglo-Amer. Irishman from Boston,' baptized at S. Cárlos, and recommended by P. Sarría in '17 as about to go to the Philippines. ii. 276–7, 288. M. (M.), 1842, lieut on the U.S. *Cyane*. M. (Richard B.), 1847, colonel 1st U.S. dragoons who arrived in Feb., and on May 31st succeeded Kearny as mil. gov. of Cal., holding that position till Feb. '49. For account of his rule, including his controversy and proposed duel with Frémont, see v. 582, 615; also 416, 436–7, 443–4, 446–7, 451, 455, 464, 515, 571–5, 646, 666, 675; also vol. vi. He performed most satisfactorily the duties of a difficult position, and though by his strict discipline and apparent harshness of manner he made an unfavorable impression in some quarters and inspired bitter enmities, yet his record is that of an honest, faithful, and able officer. He went east by steamer in May '49, and died of cholera at St Louis in that year or the next. His widow married Gen. Don Cárlos Buell, and still lived in '75. Mast (Herman), 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol. under another name; at S.F. '74.

Mata, member of a court-martial at S. Diego '26. ii. 549. M. (Juan de Dios), Mex. convict released in '35. Matamoros (Tomás), murdered in 1805. ii. 191. Matchin (C. F.), 1845, mr of the *Matador*. iv. 567. Mateo, 1818, mulatto from Bouchard's fleet. ii. 230. Mathias (Thos), 1828, in Cal.; autog. letter. Mathers (James), 1846, nat. of N.Y.; settled in Sta Clara; at S. Luis Ob. '58 to his death in '70 at the age of 80. Matias (Juan), at Los Ang. '46. Mathurin (Louis), 1833, Fr. sailor at S.F. '40–1. iii. 409. Matsell (Henry C.), 1847, lieut Co. B, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; trader at S. Diego; in Kansas '71–9. Matt (James), 1848, at Sutter's Fort April. Mattheson (Alex. J.), 1839, Engl. pilot on the schr *California*, implicated in a plot against the capt.; on Larkin's books '40.

Matthews, 1836, Amer. otter-hunter with Nidever. M., 1847, in Sutter's service. M., 1846, at S. José with a son-in-law. *Hittell*. M. (Geo.),

1839, named in Larkin's books '39–40. M. (H.), 1843, witness at S.F. '66. M. (Henry), 1846, arr. in Sept., acc. to Sac. Cal. Pion. rolls; at Benicia '47. iii. 673; at S.F. '60. M. (James), 1834, at Mont. M. (John), 1831, Engl. sailor, who landed from a whaler at S. F. iii. 405, 708–9. On Larkin's books '33–42; naturalized before '40; but this may be one of the following. M. (John), 1836, Italian fisherman, living with the Greek Demedrion at Mont. M., 1836, Amer., age 35, at S. Isidro (Gilroy's); perhaps Matthew, a given name, who was a cook for Murphy in '30. M. (Wm), 1831, Engl. sailor who landed from a whaler at S. Luis Ob. iii. 405. In '36 at Sta B.; came north and appears in various records from '34; in '40 permitted to live at S. F. or Sonoma; arrested but not exiled. iv. 17; from '44 or earlier at Mont., keeping a boarding-house. Matthews' mill is also mentioned in '42. He may be the M. whose wife is said to have furnished some material for the Bear flag. v. 148; and in July he carried despatches from Mont. to S.F. v. 235; starting with Larkin in Nov. at the time of the latter's capture. v. 364. He is vaguely said to have died about '58.

Matute (Juan B.), 1791, com. of the *Aranzazu*, explor. and transport on the coast '91–2, '95–6. i. 493, 506, 517, 537–8. Maube (Arno), 1843, French grantee of land near S. Gabriel; at Sta Cruz '47 with claim against the govt. iv. 400, 615, 637. M. (Henry), 1847, held Larkin's note for $120; perhaps same as preceding. Mauët (John), 1847, at Sutter's Fort. Maun (Francis), 1842, at Sta Cruz. M. (James), 1845, employed at Larkin's soap factory. Maurelle (Antonio), 1775, Span. naval officer on the coast '75, '79, '84; author of a *Journal*. i. 241, 329, 444, 509; see also *Hist. N. W. Coast*, i. Maury (Wm L.), 1841, lieut U.S.N. on the U.S. ex. ex. iv. 241; on the *Warren* '46–7. v. 539. Mavilla (Antonio), 1846, at S. Gabriel '46. Mawrey (James), 1847, servant to an officer in the Morm. Bat. (v. 469).

Maxfield (Wm C.), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. Maxim (Harvey), 1847, sergt Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. i. 519. Maximo, 1799, negro slave of Alberni. i. 639. Maxwell (Chas), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. M. (H.), 1848, settler at Stockton. M. (James W.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). M. (Lucien), 1845, hunter and guide of Frémont's party. iv. 583; v. 24. M. (Richard T.), 1842, nat. of Penn. and asst surg. U.S.N. on the *United States*. iv. 304, 308–9, 341, 348. He returned to Cal. in '54, and became a prominent physician of S.F. In '77 he gave me his *Monterey in '42*, or recollections of the capture of that town by Com. Jones, and also a MS. furnished by Dr Marsh to Jones at that time. He died in '83 at the age of 62, leaving an estate which has been the occasion of much litigation arising from the doctor's death-bed marriage. M. (Wm), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); a farmer in Williams Val., N. Mex., '82. M. (Wm C.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); died before '82. M. (Wm H.), 1847, Co. B, ditto; d. N.Y. city '76.

May (Henry), 1835, nephew of Larkin, bound to Cal. on the *Alert;* no record of arrival. Maya (Ign.), at S. Bern. '46. Mayan (Mrs), 1847, died at N. Helv. July. Mayberry (Ebenezer), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Mayer, 1832, about to visit Cal. from Sitka for scientific purposes; letter of introd. from Khlébnikof to Hartnell. M. (John), 1840, Engl. at Mont. and S.F. Jan., Nov. M. (Lewis W.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518); in the mines '49–50; a German wine-maker, who lived in Sonoma '65–80. Mayfield (Benj. F.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); sergt of reënlisted comp. v. 495; a resid. of S. Luis Ob. Co. '68–83; a nat. of Tenn. Mayhew (John), 1826, on the *Eliza*. Maynard (James), 1837, on Larkin's books; perhaps same as John. M. (John), 1840, Engl. exile with the Graham party; not known to have returned, though he got a license to do so. Maynes (James), 1845, laborer at Mont. Mayo (Geo.), 1816, Mass. sailor, baptized at S. Cárlos. *Taylor;* ii. 276–7. Mazateco (Juan), at Sonoma '44, age 19; prob. a 'Mazateco' Ind. or from Mazatlan.

Mead (James D.), 1841, nat. of Ia, episcopal clergyman, and perhaps physician in the West Indies, who came from N. Mex. in the Workman party, and in '42 went to the Sandwich Isl. or China. iv. 278; said to have been a

bishop later. M. (Orlando F.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); later at Sutter's Fort; at Spanish Fork '82. M. (Sam.), 1832, one of the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221. Meadows (James), 1837, Engl. sailor, who deserted from a whaler at Mont. iv. 117–18. His name appears in the records from '38; one of Graham's riflemen '36–8 (iii. 457); later a lumberman; exiled to S. Blas in '40, but returned in '41 to live as a sawyer in Mont. dist. iv. 18, 23, 33. Not much is known of him in '43–8, except that he is mentioned from time to time as at S. José, Sacramento, or in the mines. He finally settled on the Palo Escrito rancho near Mont., which was confirmed to him in '54, iii. 679, and where he was living in '77 with a native wife and several children. He gave me an interesting narrative of the *Graham Affair*, he being one of the last survivors of the exiles. In respect of accuracy, his account compares favorably with the testimony of others on the subject—which is not paying it a very high compliment. I have not heard in '85 of his death. Mechacken (John C.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Mecham (Henry), 1848 (?), nat. of N.Y. and resid. of Sonoma Co. '53–77.

Meder (Moses A.), 1846, one of the Mormon colony with wife and child. v. 546. A nat. of Ohio, who engaged in the lumber business at Sta Cruz, the firm of Stout, Sirrine, & M. advertising in the *Star* of '47. He worked also for Graham, whose receipt of $36,000 indemnity he claims to have witnessed. Still a resid. of Sta Cruz in '80 and prob. in '85; portrait in *Sta Cruz Co. Hist.*, 44. His 1st wife, Sarah D. Blod, died in '72, and in '73 he married Olive A. Linnett. Medina (Guadalupe), 1842, Mex. lieut of the batallon fijo '42–5; teacher at Los Ang. '43–4; com. of the garrison '45. iv. 289, 321, 403, 492, 629. M. (José), ship's boy and teacher at Sta B. 1797–1800. i. 643. Medrano (José María), artill. sergt at Mont. '26–32. iii. 77, 671–2.

Meehan (Dennis), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); killed at Stockton '49. M. (James), 1847, Co. G, ditto, killed at Los Ang. about '50. M. (Thos), 1847, Co. E, ditto; killed by the steamboat explosion on the S. Joaq. '53. Meek (John), 1829, mr of the *Tamaahmaah* '29, possibly of another craft '25, and of the *D. Quixote* '33–6. iii. 149, 179, 382; iv. 103, 141. He is also said by Wm H. Davis to have visited Cal. as mate of the *Eagle* before '20, possibly M. of the *Amethyst* '11–12. ii. 267. He was a nat. of Mass. who came to the Isl. about '12, and died at Hon. '74 at the age of 85. M. (Joseph), 1833, Rocky Mt. trapper who came with Walker's party, going back to Salt Lake in '34. iii. 390. He visited Cal. again in '48 and later, and died in Or. '75, his adventures being the basis of Mrs Victor's *River of the West*. M. (Stephen H. L.), 1833, nat. of Va and brother of Joseph, also a mountain man who came and departed with Walker. iii. 390, 409. He came back to Cal. after the discov. of gold, possibly having made intermediate trips, and in '76 wrote me a letter from Etna, Siskiyou Co., Cal. M. (Stephen H. L.), 1843, signed a certificate for a sailor at Mont. Sept., and in Jan. '44 he got a passport. Apparently not the preceding. A Dr Meek at Mont. '33 is mentioned by a newspaper writer. M. (Thomas), 1811, perhaps on the *Amethyst* '11–12. ii. 96, 267. Said by Brewer to have gone to Hon. on the *Chinchilla* from Boston in '23; at Hon. '36. iv. 141; d. at Marblehead, Mass., about '41. *Peirce*. M. (Wm), 1848, nat. of Ohio who came from Or. to the mines and went back. In '59 returned to Cal. and settled at S. Lorenzo, Alameda Co., where he became a wealthy farmer, serving also as county supervisor and regent of the university. He died '81 at the age of 65, leaving a widow and 5 children. Portrait in *Alam. Co. Hist.*, 937. Meel (Robert), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358.) Meeres, 1845, possibly of the Grigsby-Ide immig. party. iv. 579.

Mein (John), 1842, mr of the *Bertha & Jenny*. iv. 563. Meineke (A. and D.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Mejía (Hipólito), 1838, killed by Ind. iii. 693. M. (José María), 1842, Mex. capt. in the batallon fijo, who was sent to Mex. by Micheltorena in '44 to obtain aid. iv. 289, 308, 364, 404–5, 461, 471. M. (Juan), settler at S. José 1791–1800. i. 716. Meldguem (John), 1814, Irish deserter from a vessel; in Mont. dist '29, age 40, and single. Melendez, 1796, com. of the *Concepcion*. i. 538. M., 1826, mr of the *Gen. Bravo*. iii. 147. M. (Sebastian), 1602, altérez in Vizcaino's exped. i. 96.

Melleck (Joseph), 1837, in charge of the *Clementina*. M. (Vicente), at Los Ang. '46. Mellish (J.), 1835, at Sta Cruz.

Mellus (Francis), 1839, nat. of Boston, who came on the *California* at the age of 15. iv. 117, 119. He became clerk for A. B. Thompson at Sta B., and on the *Bolivar;* and his *Diary* of trips up and down the coast in '39–40 is an interesting MS. of my collection. In later years he was clerk, travelling agent, and from Jan. '49 partner with his brother in the firm of M., Howard, & Co. at S.F.; and in '50–6 with D. W. Alexander in charge of a branch of the business at Los Ang., where he settled permanently; claimant for Providencia rancho. iv. 635. In '52–3 he was county treasurer, in '54 councilman, in '55 memb. of the legislature, and later in charge of Wells, Fargo, & Co.'s express. He died in '63, leaving a widow—Adelaida, daughter of Santiago Johnson—and 7 children. M. (Henry), 1835, brother of Francis, who came before the mast with Rich. H. Dana on the *Pilgrim*. iii. 413. He left the ship to be agent's clerk, and is named in a Los Ang. list of '36 as 26 years old; but in '37–8 made a trip to the states. Returning in '39 he remained on the coast as agent or supercargo of the vessels of Appleton & Co., including the *Admittance* and *Tasso*, iv. 562, 569, and his name often appears in commercial records of the time, making his home chiefly at Los Ang. In '45 he formed a partnership with W. D. M. Howard, and the firm of M. & H. soon became the most prominent in S.F., buying the H. B. Co. property in '46, v. 699, building the 1st brick store in town, and establishing branches at S. José, Los Ang., and Sac. He became owner of many town lots and a very rich man. In '47 he married Anita, daughter of James Johnson of Los Ang., and in '48 made a visit to the east, and on his return had a stroke of apoplexy, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. In '50 he sold his interest in the firm and went east, subsequently losing most of his wealth in unfortunate business enterprises. About '53 he brought a suit, finally abandoned, against Howard on the plea that he had not been of sound mind at the time of settlement. This created some ill feeling against him in S.F., and it is said that by H.'s influence the name of Mellus St was changed to Natoma. In '59 he came back to Cal. and settled at Los Ang., where he was elected mayor in May '60, but died in Dec. of the same year at the age of 45, leaving a family. Mellus was a man of remarkable business ability, of good character, and of courteous, pleasing manners. Melros (M.), 1846, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list. Meluren (Louis), see 'Mathurin.' Melville, 1848, at S.F. from Tahiti. M. (Hugh), 1845, sailor of the *Morea*, disch. at S.F., and sent to the Mont. hospital. Melvin (James W.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. '74.

Ménard (François), 1846, teamster with Kearny's force from N. Mex. v. 337; killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. M. (Louis), 1844, doubtful member of Frémont's party. iv. 437. Menchaca (R.), 1842, mr of the *Trinidad*. iv. 569. Mendenhall (Wm M.), 1845, nat. of Ohio, and overl. immig. of the Hastings party. iv. 586–7; at Sutter's Fort in '46. I find no further original record of him in early times, but in the county history it is said that in '46–7 he took part in the Bear revolt, went south with Frémont, was commissary at S. José. in the Sanchez campaign, kept a bakery at S.F., and married Mary Allen; in the mines '48; in Or. '49; Sta Clara Co. '50–3, '68–76; Contra Costa '53–60, '65–8, and Alameda Co. '60–65, and from '76 to '85, where he is a prosperous farmer at Livermore, age 62, with nine surviving children: James M., Lizzie Mrs C. H. Lindley, Emma Mrs Black, Ella, Archer, Wm Oswald, Ascey, and Etta. In the earlier records he is called H. and Philip Mendenhall. Portrait in *Alam. Co. Hist.*, 56.

Mendez (Antonio), Mex. com. of artill. at S.F. '31–2. iii. 702; at Mont. '36, age 38, wife Juana Soto, child. Baltasar b. '29, Sofia '31, Evaristo '33; juez aux. '44. iv. 653; had a store, which in '46 was broken open and robbed. M. (Juan Ign.), trader and carpenter from 1798; had a grand commercial scheme 1800. i. 628. M. (Pedro), at Los Ang. '46–8. Mendoza (Antonio), at S. José '41. M. (Antonio), settler killed by Ind. 1781. i. 359, 362. M. (Henriquez), weaver-instructor 1792–5. i. 615. M. (Jaime), resid. of Bran-

ciforte '30. ii. 627. M. (Manuel), soldier at Soledad 1791–1800. i. 499. M (Mariano José), weaver-instructor 1792–1801. i. 615, 658; ii. 174. Menendez (Antonio), 1825, Span. Dominican friar of the L. Cal. frontier, relieved from missionary work for irregular conduct, and employed as chaplain of the troops at S. Diego from '25. ii. 425, 544, 552, 658; iii. 8; quarrelled with Alvarado. iii. 41; in the '28 list of Span., iii. 51, but not sent away; teacher and chaplain of the dip. '29. ii. 548; iii. 43, 77, 141; transferred to Mont. '30. ii. 629; ii. 144, 451; died at Sta B. '32. iii. 317, 656. M., 1792, com. of the *Arranzazu*. i. 517; and of the *Concepcion* in '94. i. 523. M. (José Ant.), Mex. trader '33–9. iii. 242, 623. Meneses (José H.), artilleryman at S. Diego '20. Mensing, 1846, mr of the *Patriot*. v. 579. Menzies, 1847, mr of the *Gen. Kearny*. v. 578; and of the *Louise* in '48. Mequelixt (Michael), 1822. ii. 479; prob. 'McAllister,' q. v.

Mercado (Jesus María Vasquez del), 1833, Mex. friar of the Zacatecanos, who served at S. Rafael, S. Antonio, and Sta Clara, leaving Cal. in '44; a quarrelsome and vicious padre who did much harm, though of good abilities and education. Biog. iv. 682; ment., with record of his controversies, iii. 300, 319, 321–4, 354, 426, 477, 586–7, 686–90, 716, 726; iv. 162, 373, 423, 473. M., sergt at S. Diego, and sometime teacher, '10–11. ii. 424. M. (Mariano), 1342, cornet of batallon fijo. iv. 289. Mercure (H.), 1848, in S.F. letter List. Merclo (Lorenzo), 1799, Span. friar who served for brief term in S.F. and S. Antonio, retiring in 1801. Biog. ii. 152; ment. i. 577, 712; ii. 147, 159. Merino (Agustin), 1797, Span. friar who served at S. José until forced by illness to retire in 1800. i. 555, 577. Merium (W.), 1846, Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Merrick, 1847, lieut ill at Los Ang.; doubtful name. Merrilies (Robert), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518); a Scotchman with no antipathy to whiskey, and fond of Burns' poetry, who deserted, like most of his comrades, for the mines in '48; was at Mont. '58–9; and later a sheep-herder in the south. 'Mirilies' on the roll.

Merrill, 1831, at Los Ang. M. (Ferdinand), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); farmer at Salt Lake '82. M. (John H.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lots, and superintendent of sabbath-school. v. 657. I have his letter of '48 complaining of various persecutions by Lieut Brewerton. He was later a resid. of S. José, and in '82 at Wash., D.C. M. (Philemon C.), 1847, lieut Co. B, Morm. Bat., and acting adjutant. v. 477, 483; in '81 at St David, Ariz. M. (Squire G.), 1847, son of John H., and drummer of Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499), age 12; attended school at S.F.; clerk for Belden at S. José; in trade at Alviso, and later at S.F. He went east in '59, served in the war of '61–5, and in '77 had been 10 years a clerk in the adj.-gen. office at Wash., D.C., where he still lived in '82. M. (W. H.), 1847, builder and keeper of a boarding-house at S.F. '47–8. v. 681, 685; possibly same as John H. Merriner (Nicholas), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. Mrs M. with sons in Marin Co. '46.

Merritt (Ezekiel), 1841 (?), Amer. trapper, the exact date and circumstanes of whose arrival are not known. He may be the man who appears on Larkin's books in '37. iv. 117–18; is ment. as one of Walker's men in '33. iii. 391; was at N. Helv. '41. iv. 233; in the Sac. Val. '43; implicated in the attempt to release Dr Bale in '44. iv. 445; in which year, in getting naturalization papers, he claimed to have been in Cal. 2 years! He was one of Capt. Gantt's men in the Micheltorena campaign of '44–5. iv. 486; and from '45 is often mentioned in the *N. Helv. Diary*. He commanded the party that stole Arce's horses in '46, and was nominally in com. of the Bears at first, his name appearing on the original proclamation of June 14th. v. 107–9, 114, 121, 127, 169. Returning with the prisoners to the fort, he subsequently went south with Frémont, and remained with Gillespie at Los Ang., being sent at one time with a small garrison to S. Diego. v. 308, 317, 324–5, 617. Bidwell says that he became partner with Wm C. Moon on a Tehama rancho, and died in the winter of '47–8, though possibly it was a little later, as there are vague references to his presence in the mines. Merritt was a coarse-grained, loud-mouthed, unprincipled, whiskey-drinking, quarrelsome fellow, well adapted

to the use that was made of him in promoting the filibusters' schemes. M. (Robert G.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); in Napa Co. '75; d. at Ukiah '83. M. (Thos), 1837, named in Larkin's accounts. Mervine (Wm), 1846, commander U.S.N. in com. of the *Cyane* and *Savannah*, the officer who raised the U.S. flag at Mont. and took com. on shore. After the outbreak of the Flores revolt he went south to S. Pedro, and was defeated by the Californians in Oct. while attempting to march inland to Los Ang. He took no further active part in the war; was owner of a S.F. lot in '47, negotiating also for land at Sonoma; and started for the east in March. He was capt. in the war of '61–5. v. 27, 200–3, 224, 229–31, 253, 289–90, 296, 304, 318–20, 327, 383, 539, 580.

Mesa (Alejandro), Cal. claim of $4,220 for horses in '46–7 (v. 462). M. (Andrés), soldier of the S.F. comp. '23–9. M. (Antonio), 1781, negro settler of Los Ang., with wife and 2 children. i. 345. M. (Antonio), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–30; militiaman at S.F. '37; in '41 at S. José, age 46, wife Dolores Higuera, child. Alejandro b. '34, Isidro '37, Benedicto '39. M. (Cayetano), soldier killed by Ind. on the Colorado. i. 359–62. M. (Dolores), settler at S. José 1791–1800; regidor in 1806. i. 716; ii. 134, 171. M. (Dolores), at S. José '41, age 48. M. (Domingo), soldier of S.F. comp. '28–31; named in '46. v. 162. M. (Encarnacion), claimant for S. Antonio, Sta Clara. iii. 712. M. (Francisco), soldier of S.F. comp. '34–5; in '36 maj. of the rancho nacional, age 37. iii. 677; drowned near Mont. in '45. M. (Gerónino), soldier of S.F. comp. '41–3. iv. 667. M. (Hilario), corporal of the guard at S. José 1783–98; settler '86. i. 477–8, 495. M. (Joaquin), soldier at Sta Cruz and settler at S. José before 1800. i. 496, 716. M. (José), 1791, chaplain in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. M. (José Ant.), grantee of Los Médanos, Contra Costa, '39. iii. 712. M. (José Ign.), soldier at Soledad 1791–1800. i. 499. M. (José de Jesus), soldier of S.F. comp. '23–33, '38–9; two of the name as militiamen at S.F. '37; in '41 at S. José, age 39, wife Juana Miranda, child. María b. '36, Trinidad '38. M. (Juan B.), owner of S.F. lot '44. v. 684. M. (Juan Prado), soldier of S.F. comp. from '28; corporal from '32, in com. of Sta Clara escolta. iii. 728; sergt 36, and acting alf. from '37. iii. 511, 522; in '39 full alférez, com. of the S.F. garrison, grantee of S. Antonio rancho, and engaged in Ind. fights. iii. 701–2, 712, 722; iv. 75–6. On the roll as alf. to '42, and mentioned occasionally as in mil. com. at S.F., where he was owner of a lot. iv. 665, 666–7, 669, 678. He seems to have died at his rancho in '45. M. (Luis), at Pilarcitos rancho '36, age 43, wife María Ant. Martinez, child. Juan b. '21, Serafina '24; juez del campo. iii. 674–5, 678. M. (María Ant.), grantee of Rinconada del Arroyo de S. Francisquito '41. iv. 672–3. M. (Miguel), at S. José '41, age 30, wife Hilaria Benavides, child. Francisco b. '34, Agueda '37; juez de campo '43. iv. 685. M. (Nicolás), regidor at S. José 1805. ii. 134. M. (Pedro), sold. of S.F. comp. '27–37; juez de campo at S. José '39. iii. 731; in '41 age 24, wife Teresa Higuera, child. Joaquin b. '39, José Ant. '41; another of the name at S. José '41, age 33. M. (Petra Higuera de), widow at S. José '41, age 38, chil l. José b. '28, Domingo '30, Guadalupe '31, Rufina '32, Albino '33, Pamela '37, José Ant. '39. M. (Rafael), one of the original settlers at Los Ang. 1752. i. 345–6. M. (Rafael), soldier of the S.F. comp. '23–31; at S. José '41, age 34. M. (Ramon), soldier of S.F. comp. '34–42; at Sonoma '44, age 25; grantee of Soulajule, Marin Co., '44. iv. 674; named in connection with the Bear war '46. iv. 674; v. 162. M. (Santiago), at S. Mateo '35. M. (Valerio), corp. of S.F. comp. 1777. i. 297, 312; at S. José '93, wife Leonor Barboa, child Nicolás.

Mesnard, 1837, connected with Petit-Thouars' exped. iv. 149. Metcalf (T.), 1848, from Hon. on the *Hope*. Metzger (Jacob N.), 1848, came from Or. in May, and after a successful visit to the mines went to Or. in Aug. to bring his family. Mexica (Teodora), at Sta Cruz '18. ii. 225. Mexwell (Wm H.), 1848, at Stockton. *Herald;* prob. 'Maxwell,' q. v.

Meyer (Chas), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. M. (Francis), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). M. (Geo. S.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); a German in the mines '48–9, kept a hotel at S.F.; and settled at Mt Eden, Alameda Co.,

in '53. Still living in '83, age 71, with wife Sophia Prüger, and 4 children, Geo. A., Henry H., Matilda Mrs Martin, and Amelia. Portrait in *Alam. Co. Hist.*, 520. M. (John Daniel), 1832, from Strassburg and Mex., a blacksmith at Los Ang. naturalized in '34, age 27. iii. 408. He was one of the vigilantes in '36 (iii. 130), and was at S. Diego in '40. Meyers (R. G.), 1848, nat. of Pa, resid. of S. Joaquin '50–78, being several times member of the legislature. M., see also 'Myers.' Meyerhola, 1847, at N. Helv.

Micheltorena (Manuel), 1842, Mex. brigadier-gen., governor and com. gen. of Cal. from '42—appointed Jan. 22d, took possession formally Dec. 31 to Feb. 22, '45, when he signed the treaty of surrender to the revolutionist Californians who expelled him. On his early career, appointment, arrival, convict army, etc., see iv. 285–95; Com. Jones affair, iv. 308–26; rule in '43, iv. 350–67; policy in mission, commercial, and maritime affairs. iv. 368–78; rule in '44, iv. 401–20; revolution against in '44–5; defeat, departure, and later career, iv. 455–517; miscel. mention, iii. 550, 561; iv. 34, 409, 423–33, 448, 521–2, 561, 619, 630, 636, 652. As his career in Cal. is fully recorded in this vol., I need not go further into details here. He was a nat. of Oajaca, a friend of Guerrero, a man of some literary pretensions, and a colonel as early as '33. Elsewhere I say of the gov. that he was 'a strange mixture of good and bad; a most fascinating and popular gentleman; honest, skilful, and efficient as an official in minor matters; utterly weak, unreliable, and even dishonorable in all emergencies;' yet under ordinary circumstances, by reason of his intelligence, experience, and tact in winning friends, he might have been a good ruler for Cal. By his liberality in granting lands as well as by his personal courtesy he made a good impression on most foreigners, who as a rule have given an unfair version of the revolution by which he was overthrown. In the Jones affair at the outset he simply made an ass of himself, and of his acts in the last months nothing can be said in praise; while his breaking the treaty of Sta Teresa, by which he had promised to send away his battalion of cholo ruffians, and his bribing Sutter to arm the foreigners and Indians against the Californians, were in the highest degree dishonorable and unpatriotic. After leaving Cal. he took a somewhat prominent part in the war against the U.S., serving as member of congress in '47 and com. gen. of Yucatan in '50. He seems to have taken a very discreditable part in the Limantour forgeries, though little is known of details. I have found no definite record of his last years or death. Michael (John), 1844, at S. José. *Sta Clara Co. Hist. Atlas.* Michi (John), 1825, mr of the *Tamaahmaah.* iv. 149; prob. 'Meek,' q. v.

Middleton, 1847, mr of the *Xylon.* M. (Thomas), 1845, at N. Helv. iv. 578, 587; bought mules of Lassen and Sill, which were driven across the plains eastward in '46; in '76 a resid. of Rohnerville. *Eureka W. C. Signal.* Mier y Teran (José M.), sec. of ayunt. at Mont. (?) '34. iii. 673; sec. of S. Diego ayunt. '35–6. iii. 615–16; síndico '37. iii. 616. Miguel (José de), 1790. Span. friar, who served chiefly at Sta B. and San Gabriel, dying in 1803. Biog. ii. 355; ment. i. 423, 492, 522, 576–7, 587, 669, 672, 689; ii. 114, 148, 159, 394. Miles (John), 1832, of the comp. extranjera; still at Mont. '33–4. iii. 221. M. (Sam.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); asst alcalde at S. Diego. v. 490; in '81 high councillor and justice of peace in Utah. Milford (Edmund N.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Princeton, Mariposa Co., '83. Millard (Ormon), 1845, disch. from the *Warren*, and shipped on the *Guipuzcoana*, at Mont.

Miller (Augustus), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. before '82. M. (Chas), 1847, Co. G, ditto. M. (Daniel), 1832, Engl. sailor from the *Challenger*, at Mont. to end of '34. M. (Edward), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). M. (Feltis), 1847, settled on Sac. Riv., at Cache Creek. M. (Francis), 1847, Co. C, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499. M. (Henry), 1847, Co. D, ditto. M. (Hiram O.), 1846, overl. immig. of Bryant's party. v. 528; member of 2d Donner relief. v. 540; settled in Sta Clara Co., where he died in '67. M. (James), 1844, Irish immig. of the Stevens party; with wife (Mary Murphy), son Wm J., age 12, and 3 daughters. iv. 445–7, 453. He settled in Marin Co., where he still lived in '80 with a large family. M. (J.), 1845, command-

er's clerk on the *Savannah*. M. (J. J.), 1845, mid. on the *Savannah*. M. (John), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). M. (John Morgan), 1848, nat. of Va, who came from Or. to the mines; settled from '50 near Sebastopol, Sonoma Co., where he died in '75 at the age of 61, having been postmaster and justice of the peace. M. (Miles), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). M. (M. R.), 1847, overl. immig., who again crossed the plains in '48, '49, '52, and '73; had an orchard in Pleasant Val., Solano. M. (Valentine), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). M. (Wm), 1846, deserter from the U.S. *Savannah*.

Millhause (Gustave), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Sta B. '71–82. Milligan (John), see 'Mulligan.' M. (R.), 1841, mid. on the U.S. *St Louis*. Milliken (John), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. Sta Clara Co. about '78. Millington (Chas), 1847, mr of the *Xylon*. v. 581; owner of S.F. lot. Mills (John), 1847, boatswain on the U.S. *Independence*. M. (J. H. A.), 1848, nat. of Mo., at S. José '59–76; livery-stable man. M. (Wm), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). Millwright, 1847, doubtful name at N. Helv. Milner (Danell), 1845, signer of the S. José call to foreigners. iv. 599.

Minard (Thos A.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Miner (A. T.), 1848, name in S.F. letter list. Minier, 1846, at Sutter's Fort '46–7 with family; called a volunteer. M., 1845, mid. on the U.S. *Warren*. Mink (Wm), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons, transf. from Co. K. v. 336. Miñon (Juan José), Mex. gen., appointed gov. of Cal. '27; did not come. ii. 515; iii. 8. Minor (Allen B.), 1847, of N.Y., left S.F. for Panamá on the *Charles Drew*. M. (Colville J.), 1847, lieut Co. F, 3d U.S. artill.; d. at Mont. in Aug., age 23; a nat. of Wash., D.C., and graduate of West Point. v. 518, 520. M. (Geo.), 1846, lieut U.S.N. on the *Savannah;* memb. of 1st jury at Mont.; in com. of garrison at S. Diego; in '47 assist q. m. in Stockton's battalion; a witness at Wash. in the Frémont court-martial and Cal. claims. v. 289, 292, 324–6, 328, 383, 420, 456. Minter (J.), 1846, overl. immig. in Bryant's party (v. 526); Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358).

Miramontes (Candelario), Mex. said to have had a potato-patch in '33 on what was later the plaza at S.F. iii. 709; in '41 or earlier grantee of Pilarcitos, Sta Clara. ii. 616, 664, 672; in '42 at S.F., age 53, wife Guadalupe Briones, child. Miguel b. '19 at S.F., María Dolores '23, Rodolfo '20, José A. '24, José de los Santos '26, Raimundo '29, Guadalupe '31, Cármen '32. M. (Ignacio), soldier of S.F. comp. from '35; corp. '38–44; brought small-pox from Ross '38. iv. 74, 165; age 30 in '44. M. (José Arciano) son of Candelario; soldier of S.F. comp. '44. M. (Juan), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–30. M. (Mariano), soldier of S.F. comp. '37; d. '43. M. (Miguel), sergt in S.F. militia '44, age 26. M. (Raimundo), soldier of S.F. comp. '44, age 20. M. (Ramon), Cal. claim of $15,000 '46–7 (v. 462). M. (Rodolfo), son of Candelario; soldier of S.F. comp. '37–44; juez de campo '46. v. 648. M. (Santos), soldier of S.F. militia '44, age 16. M. (Vicente), soldier of S.F. comp. '28–37; in '37 elector. iii. 705; in '39 juez supl. and elected alcalde. *Ib.;* in '42 juez supl. iv. 665; in '42 at S. José, age 32, wife María de Jesus Hernandez, child. José María b. '38, Benita '40, and Mariana; in '43 owner of a lot, on which he lived with his fam. '44–8. iv. 669; v. 680; in '44 alférez of militia. iv. 667; in '46 juez supl. v. 648. In '54–5 he lived at the mission, testifying in the Santillan case.

Miranda (Alejo), inval. soldier of S.F. comp. and brevet corporal '19–30; piloted Vancouver's vessels 1792. i. 510; corp. of the guard at S. José mission '97. M. (Antonio), chino settler of Los Ang. 1781. i. 345. M. (Apolinario), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–36; grantee of Ojo de Agua de Figuero '33, '38. iii. 712, 705; in '42 age 47, wife Juana Briones, child. Presentacion b. '22, Gomez (?) '29, Narcisa '30, Refugio '32, José de Jesus '35, Manuel '37; in '43 in trouble with his wife. iv. 666. See 'Briones' (Juana). M. (Hilario), soldier of S.F. comp. 1797–1824. i. 555–6; in '41 at S. José, age 60, wife Juana Cibrian, child. José Fran. b. '28, José de Jesus '31, Casimiro '33, Alejo (?) '36, Clemente '38, María de Gracia '39. M. (José), soldier of S.F. comp. '34–42. M. (Juan), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–22; sec. at S. José '25. ii. 604–5; in '44, age 52, grantee of Arroyo de S. Antonio, Marin. iv. 673. M. (Juan José), settler on the Colorado 1780–1. i. 359. M. (Manuel), at S. José '41, age 24,

wife Cármen Alviso, child. María de los Santos '38, María Rosa '41. M. (Mariano), soldier of S.F. comp. '37–43. iv. 667; named in '46. v. 162; also had a Cal. claim of $4,400 (v. 462). M. (Presentacion), daughter of Apolinario; at Mission Dolores '55, and witness in the Santillan case. M. (Santos), soldier of S.F. comp. '39–43. iv. 667. M. (Teodoro), at Sonoma '44, age 22. Mirantes (Ignacio), at S.F. '42, age 31; doubtful name. Mirayno (Jonathan), 1840, doubtful name in Farnham's list. iv. 17.

Misroon (John S.), 1846, lieut on the U. S. *Portsmouth*, somewhat prominent at the time of the Bear revolt, being sent by Capt. Montgomery to Sonoma and N. Helv. v. 130–1, 154, 156–9, 241, 299. Owner of a S.F. lot. v. 683. Before his departure in '47 he made arrangements for investing in lands and cattle, and apparently did invest with Larkin, but had a misunderstanding with L. and Sutter, which, perhaps, put an end to the speculation. I have many of his letters on the matter. Misteril, 1834, Swiss sailor on the *Natalia*, badly injured at the wreck. iii. 412; worked on a rancho near Mont. '35–6.

Mitchell, 1845, mr of the *Fama*. iv. 565. M., 1847, mr of the *Providence*. v. 580. M. (Benj.), 1846, in Napa Val. '69. M. (Hue), 1842, sailor on the *Admittance;* deserted at S. Diego '44. M. (Joseph B.), 1845, mr of the *Fannie*, at S.F. Oct. M. (Wm), 1846, mid. on the U.S. *Congress;* stationed with a garrison at Sta B. Aug.–Sept. v. 267, 287, 630; made a com. U.S. N. '65; d. at Wash. '71. M. (Wm), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. in Australia before '82. M. (Wm H.), 1847, Co. E, ditto; in Amador Co. '74. Mitchener (T.), 1847, from Hon. on the *Francesca*.

Mocho (Dan.), 1831, nickname of an Irishman at Los Ang. Moerenhaut (Jacob Antonio), 1846, Fr. consul in Cal. '46–8. v. 290, 576, 614; a nat. of Belgium. There is no agreement respecting his initials. Moffat (Richard), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. v. 686. Moffitt (Alfred P.), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. artificer (v. 518). M. (James), 1846, nat. of N.Y.; sailor on the U.S. *Savannah*, disch. at S.F. '49; in '82 at East Oakland with wife—Margaret Mulgrew, mar. '59—and 9 children, Frank J. (deputy sheriff), Mary, Maggie, Martha, Joseph, Emma, Geo., Harry, and Nellie. M. (Wm B.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 299).

Mofras (Eugène Duflot de), 1841, French attaché of the Mex. legation, who visited Cal. and Or. in '41–2, commissioned by the govt to examine and report on the country, with its institutions, resources, history, and prospects, the result being published as *Mofras, Exploration, etc.*, a well-known and standard work. For a full account of his visit and work, including something of Mofras' character, see iv. 248–55; also i. 224; ii. 108, 642; iv. 191, 209–10, 218, 224, 233–4, 297, 329, 343, 564, 618–19, 636, 640, 650, 665. M. was still in the French diplomatic service, as ministre plenipotentiaire, in '78, and I have not heard of his death down to '85. Mohr, 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at S. José '71–4, doubtful name, not in Clark's last list. Mohron, 1847, mr of the *Com. Shubrick;* perhaps 'Morgan.' Mojica (Bernardo), at S. José '22. ii. 605. M. (José Vicente), at Branciforte 1797; alcalde in 1802. i. 539; ii. 156. M. (Venancio), at S.F. '37–44, age 55.

Molckenbuhr (Henry), 1847, German carpenter at Mont. '47–8; name written in half a dozen ways; perhaps 'Molokenbuker.' Molina, settler a Mont., taken prisoner by Bouchard '18. ii. 233, 237–41. M., maj. at S. Rafael '33. iii. 323–4. M., killed at Jamul, S. Diego '37. iii. 614. M. (Alejandro), at Los Ang. '46. M. (Jesus), at S. Cárlos '40–2, grantee of S. Bernabé. iii. 680; iv. 655. M. (Joaquin), sirviente at S.F. 1777. i. 297. M. (Vicente), at Mont. '45. iv. 653. Molini, contract to make adobes for Larkin 1848. Molteno (Frank), 1848, mr of the *S.S.* v. 580; on the *Julius* from Hon. later in the year. Molvee (Herman), 1815, sup. of the *Suvaroff*. ii. 307. Molvisto (Nicolai), 1825, pass. on the *Elena*. iii. 146.

Mondojia, 1791, com. of the *Horcasitas*, i. 523. Mone (Alex.), 1847, rl. immig. from Mo. with wife and father, who settled at Sta Cruz and ged in the lumber business, with a brief mining experience in '48. He shed lumber for Meiggs' wharf S.F. at two hundred dollars per M. In

'53 settled at Pescadero, where in '78 he gave me the narrative of a *Pioneer of '47*. Monet (John), 1846, Cal. claim $30 (v. 462); owner of S.F. lot '47. Money (Wm), 1843 (?), Scotchman, the date and manner of whose coming are not known; at Los Ang. Feb. '43. iv. 400. He is said to have come as the servant of a scientific man, whose methods and ideas he adopted. His wife was a very handsome Sonoreña. In '46 the couple started with Coronel for Sonora, and were captured by Kearny's force, but perhaps continued their journey, as Mrs M. had a child born on the way, and they returned from the Colorado with the Morm. Bat. Money became an eccentric doctor, artist, and philosopher at S. Gabriel, where his house in '80 was filled with ponderous tomes of his writings, and on the simple condition of buying one thousand dollars' worth of these I was offered his pioneer reminiscences. He died a few years later. His wife, long divorced from M. and married to a Frenchman, was also living at Los Ang. in '80. It was her daughter who killed Chico Forster.

Monneron, 1786, with La Pérouse. i. 435. Monroe, 1845, at Sutter's Fort. Monroy (José de Jesus and Lino), at Los Ang. '46. Montalba (Bernardo), at Los Ang. '46. Montano (Antonio), at Bajada á Huerta Vieja, Mont., 1795. i. 683. M. (José María), at S. Juan Cap. '46, age 40, with Josefa Gutierrez, child. Apolonio b. '35, María '37, Bruno '39. Monteith (Dan.), 1837 (?), at Sta Cruz '81. Montenegro (Eugenio), Mex. corporal of Mont. custom-house guard '34. iii. 378; served under Alvarado's govt as alférez. iii. 508; and in '38–40 was sub-comisario and com. of celadores at Mont. iii. 672; iv. 96–7; owner of S.F. lot '41–5. iv. 669; ministro supl. of the sup. court '42. iv. 296; grantee of Laguna de los Gentiles '44, not serving against Micheltorena. iv. 473, 671; a capt. of aux. cavalry '45–6. v. 41; at S. Luis Ob. '50. Montero (Manuel), soldier of the escolta at S. Miguel 1797. i. 560; at Branciforte '30. ii. 627.

Montgomery, 1844, officer on H. B. M. S. *Modeste*. M. (Allen), 1844, overl. immig. from Mo. in the Stevens party with wife. iv. 445, 473. He was one of the party that at first remained at the mountain camp with Schallenberger. iv. 454. He is mentioned in the *N. Helv. Diary* in '45, and apparently had a rancho on the American Riv. v. 107; but went to Honolulu on the *Julia* in '47, and I find no further record of him. Mrs M. née Armstrong, sister of Judge A. of Sacramento, and married in '43 was a woman of somewhat remarkable qualities, who in '45–6 lived at S.F. v. 679; married Talbot H. Green, became wealthy, and in '85 as Mrs Wallis resides at Mayfield, taking part sometimes in public meetings of progressive and strong-minded females. M. (Isaac), 1848, liquor dealer from Hon. at S.F.; member of the council '49.

Montgomery (John B.), 1845, capt U. S. N. in com. of the *Portsmouth* '45–7. His ship was stationed at S.F. during the Bear revolt, and it was he that raised the U.S. flag in July, being commandant of the northern district in July-Dec. iv. 568, 587; v. 102, 127, 129–31, 154, 200, 224, 228–9, 231, 238–41, 294–9, 380, 552, 580, 659, 682. For him Montgomery street was named, and Portsmouth square for his ship. Two sons, John E. and Wm H., were with him on the fleet, and were lost on the *Warren's* launch in Nov. '45. v. 384, 587. The capt. and Wm H. were owners of lots in S.F. v. 682. He later became commodore and admiral, was in command for some years of the Boston navy-yard, and died in '73. M. (John M.), 1847, nat. of Ky and overl. immig. who worked as a carpenter at Mont., went to the mines in '48, and finally engaged in raising cattle, settling in Merced Co. '54, and being a state senator in '75–8. Montijo (Marcos), soldier of the S.F. comp. '39–42. Montreuil (Louis), 1844, of Frémont's party; perhaps did not reach Cal. iv. 437. Montriel (Herman), 1847; Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Monyú (Jaime), 1825, Span. of the *Asia's* crew, who remained in Cal. and married before '28. iii. 51.

Mooar, 1845, mr of a vessel at Mont. '45–6. Moody (Washington), 1847, at Sta Clara '47–8. Moon (Wm C.), 1841, nat. of Tenn. and overl. immig. of the Workman party. iv. 278–9. Named at Los Ang. '42 and Mont. '44. In

'45 he 'mined' for grindstones in the Sac. Val., and in '48–9 for gold, having settled on a ranchio in Tehama Co., where he died in '78. He was a famous hunter, and a partner of Ezekiel Merritt. Mooney (James), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot.

Moore, 1830, mr of the *Globe*. iii. 147. M., 1837, of the Or. cattle exped. iv. 85. M., 1795, mr of the *Phœnix*. i. 537, 625, 669. M., 1848, employed as a shepherd at Sutter's Fort. M. (Alex.), 1847, son of Eli, overl. immig. with wife who settled in '53 at Pescadero, where he still lived in '78. M. (Andrew), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in Sta Clara Co. from '67; at Gilroy '82. M. (Andrew J.), 1847, Co. B, ditto; Phil. '82. M. (Benj. D.), 1846, capt. Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons, killed at the fight of S. Pascual. v. 336, 343–7. M. (Benj. F.), 1848, nat. of Florida, on the S. Joaquin '48; member of the constit. convention '49; one of the earliest settlers at Sonora. M. (Calvin W.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Spring City, Utah, '82. M. (Eli), 1847, overl. immig. with family, who settled at Sta Cruz, buying of Bolcof what is known as Moore's rancho. He died before '78. One of his daughters was Mrs Sam. Besse of Watsonville. M. (John H.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); perhaps at S.F. and S. José '50. M. (John W.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in the mines '48–51; killed by Ind. near Mariposa in '51. M. (Otis L.), 1846, sergt Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons, transf. from Co. K; killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. M. (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3 l U.S. artill. (v. 518). M. (Risdon A.), 1845, one of Frémont's men. iv. 583; v. 453; a blacksmith and nephew of Cyrus Alexander. He served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358); had a Cal. claim of $524 (v. 462); was at Wash., D. C., Jan. '48; prob. came back with Frémont in his 4th exped.; and in later years lived at Belleville, Ill. M. (Robert), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). M. (Thos W.), 1847, son of Eli, and nat. of Tenn.; at Pescadero '53–78. M. (Wm H.), 1846, Kentuckian immig., who lived in Sonoma Co. to '56, and later in Lake Co. till his death in '67. M. (Wm), 1816, carpenter on the *Lydia*. ii. 275. Mora (Regina de la), mentioned in '35. iii. 285. Morace (Erastus), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Moraga (Domingo), son of Gabriel, sold. distinguido of S.F. comp. from '18. ii. 571; in the Sta B. comp. as corp. before '37. M. (Fran.), 1st Ind. convert at S.F., named M. for his godfather, the comandante. i. 296. M. (Fran.), soldier of S.F. comp. '37–9; in '41 at S. José, age 27, wife Josefa Duarte, child. María b. '38, Teodora '40; in '43 juez de campo. iv. 685; Cal. claim of $3,320 '46–7 (v. 462). M. (Gabriel), 1776, son of José Joaq. who came as a boy with his parents, enlisting in 1784 and serving as soldier, corporal, sergt, alférez, and lieut of the S.F., Mont., and Sta B. companies till his death in 1823. Biog. ii. 571; ment. i. 470, 549, 559, 569–72, 587, 716–17, 719, 723; ii. 47, 50–7, 91–2, 126, 132, 140, 150, 199, 202, 204, 254, 288, 300–4, 319, 322–30, 334, 336–7, 341, 354, 361, 370, 385, 442, 559, 585, 631. His wife was Ana María Bernal; and later María Joaquina Alvarado at Sta B. in '50; among his children were Domingo, José Guadalupe, and Vicente. M. (Ignacio María), niece of José Joaq. and wife of José Argüello. i. 470; iii. 11. M. (Joaquin), prob. a son of Gabriel, soldier of S.F. comp. '19; at S. Mateo '35; grantee of Laguna de Palos Colorados, Contra Costa, '35–41. iii. 712; iv. 671; in '41 a widower, age 48, with the following children: José b. '16, Luisa '18, María '26, María Ant. '29. A part of the Moraga Valley is still owned by D. Joaquin's sons and grandsons, but there has been much trouble about boundaries with squatters. M. (José), síndico at Sta B. '41. iv. 641; juez at S. Buen. '46. v. 634; justice at Sta B. '52. M. (José Joaquin), 1776, Mex. alférez who came with Anza, and being made lieut was the 1st comandante of S.F. He was the founder of the presidio, mission, Sta Clara, and the pueblo of S. José. He died in 1785, and his widow, María del Pilar de Leon, in 1808. Gabriel was the only son of whom anything is known. Biog. i. 470; ment. i. 258, 262–4, 336–8, 271, 280–92, 295–7, 305–6, 312, 349–50, 385, 463, 474, 479; ii. 44, 47; iii. 11. M. (José Guadalupe), son of Gabriel, soldado distinguido at S.F., and cadet at S. Diego '17–20. ii. 341, 571. M. (Vicente), son of Gabriel; teacher at S. Ant. and Los Ang. '03–5. ii. 571; iii. 630; sec. and

síndico at Los Ang. '33–4. iii. 635, 564–5; admin. at S. Antonio '40. iii. 688; iv. 61; grantee of Pauba '44. iv. 621; at Los Ang. '46; constable at S. Buen. '52. His wife was María Ant. Dominguez.

Morah (M.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Morales (Bernardo), soldier on the Colorado, killed by Ind. 1781. i. 359, 362. M. (Francisco), Mex. teacher at Los Ang. '18–20; 2d síndico of the ayunt. '23, '26–7, '29. ii. 559–61. M. (Leandro), ment. as having killed Ávila in '31. iii. 208. M. (Pablo), at S. Bern. '46, age 50. Moran, 1847, mr of the *Com. Shubrick* and *Julian* '47–8. M. (John H.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. '71; a printer who worked on the *Californian* and was sergt-at-arms of the legislature.

More, 1845, doubtful name at Sta Clara. M. (Andrew B.), 1848, nat. of Pa who came to Cal. from Mex.; one of the More Bros of Sta B., in '80 a miner in Idaho, with resid. at Monterey, Cal. M. (John H.), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. Morehead (Joseph C.), 1847, lieut Co. D, N.Y. Vol. v. 504; nat. of Ky; repres. of S. Joaq. in 1st Cal. legislature '49–50; d. before '82. Morelos (Juan de Dios), surgeon of the Cal. troops at Mont. 1800–3. ii. 140, 147, 150, 153.

Moreno (Antonio), at S. José '41, nat. of L. Cal., age 46, wife Juliana Tapia, child. Rita b. '18, Cármen '20, Antonia '26, Magdalena '28, Lucia '30, Manuel '33, Pedro '35, José '37, Pedro 2d '38, —— '39. M. (Cárlos), at S. José '41 age 29, wife Francisca García; a nat. of U.S.; prob. Chas 'Brown,' q. v.; grantee of land at S.F. '42. M. (Guadalupe), described in the papers as 115 years old, at Los Ang. '58. M. (Jesus), síndico at S. Diego '36. iii. 615; juez de paz '41. iv. 619; owner of land at S. Juan Cap. '41. iv. 626; d. at S. Luis Rey '71. M. (José), mulatto settler at Los Ang. 1781–6. i. 345. M. (José Matías), Franciscan of Sta Cruz college, Querétaro, killed by Ind. at the Colorado Riv. pueblos 1781. i. 359, 362. M. (José Matías), 1844, nat. of L. Cal. and son of an Engl. whaler, his real name being Brown. He received some education from the frontier padres, and lived in Upper Cal. '44–6, being arrested at Los Ang. '45. iv. 522–3, 531. In '46, ranking as capt. of defensores, he served as clerk and acting sec. to Gov. Pico for a short time, and escaped with the gov. to Mex., carrying, as is thought, many doc. of the archives. v. 279 He returned later to S. Diego, married Prudenciana Lopez, and settled on the frontier rancho of Guadalupe. In '61–2 he was for a time sub-prefect of the L. Cal. frontier district; and died at his rancho in '69 at the age of 52, leaving a widow and 5 children. A search of Moreno's papers, kindly permitted by the widow in '78, resulted in a volume of copies cited as *Moreno, Doc. Hist. Cal.* M. (Juan), 1836, Swiss who came with Gov. Chico. iv. 118; at S.F. '40–2. M. (Juan), grantee of Sta Rosa, S. Diego, '46. v. 619; owner of Los Ang. land '48. M. (Juan), ment. in '80 as living near Los Ang. and at least 110 years old, having been 12 years old when his father (Jose ?) settled in 1781 at Los Ang.; doubtful. M. (Juan), 1827, Span. friar who served for short terms at 5 missions, and died at Sta Inés in '45. Biog. iv. 645–6; ment. ii. 576, 623, 625, 655, 659, 664, 683, 685, 691; iv. 46, 421, 426, 553, 647–8. M. (Juan Bautista), 1844, Sonoran soldier who deserted and came to Cal., paying his way by gambling and making saddles. In the campaigns of '46–7 he served as capt. of volunteers, and was wounded at the S. Gabriel fight. He went to Sonora with Flores, but came back, and in '78 at Sta B. dictated for me his recollections of a *Vida Militar*. v. 308, 352, 394, 396, 449. M. (Rafael de Jesus), 1833, Mex. friar of the Zacatecanos, who served at Sta Clara, and also in '34–8, as president and vice-prefect of the northern missions. He died at mission S. José in '39. Biog. iii. 726–7; ment. iii. 318–19, 338, 432; iv. 44, 63–4. M. (Santiago), 1824, nat. of Ecuador and a sailor; went to China on the *Rover* in '25–6; was collector and síndico of the Mont. ayunt. '27–9. ii. 612; ment. in connection with the Solis revolt '30. iii. 82; regidor '32–3. iii. 673; maj. and admin. of S. Luis Ob. '35–9. iii. 354, 587, 682–3; at Mont. '51. M. (Teodoro), 1829, Mex. who was maj. at Laguna Seca rancho '36, age 50, wife María Ant. Cantua, child. Tomás b. '31, Juan '33, Francisco '35. iii. 677.

Morey (Barton, Origin, and Rinaldo), see 'Mowry.' M. (Harley), 1847,

Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). M. (Joseph M. W.), 1840, Engl. who got a passport. M. (Michael), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. v. 685; perhaps 'Murre.' Morgan, 1837 (?), left an Engl. schr. at S.F., and with John Levick built a cabin in which they lived and made a large fortune, till '57, when L. was lost on the *Central America*, and M. drank himself to death in a month or two. *Herald:* iv. 118. M. (Geo. E.), 1846, mid. U.S.N.; acting lieut Co. B, Stockton's battalion '46–7. v. 386. M. (Van Renssalaer), 1846, mr on the U.S. *Congress.*

Morillo (Brígido), at S. Juan Cap. '46, age 46; child. María b. '25, Ramona '28, Miguel '30, Paula '32, José Manuel '36. M. (Hilario), aux. alcalde in Los Ang. dist. '48. v. 626. M. (Jorge), at Los Ang. '46; cl. for Potrero de Lugo '52. iv. 635. M. (José Ant.), at Los Ang. '46. M. (José Justo), at Las Bolsas, Los Ang. dist., '39–52. iii. 633. M. (Julian, Miguel, and Tomás), at Los Ang. '46. Morin (A.), 1845, one of Frémont's party. iv. 453, 583; served in Cal. Bat., Co. B, artill. (v. 358); died in the mts in the exped. of '48. M. (John L.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Morineau (M. P.), 1833, visitor to Cal. about this year, and author of a *Notice.* iii. 408–9. Morjano, 1833, visiting priest at S.F., prob. chaplain of the Span. vessel. Moro (Faustino), 1842, Mex. director of hospitals, or 'oficial de salud militar,' with the batallon fijo; perhaps did not come till '44. iv. 289, 563. Morphew (J.), 1825–6, mr of the *Eliza.* iii. 146; perhaps 'Murphy.' Morrell (Benj.), 1825, mr of the *Tartar*, and author of a *Narrative.* ii. 548, 551, 588–90, 592, 610, 614, 616; iii. 25, 28, 149. M. (Jesse), 1823, nat. of N.H., said to have visited the coast on a trader; later U.S. consul in Australia and a druggist at Sac., where he died in '70, leaving a family. Morris, 1847, named at S.F.

Morris (Albert F.), 1834, British subject and descendant of a surveyor-gen. of Nova Scotia, for 9 years a sailor. At Los Ang. '36, a bachelor aged 27; one of Graham's riflemen '36–8. In '40 he was exiled with the rest, but came back with a claim for damages. iv. 8–9, 18–22, 24, 27–8, 31, 33, 37, 116. In '42 he went up the Sac. with Capt. Phelps; is mentioned by Mofras; was at Sta Cruz in '43. iv. 356; and in '44 was perhaps grantee of the Arastradero rancho. iv. 655. I find no definite record of his later life, though a newspaper states that he spent the last part of his life with Harvey S. Beal, and died at Ten Mile River (Mendocino Co. ?) before '72, leaving to B. his claim of $30,000! It was about this time that his *Autobiography of a Crazy Man* fell into my hands. It is a most interesting narrative, and one of the best original authorities on the Graham affair, though marred by bitter prejudice and even falsehood, like all testimony about that matter. The author was in most respects very far from being a 'crazy man,' a term that had been given him by certain enemies, on whom he exhausts his vocabulary of irony and wrath. M. (John S.), 1847, named by Brackett as a lieut in N.Y. Vol.; not on the roll. M. (Thos), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); hospital steward at S. Diego; in '82 a gardener near Salt Lake City.

Morrison, 1847, named as a sergt visiting Sutter's Fort. M. (Bradbury), 1823, sailor on the *Rover.* M. (Ludlam), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). M. (Perry), 1848, nat. of Ind., who came from Or. to the mines; in Alameda Co. '49–82; wife Martha Hastings; children Sam. and Geo. P. M. (Roderick M.), 1847, lieut Co. K, N.Y. Vol. v. 504; killed near Stockton '49. M. (W.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), later transferred to Co. B, artill. Wm M. is also said to have settled in Alameda Co. '47. Morrow (W. J.), 1848, settler in Sonoma Co. Morse (Henry), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. S. Joaq. '49. M. (Thompson H.), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. Morsine (Juan J.), 1848, of N. Mex. caravan. v. 625. Morton (Freeman), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. at Stockton about '50. M. (Henry S.), 1847, sergt Co. E, N.Y. Vol. v. 504; d. at Stockton '55.

Mosely (Sam.), 1846, surgeon on the U.S. *Congress;* witness at the Frémont court-martial. v. 420. Moses (Ambrose T.), 1846, one of the Mormon colony with wife Clarissa and 4 children. v. 546. He left the church or was excommunicated on the voyage. He lived 5 or 6 years at the mission, and then went

to Sta Cruz, where he died, perhaps after '70. His wife died in the faith at S.F. a little earlier. A son, Norman, still lives, perhaps at Sta Cruz. One daughter married Eustaquio Valencia and died at S.F.; another became Mrs Mason, and after her husband's death went to Utah, where she still lived in '84. Moss (David), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Mossia (Antonio), 1857, musician N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Mota (Antonio Ruiz de la), 1825 (?), Mex. lieut-col in the war of independence and later a robber chief sent to Cal. as a convict. On the coming of Gov. Figueroa, an old friend, he was released and became maj. of Jimeno Casarin's estate. He married and had two sons, Antonio and Maximiano, acquiring some property as a ranchero and in settling Jimeno's affairs. His conduct in Cal. was good, and he took but slight part in public affairs, though mentioned in '46. v. 333. About '53 he went to Mex., where he lost all his property, and in '56 was brought back to Cal. by Mrs Jimeno. He rented some land near Sta Cruz, was abandoned by his sons, and died in great poverty. M. (Manuel), 1836, Portuguese laborer on Hartnell's rancho, where he died '38. M. (Rafael), Mex. at rancho S. Felipe, Mont., '35, age 40. iii. 678; still at Mont. '51. Moti, a Sotoyome chief '37. iv. 72. Mott, 1846, mr of the *Vancouver*.

Mouet (John), 1847, at Sutter's Fort and the mines '47–8. Moulton (B. F.), 1848, Soc. Cal. Pion. rolls. M. (Elijah T.), 1846, Co. A, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); said to be living at Los Ang. in late years. M. (Joseph), 1843, French creole of Frémont's garrison left at Sta B. under Talbot. v. 316. Moultry (Riley Septimus), 1846, overl. immig. with wife, Mary Lard, married on the journey, and one of the 1st Donner relief. v. 538. He settled at Sta Clara; I have no record of what became of him; was possibly still living in Sta Clara Co. '80–4, as was Mrs M. at Saratoga. A son, Wm Elliott M., born at Sta Clara Oct. '47, lived at Sta Cruz '84. Mounich (Wm), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Mount (Hiram B.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reël. M. (Joseph), 1848, said to have come this year; cl. for part of Entre Napa rancho '52. Mouser (John), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); drowned in S. Joaq. Riv. '47. Mover (M.), 1846, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list.

Mowatt (Andrew), 1848, passp. from Hon. Mowry (Barton), 1846, one of the Mormon colony with wife and two sons. v. 546. He, like each of his sons, was owner of a S.F. lot from '47, and a member of the town council in '48. v. 649, 679, 686. He left the church and became a spiritualist, dying, I think, at S.F. many years later. His wife, or widow, with one of the sons, Rinaldo, went to Utah, where they lived in '84. The other son, Origin, nat. of R.I. and a mason by trade, was a miner and trader in '48–9, and later a rich farmer in Alameda Co., where he lived in '85, age 60, with 4 children. Portrait in *Alam. Co. Hist.*, 616. M. (James), 1847, perhaps of Morm. Bat.; reënl. M. (John T.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Paris, Id., '82. M. (Ignacio, Joaquin, José, and Juan), at Los Ang. '45. Moya (Ramon), 1808, com. of the *S. Cárlos*. ii. 87. M. (Trinidad), convict tanner in '34; in '41 at S. José, age 37; in '43 owner of S.F. lot. iv. 669; v. 680. Moz (François), 1833, Canadian who came perhaps with Walker, iii. 391, or from N. Mex.; naturalized in '40, being then a tanner at Zayante.

Mugártegui (Pablo), 1774, Span. friar who served chiefly at S. Juan Cap. and retired in '89; at one time vice-president. Biog. i. 459; ment. i. 218, 224, 227, 299, 304, 351, 338, 417, 498–9, 531, 697; ii. 123. Muir (Wm S.), 1847, sergt Co. A, Morm. Bat. v. 477; a farmer in Utah '81. Mulholland, 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Mulkey (Wesley), 1848, nat. of N.C., who came overland to Or. in '44, and to the Cal. mines in '48–9; in '62 went to Idaho, where he still lived, at Lewiston, in '85; married '38 to Mary Black; no children.

Mulligan (John), 1814–15, Irish sailor who landed, perhaps from the *Isaac Todd*, certainly from some vessel before '19, when he was permitted to settle and marry. ii. 272, 277, 292, 393. At Mont. '23–6. ii. 496, 612; taught the art of weaving to Ind. at different missions; and later had an interest in Cooper's rancho on the Salinas, where a sand hill was long known as Mulli-

gan Head. He was a hard drinker, lost his property, and died in '34 His name was properly Milligan, and I have several letters from his father in Ireland. M. (Simpson), 1846, Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Mullington (Chas), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. Mulvey (James), 1847, sergt Co. F, N.Y. Vol. v. 504; d. S.F. in '65. Mumm (Christian), 1846, at Los Ang.; Cal. claim $23 (v. 462); at Napa and N. Helv. '47.

Muñoz (Juan Ant.), 1832, Mex. capt. of artill. '32–36, being exiled with Gutierrez in '36, being then 36 years old, wife Manuela Cruz, child. Joaquin b. '27, Jesus '32, Ramona '29. Biog. iii. 467; ment. iii. 239, 445, 455–6, 460, 463–6, 671, 674, 677. M. (Luciano), 1830, capt. appt. to Cal.; prob. did not come. iii. 54. M. (Manuel), ribbon-maker and instructor 1792–5. i. 615. M. (María de la Luz); 1st person buried at S.F. '76; wife of J. M. Valencia. i 297. M. (Pedro), 1804, Span. friar who served chiefly at S. Fernando, retiring on account of illness in '17. Biog. ii. 357; ment. ii. 52–5, 85–6, 115–16, 149, 159–60, 246, 328, 394, 449. M. (Sebastian), grantee of Orestimba rancho '44. iv. 672.

Munrás (Estévan), 1820, Span. trader at Mont., described in '28 as 8 years a resident; elector de partido and memb. of the dip. in '27; not obliged to quit Cal. on account of his race. ii. 613; iii. 33, 36, 51–2; joined the comp. extranjera in '32, having been prominent in aiding foreigners. iii. 82, 221. In '36 age 46, wife Catalina Manzaneli of Tepic, child. Concepcion b. '23, Antonia '26, Engracia '33, Anastasia '28, José Narciso '35; his position in the Alvarado revolution. iii. 454–5, 469, 524; alcalde in '37 and juez in 40. iii. 675–6; vocal of the junta '43–5. iv. 361, 411, 521, 540, 654. He was the grantee of 3 ranchos, Laguna Seca, S. Francisquito, and S. Vicente, the first two being in his wife's name. iii. 677–8. In '45 Larkin described M. as a man of property and character, disgusted with Mex. politics, and ready for a change of govt. He died about '53. One of his daughters married Dr McKee. M. (Manuel), juez de paz at Mont. '39. iii. 675. M. (Salvador), brother of Estévan who came after '36; síndico at Mont. '44. iv. 653; treasurer in '45. v. 289, 637. Larkin describes him in '45 as an old resident, a man of family and property, disgusted with politics. On the Mont. assessment rolls '50–1; said to have gone to Spain in '58. Munroe (James), 1847, settler at Benicia. M. (John), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Munson (Leonard), 1847, Co. A, ditto; at Two Rocks, Sonoma Co. '82.

Murch (Wm B.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. Mont. '47. Murcilla (Andrés), 1839, mr of the *Dan O'Connell*. iv. 103. Murdock (John R.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). M. (Price), 1847, ditto. Murel (Jean B.), Fr. servant of Estrada at Mont. in '36, age 24. Murey (H.), 1848, from Hon. on the *Juliana*. Murga (Manuel), 1801, com. of the *Activo*. ii. 5. Murguía (José Ant. de Jesus), 1773, Span. friar, who served chiefly at Sta Clara, where he died in '84. Biog. i. 476; ment. i. 123–4, 194, 196, 297, 299, 304, 306, 351, 385, 388, 410, 631. Murielle (Pierre), Fr. servant of Herrera at Mont. '38, age 19. Murillo (Brígido), maj. at S. Luis Rey '28–30. ii. 553. M. (Eugenio), banished to Texas '35. iii. 674. Muro (Miguel), 1842, Mex. friar of the Zacatecanos, who served at S. José mission, and retired in '45. Biog. iv. 680; ment. iv. 371, 423, 553, 675.

Murphy, 1836, a priest apparently connected with Hartnell's school; ment. by PP. Short and Bachelor at Hon. '39. M. (Bernard), 1844, son of Martin and member of the Stevens overl. immig. party. iv. 445, 453. He settled in Sta Clara Co.; was owner of a S.F. lot '47; was claimant for several ranchos. iii. 712; iv. 674; and was killed in '53 by the explosion of the *Jenny Lind* in S.F. Bay. M. (Bernard D.), 1844, son of Martin, Jr, who came in the Stevens party at the age of three, being a nat. of Canada. iv. 445, 453. He was educated at Sta Clara, becoming a lawyer and banker; memb. of the assembly '68, and of the senate '77; a mayor of S. José '73. He married Annie McGeoghegan in '69, and still lives at S. José '85 with 5 children, Mary, Eveline, Martin, Elizabeth, and Gertrude. M. (Daniel), 1844, son of Martin, and nat. of Canada. iv. 445, 453. He served in Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); had a Cal. claim of $15 for a horse (v. 462); owned a S.F. lot '47; and settled

with his father and brothers in Sta Clara Co. He was claimant for Las Llagas rancho, and became the owner of immense tracts of land in Cal., Nev., Ariz., and Mex., being one of the largest stock-raisers in the world. He died in Nev. '82, leaving a widow and two children, Daniel, M. age 22, and Diana; another daughter, Mrs Chapman, having died before. M. (J.), 1825, mr of the *Eliza*. iii. 146. M. (Jacobo), 1792, alférez in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. M. (James), 1825, owner of live-stock near S. José; prob. an error in the date. M. (James), 1837, pass. on the *Europa*. iv. 103.

Murphy (James), 1844, son of Martin, b. in Ireland, accomp. on the overland trip by wife and child. iv. 445, 453. He worked as a lumberman at S. Rafael, and is often named in the *N. Helv. Diary* '45–7; owner of S.F. lots '46–7. He settled in Sta Clara Co. '48; was claimant for Cazadorca rancho, Sac. Val., iv. 671, and also with his brothers for Las Llagas. Still living in Sta Clara Co. '85. His wife was Ann Martin, daughter of Patrick M. of the Stevens party, and his children were Mary F. b. '42, Martin B. '45, Wm B. '50, Lizzie A. '53, Julia A. '57, Daniel J. '61. M. (James), 1844, son of Martin, Jr, who crossed the plains as a boy. iv. 445, 453; ment. at Sutter's Fort '45; perhaps cashier of his brother's bank at S. José '78. M. (James), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). M. (John), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. Stockton about '53; also said to be living at S. in '75. *Indep.* M. (John Landrum), 1846, son of Mrs Lavinia M. of the Donner party; died in the mts. v. 531, 534.

Murphy (John M.), 1844, son of Martin, and memb. of the Stevens party. iv. 445, 453. He was active in raising volunteers in '46 at Sta Clara, and in the Sanchez campaign served as lieut. v. 208, 380; at N. Helv. '47; owner of S.F. lots; and member of the S. José council. v. 664. In '48 associated with Weber in trade at Stockton; also engaged in mining with great success—except in keeping his gold. Murphy's camp took its name from him. In '53 he testified that he had held the offices of treasurer, recorder, and sheriff of Sta Clara Co., and mayor of S. José. Still living at S. José as a trader in '80, and prob. in '85. His wife was Virginia Reed of the Donner party, and they had 6 children. M. (Lavinia), 1846, widow from Tenn., in the Donner party, with 4 sons and 3 daughters. v. 531, 534–7. She and 2 sons, Lemuel B. and John L., died in the sierra; 2 sons, Wm G. and Simon P., surviving, as did the daughters Mrs Pike, Mrs Foster, and Mary. The latter married Wm Johnson in '47, and in '48 Chas Covillaud. The city of Marysville was named for her, and she died before '80, leaving 5 children. M. (Lemuel), 1846, son of Lavinia, who died as above.

Murphy (Martin), 1844, nat. of Ireland who emigrated to Canada in '20, and to Mo. '40. Here he became dissatisfied on account of malaria which killed his wife, and the lack of religious influence for his children, and at the age of 60 resolved to cross the plains to Cal. as a catholic country of fertile soil and salubrious climate. He came in the Stevens party with his children and grandchildren as named in this register, and settled in Sta Clara Co., where the family became prominent and wealthy. He was the owner of a S.F. lot in '47, and in '52 was claimant for a rancho. iv. 672, 684. Several of the sons served under Sutter in the campaign of '45. iv. 486. The old patriarch died in '65 at the age of 80. His daughter Mary was Mrs James Miller; Ellen was Mrs Townsend in '44, and later Mrs C. M. Weber; Johanna was later Mrs Fitzgerald of Gilroy; and Margaret became Mrs Kell of S. José. M. (Martin, Jr), 1844, son of Martin, accomp. by wife and 4 sons, a daughter being born in camp at Donner Lake. iv. 445, 453. He settled on the Cosumnes, and his visits to New Helv. are often noted in the diary. His rancho is often mentioned by travellers between the bay and Sac., and there it was that Arce's horses were taken and the Bear revolt begun. v. 108. In '50 the family settled in Sta Clara Co., where in '81 the golden wedding was celebrated, and where Martin died in '84 at the age of 78, leaving an immense estate. His sons, Bernard D., Patrick W., James, and Martin, are named in this register. His daughters surviving him were Mrs R. T. Carroll and Mrs Joaquin Arques; another, Mrs Wm P. Taafe, having died. Portrait of M. in *Sta Clara*

Ob. Co.; also called Calvin. Musty (John), 1843, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Mutrel (Jean Baptiste), 1827, French pilot on the *Nereid*, wrecked on the L. Cal. coast in a schooner employed by the *Nereid* for seal-hunting. v. 478. He came to Cal. in '27 to drive cattle across the frontier. iii. 176; and in '28–9 became a resident at S. Diego. ii. 545; in '36 at Buenavista rancho, near Mont., age 27; went to Mont. in '40; in '46 at Los Ang.

Myers, 1845, at Sutter's Fort; perhaps 'Meyers.' M., 1845, apothecary at N. Helv. Nov. from below. M., 1848, of firm Adler & M., Sonoma. M. (A. S.), 1847, captain's clerk on the U.S. *Lexington*. M. (Courten), 1847, doubtful name at N. Helv.; called a volunteer; on his way to Salt Lake with a band of horses. M. (Geo. A.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 358). M. (Jack), 1847, at Sutter's Fort; perhaps John. M. (John), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). M. (John J.), 1845, one of Frémont's men, iv. 583, who served as sergt-maj. of the Cal. Bat., v. 300, and was later lieut; Cal. claim of $130 (v. 462). M. (Russell), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); later trader and deputy sheriff at Sonora; major of vol. in war of '61–5; in N.Y. city '84. M. (Sam.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); sergt of reënl. comp. v. 495; trial in '48. v. 610–11; in '81 a carpenter in Utah. M. (Wm), 1848, associate of Lassen in Tehama Co., who prob. came earlier; alcalde in '49. M. (Wm H.), 1846, gunner on the U.S. *Dale*. Myler (James), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Myrick, 1844, mr of the *Sarah* '44–5.

Nachborn (Benj.), 1847, married at S. José to a Sra Mojica. Nactré (Eugenio), neoph. elector of S. Antonio '26–7. ii. 622; iii. 33. Nadal, 1845, from Hon. on the *Fama*. N. (José), 1825, Span. who came on the *Aquiles*, apparently sent away in '30. iii. 51–2. Nagle (Ferdinand), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). N. (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3d U S. artill. (v. 518). Naglee (Henry Morris), 1847, capt. Co. D, N.Y.Vol. v. 504, 564, 666, 672. A nat. of Pa, graduate of West Point, and lieut 5th U S. infantry. After being mustered out he became a banker at S.F.; in the war of '61–5 he served as lieut-col of the regular army, and brig.-gen. of volunteers; but returned to Cal. and settled at S. José, where he is well known down to '85 as a man of wealth and manufacturer of brandy. His wife was a daughter of Maj. Ringgold, U.S.A.

Naile (Conrad), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. N. (Henry), 1836, Amer. trapper from N Mex., named in a Los Ang. list of the year iv. 117–18; but soon coming north to join Graham at his distillery. From '38 his name appears in Larkin's accounts and other Mont. records; in '39 with Graham he had a plan to raise a party and cross the mts eastward, which unfortunately failed; and in '40 he was seriously wounded in resisting arrest, and for this reason was not one of the exiles. iv. 14, 17, 18–22. From that time he lived in the Sta Cruz region as a lumberman, being interested with Graham in a saw-mill; in '42 signed an appeal to the U.S. for indemnity; was naturalized in '44; at Branciforte '45, age 36 and single; and in April '46 was killed by James Williams, who had rented his mill, in a quarrel about the contract. v. 641–2. Nalle, 1841, purser on the U.S. *Yorktown*. Nanhozen (Jerome), 1836, named in Larkin's books.

Narciso, Ind. chief in Sac. Val. '40. iv. 137 Narrimore (Mrs Mercy), 1846, of the Mormon colony with her son Edwin. She went back to Hon. on the *D. Quixote*, but returned, and was owner of a S.F. lot in '47 v. 543, 549. Narvaez, 1791, com of the *Horcasitas*. i. 493. N (Agustin), alcalde at S. José '21, and regidor '27. ii. 604–5; in '41 age 63, wife Josefa Higuera, child. Antonio b. '31, Lugarda '26, María Guad. '28, Teresa '30, María D. '33 N. (Blas), soldier of the S.F. comp. '39–43; at S. Mateo '35. iv. 657 N (Joaquin), at S José '41, age 36, wife María Ant. Sepúlveda, child. Salvador b. '28, Guadalupe '30, Pilar '31, María de los Ang. '33, José de la Luz '34, Francisco '35, Lugardo '37. N. (José Agustin), settler at Branciforte 1797–8. i. 569, 571; grantee of S. Juan B., Mont. '44. iv. 655; perhaps same as Agustin above. N. (José María), 1808, com. of the *Princesa*. ii. 87; in '27 com. of the *S. Cárlos*. ii. 456, 458, 470, 474. N. (Miguel), 1822, alférez on the *S.*

Cuelos. ii. 453. N. (Miguel), in S. José dist., age 30, wife Raimunda Buelna, child Agustin; at the S. Juan B. rancho '35. N. (Pedro), Mex. naval lieut unattached; capt. of the port Mont. '39–44; iii. 672, 676; iv. 97, 307, 32[illegible], 357, 4[illegible], 431, 653; in '44 grantee of Paso de Robles. iv. 655; in '45 mil. com. at Mont. iv. 652; in '46 served under Castro and was a memb. of the 1st jury. v. 12, 34, 41, 222, 289. I have no later record of him.

Nash, 1846, mr of the *America*. v. 576. N. (Mrs.), 1846, efforts to organize a school for her at N. Helv. in Jan. N. (John H.), 1845, Amer. lawyer and overl. immig. in the Hastings party. iv. 586–7. Nothing is definitely recorded of him from the time he left N. Helv. for S.F. in Jan. '46 to Oct., when he went to Sonoma with Bryant, but he perhaps took some part in the revolt. In Dec. he was made alcalde at Sonoma, being an illiterate, well-meaning old man, who called himself 'chief justice,' and attached great importance to his office. In June '47 he refused to give up the office to Boggs, who was appointed to succeed him, whereupon Lieut Sherman was sent to arrest the recalcitrant alcalde and carry him a prisoner to Mont., where he soon became penitent. v. 608–10, 657–9. With Grigsby and Ide, Nash signed, in May '47, a *Hist. of the Bear Flag Revolt*, having been in Sept. '46 sec. of a meeting of ex-Bears. v. 189, 298. In April '48 he visited the mines as a committee of investigation to report for the benefit of Sonoma residents; and later in the year he returned to Mormon Isl., where he died the same winter. N. (Wm H.), 1846, overl. immig. who settled with his family in Napa Val.; in '49 is said to have built the 1st school-house there; and still lived at St Helena in '69.

Navarrete (Bernardo), 1833, Mex. lieut, attached to Mont. comp.; went to Mex. on the downfall of Gutierrez in '36. iii. 240, 442, 453–6, 457, 671. N. (José Antonio), 1819, Mex. capt. of the S. Blas infantry comp. in Cal. '19–22, and in '20 com. of the post at Mont. ii. 607–8, 252, 254–5, 265, 379, 422, 451, 461, 463, 609, 675. N. (Ramon), soldier of the S.F. comp. '21–3; at Mont. '26. ii. 612. Navarro (José Ant.), mestizo settler of Los Ang. 1786–1800. i. 345, 348–9, 484, 640. N. (Guillermo), alférez in '39. iii. 583; at Sta B. earlier, wife Dionisia Dominguez, 4 child.; at Los Ang. '46. N. (Teodoro), soldier of the S.F. comp. '28–34; at Los Ang. '46. Nay (José), 1832, got a passp. at Los Ang. Nazario, Ind. cook at S. Diego. ii. 345.

Neail (John), 1847, owner of lot at S.F. Neal, 1848, miner at Adams' Bar. N. (John), 1845, at Sutter's Fort often in '45–7, several times arriving from the bay and Sonoma with reports of impending hostilities by the Californians. iv. 578, 587; v. 128, 170. As he came from Sonoma June 20th, he may have been one of the original Bears. He was an Irish sailor, a rough character, who lived in Colusa Co. till about '56, when—or earlier, as Bidwell thinks—he killed a man in some dispute about a dog or a mining claim, and escaped from the country. N. (John C.), 1841, otter-hunter at Sta B. not locally famous for paying his debts. N. (Joshua A.), 1847, nat. of N. H. who came as a sailor; was a clerk at S.F. '48; went to the mines '49. A resid. of Alameda Co. '50–78, marrying a Bernal and living at Pleasanton.

Neal (Samuel), 1844, nat. of Pa—or of Holstein in one original record—and one of Frémont's men; discharged at his own request early in '44. iv. 457, 430, 453, 229. He was employed by Sutter as a blacksmith; was naturalized in Nov.; and in Dec., in return for services in the Micheltorena campaign, got a land grant on Butte Creek, Butte. iv. 671. In his application he claimed to have been a resid. since '42; and indeed Yates claims to have seen him in '42–3. He still worked much of the time at his trade, aiding Frémont in the autumn of '45. In '46 he guided Gillespie up the Sac. Val. to overtake Frémont, and took part in the following troubles, though there is some confusion between him and John N. in the records. v. 24, 101, 104, 107. After the war he engaged in stock-raising, acquiring some local fame for his fine animals. He never married, and died at his Butte Creek home in '59, leaving his property to brothers whom he had not seen for 20 years. N. (Wm W.), 1847, on the roll of the Soc. Cal. Pion. as having come in Jan. '49; but he states that he was at S.F. on a whaler in '47; in later years a well-known pilot

of S.F., still living in '85 with a family. Neale (D.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Nease (Peter), 1847, with Capt. Hunt of the Morm. Bat. (v. 469), accomp. by his wife. N. (Sam.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518).

Ned, 1830, doubtful name, at S. José and Mont. '30–4. Neddles (John), 1831, steward on the *Catalina*. Nee (Luis), 1789, apothecary in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Neeb (John), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. Sonoma '74. Needles (Wm H.), 1847, purser's clerk on the *Columbus*. Negrete, see 'Castillo Negrete.' Neiderer, 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); doubtful name, not in Clark's last list; at S.F. '71–4. Neif (Joseph Ant.), 1839, German sailor, age 26, captured (?) by Cooper, released by Vallejo, and employed by Leese at S.F. '40; known as Hen. Richer. Neill (Wm M.), 1834, mr of the *Llama*. iii. 383; perhaps 'O'Neill.' Neilson (Thos), 1826, asst surgeon with Beechey. iii. 121. Neiman (Hendrick), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Neligh (Robert B.), 1847, member of the S. José council. v. 634; agent for Com. Stockton in the mines '48; claimant in '52 for rancho in Mont. dist. v. 637. Nelson (Chas), 1847, at Hon. from S.F. on the *Francisca*. Nemesio (Santiago), grantee of Capay '46. v. 675; perhaps an Ind. named Nemesis. Neri (Gregorio), soldier in the Hidalgo comp. at Mont. '36, age 27. Nero (Joseph), 1847, at Sutter's Fort; prob. 'Verrot,' q.v. Ness (Elijah), 1837, Fr. lumberman in the Sta Cruz region '37–43; said to have aided in the arrest of foreigners '40. iv. 118, 22.

Neve (Felipe de), 1777, Span. major of cavalry who was gov. of the Californias, residing at Loreto from March 4, '75, and—having been promoted to colonel—at Mont. from Feb. 3, '77, to Sept. 10, '82. He became later brigadier, inspector-general, and comandante general of Provincias Internas, dying in '84. He was one of California's ablest rulers. Biog. i. 237–8, 363, 446–8, 437; his rule in Cal., including his reglamento, or system of govt, his founding of the pueblos, and his controversies with the missionaries, i. 305–83, passim; ment. i. 296, 389, 393, 405, 608. Gov. Neve had no family. Nevill (Joseph M.), 1848, owner of S.F. lots.

Newell, 1836, named in Larkin's accounts. N., 1848, mr of the *Honolulu* and *Humboldt*. N., 1848, of firm N., Brady, & Gilbert, lumberman at Mont. N. (Chester), 1847, chaplain of the U.S. *Independence*. v. 657. Newitt (Sam), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Newman (James), 1847, ditto. N. (John), 1847, Co. H, ditto. N. (Wm), 1834, Engl. servant of Wolters at Mont. Newmayer (Godfrey), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons. v. 336. Newson (J. M.), 1848, overl. immig.; memb. of the legislature from Stanislaus '68. Newton, 1846, overl. immig. of Bryant's party with wife; killed by Ind. on the way. N. (J. W.), chaplain on the U.S. *Columbus*. N. (Thomas), 1848, Swiss sailor on the *Isaac Walton;* real name Sjoberg.

Nicholas, 1842, com. of the U.S. *Yorktown*. iv. 313, 570. Nicholaus (A.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Nichols, 1841, of the Walker party with Emmons of U.S. ex. ex. from Or. iv. 270. N. (Joseph), 1846, of the Mormon colony, with wife Jerusha and child, one child having died at sea. v. 546. He left the church, and in later years lived in Alameda Co. to '82. Mrs N. died in the faith. N. (J. M.), 1845, came on a whaler. iv. 587; saloon-keeper at Napa '52–71. *Napa Register*. N. (P.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Nicholson (J. W.), 1847, mid. on the U.S. *Lexington*. Nichton (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Nickerson (Thomas), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Nidever (Geo.), 1833, nat. of Tenn., from '20 a hunter in the west, making trips to the Rocky Mts and N. Mex. till '33, when he came over the sierra with Walker's party and remained in Cal. iii. 391, 394, 459. Here he continued his hunter's life, taking otter in all parts of the coast under Capt. Dana's license to '37, and later with one of his own. Occasionally named in the records from '36, his home being at Sta B.; making frequent raids on the grizzly bears and killing at least 200; naturalized in '37, and also serving for a time with Graham's riflemen. iii. 493; having some conflicts with Ind. iv. 90; and escaping arrest in '40. iv. 24. In '41 he married Sinforosa Sanchez, having bought some land of Joseph Chapman; in '45 refused to join Micheltorena's foreign company; but in '45 having been arrested by the Californians,

v. 317, he served under Stockton in the final campaigns; had some success in mining '48–9; piloted the U.S. coast survey craft in a survey of the Sta B islands '50; in '53 rescued the famous old Ind. woman of S. Nicolás Isl.; and about the same time bought an interest in S. Miguel Isl., where he raised stock for 17 years, and though wellnigh ruined by the drought of '63–4, sold out in '70 for $10,000. In '78 residing at Sta B. at the age of 76 with his wife and daughter, a man of excellent repute, he gave me a long and most valuable narrative of his *Life and Adventures*. A bit of paper into which the old man at that time put 3 rifle-balls within the space of a square inch at 60 yards forms an appropriate frontispiece of the volume. H. died in '83. A brother John, who died at Sta B. in '73, is sometimes said to have come with Geo. iii. 391; but I think he came after '48. Another brother, Mark, was killed by the Ind. before reaching Cal.

Niebla (Ramon), a hatter at Los Ang. '39, age 47. Nief, see 'Neif.' Nieto (Antonio), 1830, Mex. alférez who com. a squad of soldiers guarding a party of convicts. iii. 49, 142; prob. not in Cal. '25, as stated in iii. 15. N. (Antonio María), son of Manuel, owner of Sta Gertrudis, claimed to have been regranted in '34 to his widow Josefa Cota. iv. 635. N. (Diego), at Los Ang. '45. N. (Juan José), son of Manuel, b. 1781; mentioned in '11–20. ii. 418; part owner of Los Nietos rancho, Sta Gertrudis, Alamitos, Coyotes, etc., regranted to him '34. ii. 565; iii. 633, 644. N. (Manuel), grantee of Los Nietos rancho 1784; ment. 1801–16; Las Bolsas and Sta Gertrudis regranted to his widow, Catarina Ruiz, '34. i. 609, 612, 632; ii. 111, 185, 348, 353, 663; iii. 633–4. N. (Manuela), grantee of Los Cerritos '34. iii. 633. Nightengell (G. R.), 1875, overl. immig. perhaps of the Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 578–9, 587; at Carson, Nev. '68. Nikoforof, 1815, sup. of the *Lady*. ii. 307. Niles (John), 1847, doubtful name of a settler at Benicia. Ninian (Wm), 1834, English clerk at Mont., age 30. Niño (Alejo), first man buried at Mont. 1770. i. 175. Nisbitt (Thomas), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in '82 at Scott River, Siskiyou Co. Nixon, 1823, mr of the *Hebe*. ii. 492.

Nobili (John), 1848, Ital. Jesuit who came to the Or. missions in '42 and to Cal. apparently in '48. He was the founder of Sta Clara college in '51, a very able man and popular teacher, who died in '55. Noble (John E.), 1847, sergt Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. v. 519. Noboa (Diego), 1783, Span. friar who served at Sta Clara and left Cal. in '94. Biog. i. 722–3; ment. i. 379, 390, 422, 457, 476, 576. Nocedal (José), 1775, Franciscan chaplain on a Span. ship, visiting the coast several times in '75–8. i. 240, 287, 292, 296, 300, 328. Noé (José de Jesus), 1834, Mex. who came in the H. and P. colony. iii. 263; and settled at S.F., obtaining a grant of Camaritos in '40, and of S. Miguel in '45. iii. 711; iv. 673. In '42 age 37, wife Guadalupe Gardano, child. Miguel b. '33, Dolores '36, Esperidion (?) '38, Concepcion '40; juez de paz '42–3. iv. 165–6; owner of a town lot '43. v. 669, 682; alf. of militia '44. iv. 657; alcalde and juez '46. v. 295, 648. He lived at the mission in '55, and his son Miguel still lives in S. F. '85. N. (Miguel), 1844, Amer. who received naturalization papers; perhaps Michael Noah (?). N. (Nicolás), 1812, com. of the *Flora* '12–13. ii. 202–3, 268–70, 353. Noel (Luis), 1848, laborer at Mont. Noler (Christian), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Norden (Stephen), 1844, Amer., age 25 at S.F.

Nordhoff (Charles), 1847, nat. of Prussia, educated in Cincinnati, a printer by trade, who in '47 was a sailor-boy on the U.S. *Columbus*, and for a time commander's clerk on the *Warren*. He left the sea in '53, and has since been a prominent newspaper man and author of a dozen books of acknowledged merit. He revisited Cal. several times in '71 and later years; and among his works are *California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence, and Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands*. In '85 he has been some years editorially connected with the N.Y. *Herald*. Noriega (Francisco), 1842, Mex. capt. of the batallon fijo '42–5; a hard case. iv. 289, 357, 364, 633. His marriage with Francisca Sepúlveda was prevented by the woman's friends, and he married a Soberanes whom he afterwards abandoned. N. (José), '834, Span. sup. of the vessel bringing the H. and P. colony. iii. 263. In '35

depositario at S. José. iii. 730; in '35 grantee of Los Médanos, Contra Costa, and later of Quito, and half-owner of Los Pozitos. iii. 712; iv. 672–3; alcalde of S. José '39. iii. 731; in '41 age 49, wife Manuela Fernandez, child Manuel. In '46 he was with Arce when his horses were taken, and on visiting N. Helv. a little later was thrown into prison with Vallejo and the rest, for which the Span. consul tried later to obtain redress. v. 106, 108, 124, 128, 615. After his release he was member of the S. José council. v. 664; and in '60 he still lived at S. José. N. (María Ramona), wife of Pedro Amador, d. 1801. ii. 585. N. (Matias Antonio de Sta Catarina), 1779, Span. friar who served at S.F. and S. Cárlos, retiring in '89. He was perhaps guardian of S. Fern. college later. Biog. i. 469; ment. i. 329, 351, 388, 392, 460, 404, 411, 433, 442. N., see 'Guerra y Noriega.' Norman (F.), 1848, passp. from Hon. N. (J.), 1848, at Hon. from Mont. on the *Laura Ann*.

Norris, 1818, negro of Bouchard's force, captured; became a cook at S.Juan Cap. ii. 230, 248, 393. N. (Anderson), 1843, negro deserter from the *Cyane;* killed by the Californians. iv. 400, 565. N. (David), 1844, corp. Co. C, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); printer and amateur actor, for many years foreman in the S. F. *Bulletin;* from '77 at Centreville, Alameda Co., where he died in '84 at the age of 61; a nat. of N.Y. N. (Jacob W.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Newark, N.J., '74–82, sergt of police. N. (J. Parker), 1846, Com. Stockton's sec., sent east with despatches Sept.; returned on the *Preble* '47. N. (John S.), 1847, lieut Co. K, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; judge of election '48. v. 652; d. in Central America '56. N. (Leo), 1846, nat. of Ky and overl. immig. with his family; at S. José '47–50; and in S. Ramon Val., Contra Costa, from that date to '82, being claimant for the rancho. iii. 713. His wife, Jane Kizzie, died in '55, and there were 5 surviving children in '82. Three daughters became Mrs Lynch, Mrs Perkins, and Mrs Llewelling. N. (Samuel), 1845 (?), trader at N. Helv. and at S.F., of firm Shelly & N. 1847–8, and seems to have come a few years earlier by sea. iv. 587. He was of German or Danish birth. A miner on the Yuba in '48; in '52 claimant for the rancho del Paso. iv. 672. From about '57 he led a wandering life in many parts of the world, though frequently making his appearance at S.F., an intelligent, mildly eccentric man in easy circumstances. Meanwhile the rancho had passed into the hands of Haggin & Tevis; and in '84 Norris began suit against them for the property, claiming that in '57–83, from the effects of a blow on the head, he was not in his right mind, or capable of comprehending the process by which the ranch had passed from his ownership. N. (Wm H.), 1846, son of Leo, and a resident of Contra Costa to '82; married Margaret Nash in '60.

Northgrave (Wm), 1845, Engl. immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party. v. 572, 587. Served in the Cal. Bat., Co. B, artill. (v. 358); in '47 burned charcoal for Sutter; in '48 mined with Bidwell on Feather River; living near Chico in '84. Northman (Chas), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Northrop (Sam.), 1814, mr of the *Pedler*. ii. 305. Norton, 1841, mr of the *Ninfa*. iv. 567. N., 1836, mr of a whaler. iv. 104. N. (Joshua A.), 1848, Engl. few who came from S. Amer. and was for some years a prosperous speculator and trader. Business reverses affected his mind, and as 'Emperor' Norton he became a well-known 'crank' in S.F., where he died in '80. N. (Clement), 1845, mr of the *Gustave*. iv. 566. N. (C. B.), 1848, passp. from Hon. N. (Chas C.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). N. (Edward), 1848, overl. immig. with Allsopp. N. (Martin), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. Napa '68. N. (Myron), 1848, lieut Co. C, N.Y.Vol., appointed to fill a vacancy, and not coming with the regiment, but on the *Huntress* in Oct. '48. He was a lawyer, prominent in organizing civil govt at S.F., being justice of the peace and lieut of the City Guards; an active member of the constit. convention of '49; judge of the superior court '51; member of the Los Ang. council '52; county judge from '53, and in '55 and '65 candidate for the supreme court. He died between '67 and '71. N. (Thos A.), 1836, a Honolulu trader, signer of a memorial at Mont. iv. 118, 141; in '43–4 mr of the *Chas M. Morgan*. iv. 564. Norvell (Chester), 1847, chaplain on the U.S. *Independence*. N., 1848, of N. & Co. at Mont.

Noswill (John), 1846, doubtful name of Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 347). Nott, 1848, mr of the *Sweden*. v. 580. Novales (Manuel), 1789, lieut in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Nowell, 1848, at Mont.; perhaps 'Norvell.' Nowler (Christian), 1847, of Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. Nowlin (Jabez), 1847, Co. C, ditto. Noyes (Michael S.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Eureka, Nev., '82.

Nuez (Joaquin Pascual), 1812, Span. friar who served at S. Fern. and S. Gabriel, where he died in '21. Biog. ii. 567; ment. ii. 334, 333–7, 355, 357, 394, 655. Nuñez, sergt appointed to Cal. '32. iii. 236. N. (José Antonio), 1833, Fr. sailor who came on the *Gelvichis* (*Helvetius?*), and died before Dec. '34. N. (Sebastian), grantee in '44 of Orestimba, for which he was claimant in '52. Nuttall (Thomas), 1835, Engl. botanist who visited Cal. iv. 142. N. (Wm H.), 1846, overl. immig. of Bryant's party. v. 528; Cal. claim $63 (v. 462). owner of S.F. lots '47; clerk for McDougall at Sac. '48. Nutter (Geo. W.), 1845, nat. of N.Y. who visited Cal. on a whaler from Hon. iv 587; returned later and lived at Sta Cruz in '69. N. (Noah), 1848, passp. from Hon. Nutting (Lucy), 1846, one of the Mormon colony. v. 546; owner of S.F. lot '47; in '84 Mrs Ferguson at Lehi, Utah. Nuttman (James E.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lot; later chief of fire dept in S.F. and Stockton; at S.F. '71; Newark, N.J., '74; New York '82–3.

Nye (Gorham H.), 1830 (?), nat. of Mass., who may have visited the coast in '30 as he testified in '68. iii. 180; Peirce says he came to the Isl. from Plymouth in '31; newspapers give a variety of dates; and the 1st definite record is that he was mr of the *Loriot* in '33–5. iii. 383, 381. As mr of the *Bolivar* trading from Hon. and of the *Fama* and *Leonidas* he visited Cal. each year in '35–47. iv. 101, 104, 563, 578. He came on the *Guipuzcoana* in '47, and perhaps remained, as he is said to have made and lost a fortune at S.F., and to have gone east in '53. According to the *Calistoga Tribune* of July 6, '71, Capt. N. had lived many years at Sta Cruz, also spending two years at the Sandwich Isl., where a rich Chinese sugar-planter offered him a home, on account of the captain's kindness to him as steward in old times. Acc. to the *S.J.Pioneer* of Nov. 16, '78, he lived from '71 with Chas Krug at St Helena, where he died in '78 at the age of 76. N. (Michael C.), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party, iv. 266, 270, 275, 279, who was naturalized in '44 and got a grant of the Willy rancho on the Yuba, doubtless for services in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 674, 485. He is often named in the *N. Helv. Diary* '45–8, having also a Cal. claim (v. 462); is said to have entered Cordua's service in '46; in June '47 married Mrs Harriet Pike of the Donner party. N. was a resid. of Marysville in '58, but later went to Or., where his wife died in '70, and where he still lived in '79.

O'Brien (H.), 1845, in Sutter's employ Dec.; went to Or. Apr. '46. iv. 578, 526. O'B. (James), 1838, Irish resid. of Mont. dist. iv. 119; exiled to S. Blas in '40, but returned in '41 with a pass, which was renewed in '42, iv. 13, 33, 37, when he was, however, banished to the Sonoma frontier. iv. 653. In '44 he died, and I have a letter from his father Daniel in London, in which, with 'hearty thanks for the information' of his son's death, he inquires as to the chances of collecting Jimmy's claim against the govt. O'B. (John), 1835, Irish sailor who landed from a whaler at Sta B. at the age of 25. iii. 413. He hunted otter on the islands for several years, and in '40 got permission to marry, being then in the employ of Lewis Burton. He was one of the first at the gold mines, but fell ill, and being brought down the river died at Benicia in Oct. '48. O'B. (John), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336); Q.M. sergt. O'B. (Thos), 1842, at Mont. under sentence of banishment to Sonoma; prob. James.

O'Cain (Joseph), 1795, 'Englishman b. in Ireland from Boston,' sent to S. Blas from Sta B. i. 537. O'C. (Joseph), 1803, Amer. mr of the *O'Cain*, hunting otter on the coast under Russian contracts 1803–5. ii. 25–6, 32, 38–9, 70–1. O'Connell (Anthony F.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. age 48, leaving a widow and two children. He had been for many years a

drayman; known in the later years as O'Connor. O'C. (John), 1847, accredited to N.Y.Vol., but not on the roll; tarred and feathered at Mont.; drowned on the way to Or. *S. José Pion.*, '82. O'Connor (Bartholomew), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v 518). O'C. (Owen), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). O'C. (Wm), 1845, at N. Helv. in '46; iv. 578, 587; said to have been in Sta Clara Co. '45. O'Donnell (Joseph), 1846, Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). O'Donojú (José Simon), 1834, Mex. of the H. & B. colony. iii. 263; at Sta B. '41; in '42–4 purveyor of the troops under Micheltorena; at Los Ang. '47.

O'Farrell (Jasper), 1843, Irish surveyor who came to the U.S. in '41 and to Cal. by sea via S. America and Mazatlan. iv. 400. In '44 he signed the order for Weber's arrest, iv. 483, and in '45 served as Q.M. in Sutter's force, iv. 485–6, being mentioned in '44–6 at various places, but apparently making S. Rafael his home, being engaged most of the time in making rancho surveys. He seems not to have taken part in the troubles of '46, but is named as a witness of the Haro murder at S. Rafael. v. 171–2. In '47–8 he advertised as a surveyor in the papers, was appointed official surveyor in the northern district, and made the permanent street survey of S.F. v. 455, 648, 653–6, 680, 685. About '48 he exchanged a Marin Co. rancho which he had taken in payment of professional services for that of Jonive in Sonoma Co., purchasing later the adjoining Estero Americano, for which places and for Capay in Yolo he was claimant in '52. iii. 712; iv. 671; v. 675. He married a daughter of Patrick McChristian, and lived chiefly on his rancho, but took also some part in politics, serving in the state senate and also as state harbor commissioner. For so prominent and well known a man there is a remarkable lack of definite information about him. He died at S.F. in '75 at the age of 58. A street in S.F. bears his name.

O'Grady, 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol. under another name. O'G. (Thos), 1846, Irish settler of Sonoma Co. '47–77, when he lived at Bodega. O'Hara (D.J.), 1847, in S.F. letter list. O'Neil, 1837, one of the cattle party from Or. iv. 85. O'N. (John M.), 1847, sergt Co. E, N.Y.Vol. v. 504. Nat. of N.Y.; maj. of cavalry in war of '61–5, being stationed 4 years in Utah; in '67–83 custom-house officer at S.F.; d. at Mont. '85. O'N. (Owen), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lot; in Nev. '82. O'N. (Wm), 1816, said to have touched on the Cal. coast from China in '16. ii. 282; later an employé of the H. B. Co.; died at Victoria '75, at the age of 74; a nat. of Boston. O'Reilly, 1837, a witness at S.F. Dec. O'R. (E.), 1847, farmer in S. Mateo Co. '61–78. O'Rourke (Francis), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). O'Sullivan (James), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); a printer who was editor of the Sonora *Herald;* member of the constit. convention of '78; in S.F. '82.

Oakley (Chas H.), 1845, asst surg. on the U.S. *Portsmouth.* O. (Howard), 1846, of the Mormon colony. v. 546; of the 3d Donner relief. v. 540–1; owner of S.F. lots; no record after '48, but did not go to Utah. O. (Robert), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. Sta B. '48. Ober (David), 1848, passp. from Hon. Obes (Ramon), 1825, Span. who came on the *Aquiles;* perhaps sent away '28–30. iii. 51–2. Obleie, 1844, doubtful name of a married foreigner. Oca (Ignacio Montes de), sentenced to presidio 1805. ii. 191. Ocampo (Francisco), 1834, Mex. of the H. & P. colony. iii. 263; at S. Juan Cap. '41. iv. 626; at Los Ang. '46–8; still at S. Juan Cap. '78. Ochiltree, 1847, mid. on the U.S. *Independence.* Odon, neophyte at S. Luis Ob., grantee of land '42. iv. 331. O., grantee of Escorpion '45. Ogden, 1828, leader of a party of H. B. Co. trappers who came to Cal. '28–30. iii. 161–2, 174; iv. 263. O. (Benj.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. Brooklyn, N.Y., '66. Ogier (J. S. K.), 1848, nat. of S.C.; member of the 1st Cal. legislature '49–50. Ogle (Chas A.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Olavide (Martin), 1791, aliérez with Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Olbés (Ramon), 1812, Span. friar who served for brief terms at four missions, retiring in '21. Biog. ii. 625; ment. ii. 225, 243–6, 364, 369, 387, 389–90, 394, 655. Olgin (José), settler at the Colorado Riv. pueblos, killed by Ind. i. 359,

332. Olimpio, Ind. majordomo in Sutter's employ '47. Oliva (Raimundo), soldier of Sta B. comp. '32; ranchero '45. O. (Vicente Pascual), 1813, Span. friar who served at many missions, but chiefly at S. Diego, dying at S. Juan Cap. in '48. Biog. v. 623; ment. ii. 344, 357, 375, 383–4, 394, 551–2, 655; iii. 96, 619, 622, 641; iv. 422; v. 619. Olivar (Tomás), soldier of Sta B. comp. '32. Olivares (Antonio M.), at Los Ang. '46. O. (Bonifacio), at Mont. '36, age 23, wife María del Refugio; banished in '43 to Los Ang., where he took part in a revolt of '46. iv. 492, 654; v. 308. O. (Francisco), settler at Los Ang. '15. ii. 350. O. (Francisco), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). O. (Miguel and Tomás), at Los Ang. '46. Olivas, named as having been killed at S. Buen. '38. iii. 551. O. (Cosme), settler at Los Ang. '16. ii. 350. O. (Domingo), messenger of Gen. Flores '47. v. 387. O. (Francisco and José), at S. Bern. '46. O. (Esculano), comisario de policía at S. Diego '36. iii. 616. O. (Ignacio), soldier of the S.F. comp. '28–37; his child murdered '28. iii. 191. O. (Juan), settler at Los Ang. 1800. ii. 349. O. (Juan), at Sta B. before '37, wife Clara Pico, 4 children. O. (Luis), soldier at Sta B. '32. O. (Matías), juez de campo and com. policía at S. Diego '35–6. iii. 615–16. O. (Nicolás), at Los Ang. '39. O. (Raimundo), at S. Fern., age 28, '39; grantee of S. Miguel '41.

Oliver, 1835, trapper at Suisun, perhaps of Young's party. iii. 394. O. (Jacob), 1843, at S.F., ment. in *Peterson's Diary*. O. (John), 1834, Engl., named in Mont. list of '34–5. O. (Wm), 1842 (?), doubtful name of a lumberman. iv. 341. Olivera (Antonio), at Sta B. '32–45. iii. 583, 651; alférez in '39; grantee of Casmalia, Sta B., '40. iii. 655; wife Concepcion Romero, 5 children before '37. O. (Desiderio), at Los Ang. '19–48. ii. 355; age 53 in '39. O. (Diego), b. at Sta B. about 1789, and a soldier down to about '22; ment. in explor. ii. 57, 323; alcalde at Sta B. '37–8. iii. 654, 569–70; tithe collector '39. iii. 654; juez in '40. iii. 606; grantee of Guadalupe rancho '40. iii. 677. He is said to have clung to his old Span. ways, dress, and ideas to the last, becoming rich in lands and poor again, and dying in '67. Taylor's *Discov. and Found.* contains some of his reminiscences. O. (Ignacio), corp. and sergt of the Sta B. comp. from 1781; d. 1794; i. 463, 465–6, 532, 562; wife María Ant. Félix, who died 1868; child. Lúcas, Anna M., Diego, and María Estefana, wife of José V. Ortega. O. (Josefa), murdered with the Reed family at S. Miguel. v. 620. O. (Juan de Dios), at Los Ang. '46. O. (Juan María), corp. of Sta B. comp. '32; wife Serafina Leiva; at Los Ang. '46. O. (Lúcas), at Sta B. '37; wife Manuela Cota; 3 children; grantee of Jesus María rancho. iii. 655; still a Sta B. ranchero in '45. O. (Manuel D.), 1829, Portuguese at Los Ang. '36, age 36. iii. 179; grantee of land at S. Gabriel '43. iv. 637; majordomo in '45. iv. 637; in charge of the Mission '47. v. 628–9. O. (Martin), at Sauzal rancho, Mont., '36, age 56; wife Josefa Noriega; child. Juan María b. '17, Pedro '19, Nolasco '24, Lázaro '26, Agustina '21, Melchora '28, Catarina '30. iii. 679; grantee of Moro Cayucos '42. O. (Martin), at Los Ang. '39, age 25. O. (Rosalio), at Sonoma '44, age 45. O. (Tomás), at Sta B. before '37; wife María Ant. Cota, 2 children; grantee of Tepusquet '37. iii. 656; still at Sta B. '45–7. Olivier (Pierre), 1834, Frenchman of the H. & P. colony. iii. 412. In '42 he kept a drinking and billiard saloon at Mont.; settled near S. Juan; married a daughter of Canuto Boronda; and his sons lived near S. Luis Ob. in '78. Olivor (José), 1847, in S.F. letter list. Olk (Wm), 1840, Amer. trader, age 24, with passp. from U.S. Olmstead (Hiram), 1847, Co. C, Mormon Bat. (v. 469); at Ogden, Utah, '82. Olole (Chas), 1846, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list. Olpstay (Chas), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Olvera (Agustin), 1834, Mex. who came as a boy with his uncle, Ignacio Coronel, in the H. & P. colony. iii. 263. In '36 living with C. at Corralitos; went south in '39, and in '41 was commissioner to distribute lands at S. Juan Cap., where he was juez in '42–3. iv. 625–7. In '45 he was sec. and supl. member of the junta, being also the grantee of Mision Vieja and Cuyamaca ranchos. iv. 495, 522, 540, 621. In 46 he was sec. and member of the assembly both under Gov. Pico and Flores, being grantee of la Ciénega. v.

38, 264, 321, 627; and in '47 one of the commissioners who signed the treaty of Cahuenga. v. 404–5. After the U.S. occupation he became a lawyer, being judge of 1st instance '49, county judge '50–3, supervisor '56–7, presidential elector, and receiver in the land-office, being also claimant for Los Alamos. Don Agustin was a man of good abilities and reputation, who died at Los Ang. shortly after '74. His wife was Concepcion Argüello; one of his daughters married Charles Forbes, and another Juan Toro. His son Cárlos, living at Chualar in '78, permitted me to copy from his father's papers a valuable collection of *Olvera, Doc. Hist. Cal.* O. (Diego, Guadalupe, and José), on S. Luis Ob. assessment rolls '50. O. (Diego), sirviente at S.F. 1777. i. 297. O. (Julian), 1829, Mex. convict released in '36. O. (Santiago), soldier at S.F. '37–42. O. (Secundino), soldier at Sta B. before '37.

Oman (Geo. W.), 1847, lieut Co. A, Morm. Bat. v. 477; in com. of garrison at S. Luis Rey. v. 489. Ombis (Julian), 1845, doubtful name of a Frenchman in the Branciforte padron; wife Concepcion Espinosa. Oñate (Juan), 1604, conqueror of N. Mex., who descending the Colorado to its mouth must have looked upon Cal. territory. i. 68, 108. Ongo (Joseph S.), 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Ontiveros (José), settler at Los Ang. 1790. i. 461. O (Juan P.), at Los Ang. '37–46, grantee of S. Juan y Cajon de Sta Ana. iii. 678. O. (Patricio), encargado de justicia at Los Nietos '25. Opham (Jean), 1825, mr of the *Triton* '25–6. iii. 149.

Orámas (Cristóbal), 1786, Span. friar who served at Sta B., Purísima, and S. Gabriel, retiring in 1793. Biog. i. 664; ment. 330, 423, 425, 459, 576, 675. Orbell (James), 1837, Engl. sailor, age 24, who landed at S. Diego and engaged in trade. iv. 118. There was an order for his arrest in '40, not apparently executed. iv. 15; left in charge of Capt. Fitch's business during the latter's absence, and his accounts seem to show a deficit of $6,000 in '42. In '44–5 he was mr of the *Guipuzcoana*. iv. 566; being naturalized, and in Nov. '47 ill at Sauzalito. Ord (Edward O. C.), 1847, nat. of Md, and graduate of West Point in '38. He came to Cal. as 1st lieut Co F, 3d U.S. artill. v. 518, 520, 636. After the war he took part in several Ind. campaigns on the Pacific coast, going east by sea in '50. In the war of '61–5 he was brig.-gen. of volunteers and later in the regular army, with brevet of maj.-gen. For several years from '68 he commanded the department of the Pacific, and later that of the Texan frontier, dying at Habana in '83. O. (James L.), 1847, brother of E. O. C., who came as surgeon with Co. F, 3d U.S. artill., under contract, and not belonging to the army. v. 518. He remained in Cal. as physician and farmer, settling at Sta B. and marrying the widow of Manuel Jimeno Casarin, originally Angustias de la Guerra. He was also claimant for land in Tuolumne. iv. 674; and later spent some years in Mex., holding about '82 the position of consul-general. In '74 he resided at Sta B., and in '78 was appointed attending surgeon to the U.S. troops at Ft Point, S.F., still residing in this city '84. He had one daughter, Rebecca, who in '85 lives with her mother at Salinas. Mrs O. in her *Ocurrencias de California*, a MS. dictated by her in '78, has furnished one of the most accurate and fascinating narratives in my collection. The Ords had two brothers, Pacificus and R. B., who came to Cal. after '48 and were somewhat prominent; also a sister.

Ordaz (Blas), 1820, Span. friar, b. in Castilla la Nueva 1792, who came to Mex. in 1819 and to Cal. the next year, ii. 375, 394, 328, serving at S.F. '20–1, and accompanying Argüello on his famous exped. to the north, of which he wrote a *Diario*. ii. 475–6, 595, 655. In '21–2 he was stationed at S. Miguel. ii. 620; in '23–33 at Sta Inés and Purísima. ii. 490, 529, 581–2; iii. 96, 661; in '33–8 at S. Buenaventura, being sometimes in trouble, and once asking for release from his vows as a friar. iii. 257–8, 658; in '38–47 at S. Fernando. iii. 646; iv. 422, 638; v. 405; and in '47–50 at S. Gabriel, officiating for a short time also at S. Juan Cap. vi. 623, 628–9. After '48 he was the only survivor of the Fernandinos, v. 565, and died at S. Gabriel in '50. Padre Blas was a lively and good-natured man, but his fondness for women involved him occasionally in scandal and reprimand from his superiors. Orduno (Ramon), at Los Ang. '39–48. Oreña (Gaspar), Span. trader in Cal. '43 or earlier. iv.

364–5; sup. of the *Guipuzcoana* '46; a wealthy resident of Sta B. '50–85. His wife is the widow of Cesário Lataillade and daughter of José de la Guerra y Noriega. Oribes (Tomás), settler at Los Ang. 1798. ii. 379. Orozco, ment. in '37. iii. 54. O. (José María), supl. juez at S. Diego '43. iv 620; also receptor in the custom-house; grantee of Quejito rancho '45. iv. 621; taking part in the war at S. Diego '46. v. 329. Orrantes (Bernabé), at Los Ang. '46. Orriz (Bernardo), Mex. soldier of the Hidalgo piquete '36. Orta (José Gabriel), Mex. convict released in '34.

Ortega (Antonio), 1834, one of the H. and P. colony who was maj. at Solano '35–6, and grantee of S. Antonio rancho in '40. iii. 354, 711, 719–20. He died at S.F. about '68. O. (Antonio), convict settler of 1798. i. 606. O. (Antonio), soldier of Sta B. comp. before '37. O. (Antonio María), son of José María, member of the dip. '27–8. iii. 36–7, 41, 63; grantee of Refugio '34. iii. 655; iii. 566–7; capt. at Sta B '39. iv. 641; proposed for a sub-prefect at Sta B. '41. iv. 641, 602; juez in '46. v. 631. He was still at Refugio, for which he was one of the claimants, in '52. O. (Basilio), settled at Branciforte 1803. ii. 156. O. (Emilio Miguel), grantee of Punta de la Laguna, S. Luis Ob., '44; also cl. in '52. O. (Estévan), at Sta B. '37, wife Deogracias Ruiz, one child; collector of taxes Sta B. '46 and juez de policía '48 v 631; still at Sta B. '50. O. (Eugenio), admin. at Purísima '40. iii. 666. O. (Eusebio), at S. Juan Cap. '35. O. (Faustino), at S. Juan '43. O. (Felipe? María), sergt of Sta B. comp. 1795, and author of a *Diario* of explor. for mission sites. i. 553; ii. 28. There is some confusion between him and José María.

Ortega (Francisco), musician of the S.F. comp. '39–42. O. (Francisco), juez de paz at S. Buen. '48. v. 634. O. (Francisco María), son of Capt. José F.; soldado distinguido 1794; elector at Sta B. '22 and memb. of the dip. '22–4. ii. 454, 462, 483, 510–11, 572. O. (Guadalupe), wife of Joseph Chapman. ii. 479. O. (Ignacio), son of Capt. José F., who prob. came with his father in '69–73; soldado distinguido of the S. Diego comp. 1792; wife Gertrudis Arce. In 1812 he discovered a silver mine near Salinas. ii. 144, 176; and from about '10 to '30 was owner of the S. Isidro rancho in the S. José region. ii. 378, 383, 594, 603–4, 654; though possibly this was not the same man. There was also an Ign. O. at Sta B. '50 O. (Isabel), prob. daughter of Ignacio, grantee of La Polka rancho, Sta Clara, '33. iii. 712. O. (José), at Sta B before '37 with wife Dolores Quintero and 5 children; in '40 grantee of the Pismo rancho, S. Luis Ob. iii. 678; juez at S. Luis '44, '46. iv. 658–9; v. 638–9; visiting N. Helv. in '46. María Ant. O., cl. of Atascadero '52, was perhaps his daughter. O. (José Ant.), had a house at S.F. '38–41. v. 684; perhaps Antonio, as above. O. (José Dolores), son of José María; in '11–20 maj. at Sta B. ii. 334; his daughter Soledad (or probably his sister), marrying Luis Argüello in '19. iii. 11; at Sta B. about '32, wife Dolores Leiva and 4 children; grantee of Cañada del Corral in '41, iv 642, and still there in '45.

Ortega (José Francisco), 1769, Mex. sergt, nat. of Guanajuato, who came with Portolá and Serra, was lieut from '73, com. of S. Diego, founder and com. of Sta B., com. of Mont, retired as brevet capt. in '95, died near Sta B. '98. He was an officer whose record was an excellent one, the author of several important records of the earlier Cal. events, and founder of one of the leading Cal. families, many of the members of which are named in this register. Biog. i. 670–3; ment. i. 122, 133–6, 140–1, 148, 153, 155, 159–60, 167, 178, 216, 225, 230–1, 236, 249–50, 252–3, 265, 303–4, 312, 315–16, 335, 372–3, 377, 441, 451, 462–3, 468, 484, 501–2, 653, 671, 678, 690; ii. 113. O (José Joaquin), son of José María, member of the dip. '30–4. iii. 50, 246, 249–50, 275; diputado and otter-hunter '31–3. iii. 187, 189, 200, 216–18, 246, 374, 391; maj. and admin. of S. Diego '35–40. iii. 353, 499–501, 578, 590, 620, 625; in '42–3 encargado de justicia of the ranchos, elector, juez, and grantee of Pamo. iv. 361, 620–1; in '43–5 maj. at S. Luis Rey, grantee of Sta Isabel, and suplente in the assembly. iv. 540, 621, 623–4; in '46 juez de paz. v 618–19; cl. for Pamo in '52, and still living in '63. There is some confusion between José Joaquin, and José J., and more than one man may be referred to.

Ortega (José María), son of Capt. José F., b. 1759. who came to S. Diego a soldier in '69–73; soon made corp. of the Sta B. comp., and com. of the escolta at Purísima. i. 425; marrying María Fran. Lopez in '79. From '91 (appointed in '88) he was sergt of the Sta B. comp. i. 614, 665. About 1797 he was partially relieved from military service in order to aid his father in lifting a load of debt; perhaps retired altogether. He obtained the Refugio rancho, where, as ranchero and trader, he is often mentioned down to about '20. i. 639, 641, 653, 671; ii. 28, 112, 124, 185, 236, 249, 274, 354, 663–4. His children, as named in the *Sta B. Co. Hist.*, were Martin, José Vicente, Antonio María, José Dolores, José de Jesus, Joaquin, Pilar wife of Sant. Argüello, Soledad wife of Luis Argüello, María de Jesus wife of José Ramirez, Concepcion wife of José Ant. de la Guerra, and Catarina wife of José Carrillo. O. (José María), soldier of the S.F. comp. '19–22; a man of same name supervisor at Sta B. '54. O. (José R.), at S. Bern. '46. O. (Josefa), wife of José M. Amador '28. ii. 585. O. (José Vicente), son of Capt. José F.; wife Estefana Olivara; child. Luis (2), Manuel, Pedro b. '15, living '80, Rafaela wife of Daniel Hill.

Ortega (Juan), son of Capt. José F., who came in '69–75; ment. in '75 at S. Diego. i. 255; sergt of the Sta B. comp. '11–18, and comisionado at Los Ang. '18. ii. 326, 350, 361; wife Rafaela Arellanes; child. Emigdio (married Concepcion Dominguez), María wife of Guadalupe Hernandez, Buenaventura wife of Joaq. Cota, María Ant. wife of Pedro Dejeme, and María de Jesus wife of Fern. Ticó. O. (Juan María), at S. Juan Cap. '46, age 16. O. (Magdalena), Cal. claim $20 '46–7. v. 462. O. (Manuel), at Sta B. about '32; wife Andrea Cota; 1 child; maj. at S. Simeon '39. iii. 685. O. (María Ant.), cl. for Atascadero. iv. 655. O. (María Clara), daughter of Ignacio, and wife of John Gilroy. ii. 444. O. (María Simona), widow at S.F. 1796. i. 603. O. (Mariano), ment. in newspapers as 108 years old in '73, at Agua Mansa, S. Bern. O. (Martin), alcalde at Sta B. '29. ii. 572. O. (Miguel), owner of the Vírgenes rancho, Sta B., 1790–1802. iii. 111–12, 172; at S.F. 1807. ii. 192. O. (Pedro), at Sta B. about '32; wife Lugarda Ortega; 1 child; arrested at Refugio '41. iv. 672; at S. Luis Ob. '58. O. (Quintin), son of Ignacio, b. at S. Diego 1792; ment. in '18. ii. 234; grantee of S. Isidro '33. iii. 670, 713; in '36 juez de campo. iii. 675; wife Vicenta Butron; child. Pilar b. '20, Magdalena '24, Miguel '26, Quintin '32; at S. Juan '37. iii. 512; juez de paz '46. v. 640. Ortiz (Hilario), at Corralitos, age 24, in '36. O. (Nasario), at Los Ang. '46. Orville (James), on Larkin's books '38.

Osborn (Charles), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). O. (Jeptha), 1846, in Sta Clara Val. with 6 children; at S. José '48. O. (W. B.), 1844, sailor on the *Benj. Morgan*. iv. 453. O. (Wm B.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); miner in Placer Co. '49; physician at Los Angeles '49 to '67, the date of his death. He was a famous gardener, and held the offices of postmaster and justice of the peace. Osbourne (James A.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Osburn, 1848, of McLean & O., furniture dealers at S.F. v. 678. Oseguera, in trouble 1799. i. 639. Osgood (Henry M.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at San Luis Obispo '71–82, the date of his death.

Osio (Antonio María), nat. of L. Cal. and said to be of the family that was somewhat famous in very early times in connection with the gulf pearl-fisheries. But for the record of offices held by him there is a remarkable lack of information about the man. He first appears as a candidate for treasurer in '27, and as in charge of the Mont. customs '28–30 as sub-comisario, and memb. of the dip. in '30–1. ii. 607; iii. 49–50, 63, 67, 73, 86, 136. In '31 he was contador in charge of the revenue at S.F., taking some slight part in the troubles with Victoria. iii. 187, 189, 376, 700. In '32–3, besides being still vocal of the dip., he was receptor of customs at Los Ang. and S. Pedro. iii. 216–17, 245–6, 377, 635, 641; still in charge of the revenues for some years later. iv. 82. In '35–7 he was a member of the Los Ang. ayunt., sometime síndico. Ment. in connection with the Apalátegui revolt and the vigilance committee, and taking an active part with the sureños against Alvarado. iii. 283, 285, 417–18, 481, 485, 487, 489, 496–8, 501–2, 506, 508–9, 516, 636. Notwithstanding his opposition to

Alvarado, the latter put him again in charge of the revenues at Mont. '38-42; and he was also in '39 vocal and sec. of the dip., partido elector, substitute member of congress, and grantee of Los Angeles Isl. in S.F. Bay. iii. 584-5, 590, 672, 711; iv. 91, 96-7, 99, 210, 212, 339, 341. In '40-5 he was justice of the superior court. iii. 605; a partisan of Alvarado against Vallejo '42. iv. 282; grantee of Punta de los Reyes '43. iv. 672; and of San José mission lands '46. v. 665; again substitute congressman '43. iv. 361; in '44 capt. of defensores, an opponent of Micheltorena, juez at S. Rafael, and of quinterna for gov. iv. 407, 409, 423, 460, 462-3, 530, 652, 676-7. In '46-7 he made a trip to Honolulu with wife and 5 children, taking no part in the troubles of those years. Soon after the change of flag he went to L. Cal., and in '58 seems to have been elected gefe político, though forced by ill health to resign. In '68 he lived at S. José del Cabo, and I have not found the date of his death, or any definite information about his family. Don Antonio María was a man of fair ability and education, and of excellent reputation for honesty. As a politician he was somewhat too cautious and timid, disposed to seek safe ground on both sides of a controversy, and in an emergency to have an urgent call to some far-away spot. In his later years he wrote a *Historia de California*, a copy of which I obtained through the kindness of John T. Doyle, the original MS. being after '80 in possession of the writer's daughter in S.F. It is a work of considerable merit, valuable as a supplement to those of Vallejo, Alvarado, and Bandini, as presenting certain events from a different point of view; but like all writings of this class, it is of very uneven quality as a record of facts. None of them, nor all combined, would be a safe guide in the absence of the original records; but with these records they all have a decided value. O. (Antonio), celador of the Mont. custom-house '42-3. iv. 339; suspended for gambling. O. (José de Jesus), 1847, in trade at S. Diego. O. (Salvador), grantee of Todos Santos, Cosumnes, and Aguas Frias ranchos '41-4. iv. 463, 670.

Osman (Thomas), 1828, Engl. blacksmith, age 21, who deserted from a Fr. whaler at Todos Santos, L. Cal., and came up to S. Diego; ordered to depart '29. Osmer (Chas H.), 1826, clerk with Beechey '26-7. iii. 121. Osorno (Pedro), 1798, convict settler. i. 606. Ossa (Vicente), sec. and regidor of the Los Ang. ayunt. '32-5. iii. 283, 635; in '38 síndico, favoring Alvarado's govt, age 30. iii. 565, 636; in '42-3 grantee of Providencia rancho. iv. 634-5; in '46 at Los Ang., and in '56 justice at Encino. Ostein, 1817, deserter from Roquefeuil's vessel at S.F. ii. 288. Ostrander (James), 1847, Co. H, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Kinderhook, N.Y., '74. Ostwald (August), 1847, Co. B. ditto; at Sac. '82. Osuna (Juan María), born in Cal. before 1800; a soldier and corporal of the S. Diego comp., and later a settler. In '30 elector, taking part in the revolution of '31. iii 50, 201, 544; in '35 alcalde. iii. 615; in '36-45 grantee of S. Dieguito. iii. 612, 537; iv. 621; in '39 juez de paz. iii. 584, 616; in '40-3, maj. and admin. of S. Diego mission. iii. 620; iv. 371, 619, 621, 624; in '46 juez de paz. v. 618. He died about '47 at the age of 60, his widow, Juliana Lopez, being cl. for S. Dieguito. His daughter Felipa, widow of J. M. Marron, gave me her *Recuerdos* in '78, as elsewhere noted; and also a collection of her father's *Papeles Originales*. O. (José Hilario), at Los Ang. '46. O. (Leandro), perhaps son of Juan M ; took part in the fight at S. Pascual '46. v. 329, 352. O. (Miguel), settler at S. José, 1791; property destroyed by Ind. '95; alcalde in 1801. i. 683, 716; ii. 134. O. (Ramon), com. de policía at S. Diego '36; collector of tithes '39; grantee of Valle de las Viejas '46. iii. 616-17; v. 619. O. (Santiago), killed by Ind. at Pauma '46. v. 617.

Otondo (Felipe), sirviente at S.F. 1777. i. 297. Ousley (Henry) 1846 (?), settler in Napa Val.; where he still lived in '68-9; perhaps 'Owsley.' Owen, 1848, of O. & Wright, liquor dealers at S.F. O. (Isaac), 1848 (?), Methodist preacher; d. S.F. '66. Owens (Alex.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). O. (Edward), 1845, immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party with 4 others of the name, perhaps brothers. iv. 572-3; v. 526. O. (Henry), 1845, ditto; went back to Or. '46. O. (James), 1845, ditto; went to Or. '46. O. (John), 1845, ditto; went to Or. O. (James), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499);

owner of S.F. lot; at S.F. '74. O. (James), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). O. (Richard), 1845, nat. of Ohio, and member of Frémont's party. iv. 583; v. 6, 24, 80. From him Owens river and lake derive their name. He served as capt. of Co. A, Cal. Bat., being in com. at S. Gabriel and somewhat prominently connected with Frémont's controversies. v. 361, 441, 445–6, returning east with F., and being present as a witness at the court-martial in Washington. v. 453. O. (Robert), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). O. (Thos), 1845, from Or. in McMahon party; prob. returned to Or. '46. iv. 572, 523. Owney, 1847, negro witness at a S.F. trial. Oxborough (C.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Oyagüe (J. M.), 1827, doubtful name of mr of the *Huascar*. iii. 147.

Pace (James), 1847, lieut Co. E, Morm. Bat. v. 477; made an exped. against the Ind. v. 489; capt. of a hundred on the return to Utah. v. 493. P. (Wm B. and Wilson C.), 1847, servants to officers of Morm. Bat.

Pacheco (Antonio), militiaman S.F. '37; in '41 at S. José, age 32, wife María P. Soto, child. José Prudencio b. '26, José '33, Ventura '35. P. (Bartolo), Mex. soldier of S.F. comp. 1790, age 25, wife Soto, 2 children; Ind. exped. of 1801. ii. 136; inval. of the comp. '19–40; grantee of S. Ramon, Contra Costa, '33. iii. 713; at S. Mateo '35. P. (Dolores), alcalde and juez de paz at S. José '38–41, acting sub-prefect '41, and depositario '43. ii. 729–31; iv. 684, 685–6; grantee of Sta Rita in '39. iii. 713; in '43, age 45, nat. of Cal., wife Juana Pacheco (Alviso?), child Salvador b. '36. Again alcalde, juez, and member of council in '46, and often mentioned in local annals. v. 685; v. 8–9, 57, 105, 129, 246, 662, 664. I have much of Pacheco's official and private corresp. He died about '58, and his widow in '75 at the age of 80. P. (Francisco), at S. José '41, age 33, nat. of Cal.; wife Paula Sepúlveda, child Antonio b. '39.

Pacheco (Francisco Perez), 1819, Mex. carriage-maker who came with the artillery detachment under Ramirez. In '24 for bravery in putting down the Ind. revolt, he was promoted to brevet alférez. ii. 532, 536; being a memb. of the dip. in '27. iii. 36; in '29 com. of the custom-house guard and for a time of the post at Mont. under Solis. iii. 46–7, 50, 74, 136; depositario in '31. iii. 672; signer of the Zamorano plan as brevet lieut '32. iii. 223, 672; treasurer and grantee of a rancho '33. iii. 673, 679; com. of the guard '33–4. iii. 376, 378; regidor in '35. iii. 673; grantee of Ausaymas and S. Felipe in '36–40. iii. 711, 678; being at this time 45 years old, wife Feliciana Gonzalez, child. Jacinta b. '14 in Mex., Isidoro '20 in Cal., Juan '23, Encarnacion '27, and Isidora '30. In '37 he was arrested at S. Juan. iii. 513; his rancho was sacked by Ind. '38; in '44 he was capt. of defensores and com. at S. Juan. iv. 407, 652, 654, 662; in '46 tithe collector. v. 637. He was claimant for S. Felipe. v. 678; and also for S. Justo and S. Luis Gonzaga, becoming one of the wealthiest rancheros of Mont. county, besides being always a man of good character and much influence. His daughter, apparently the only one of his children surviving him, was the wife of Mariano Malarin. B. (Guillermo), soldier of the S.F. comp. '44, age 40.

Pacheco (Ignacio), Mex. soldier of the S.F. comp. 1790, age 30, wife Cantua, 1 child; before 1800 a settler at S. José, i. 716, where he was alcalde in 1824. ii. 605. P. (Ignacio), son of the preceding, b. at S. José 1808; soldier of the S.F. comp. from '27, and sergt '37. iii. 323, 702; grantee in '40 of S. José rancho. iii. 73; and juez de paz at S. Rafael '45–6. iv. 667; v. 669. He died on his rancho in '64. Portrait in *Marin Co. Hist.* His wife was María Loreto Duarte, and his children Salvador b. '43, Gumesindo '52, Catalina '57, Agustin F. '59, Juan F. '61, and Benjamin '63. P. (Ignacio), soldier of the S.F. comp. '28–9. P. (Jordan), 1829, Portuguese laborer from S. Blas, at Los Ang. '36, age 50. iii. 179. P. (José Reyes), soldier at the Colorado pueblos 1780–1, not killed. i. 359. P. (Juan Ign.), ment. in '48. v. 663. P. (Juan Sanchez), grantee of Arroyo de las Nueces, Contra Costa, '34. iii. 711. P. (Lorenzo), in Ind. exped. '29. iii. 111; soldier of S.F. comp. '28–30; in '41 at S. José, age 37, wife Rafaela Soto, child. Nicolás b. '37, Inés '41; juez de

policía '43. iv. 685. P. (Miguel), corporal of S.F. comp. 1790, age 36, wife Josefa María Sanchez; inval. and settler at S. José 1797–1829. i. 716. P. (Pablo), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–26, corp. '27–31, sergt '32–35. iii. 701; alf. of Sta B. comp. '36. iii. 650. P. (Rafael), convict settler 1791. i. 606. P. (Rafael), soldier of the S.F. comp. '37–40; at Sonoma '44. P. (Rafaela Soto de), grantee of S. Ramon, Contra Costa, '37. iii. 712.

Pacheco (Romualdo), 1825, Mex. sub-lieut of engineers, nat. of Guanajuato, who came with Gov. Echeandía as aide-de-camp, serving in that capacity for 2 years, and also as sec. of the com. gen. in '26–7 at S. Diego, making several exped. to the Colorado and elsewhere, serving as substitute member of the dip., and being often named in connection with military trials. ii. 508–9, 547, 549; iii. 13–14, 36, 61, 63, 102. In '27–8 he was ayudante de plaza and acting com. at Mont., persuading the revolting troops to return to their duty, and making a survey north of the bay to Ross. iii. 40, 66, 115. At the end of '28 he was transferred to Sta B., where he acted as comandante, being promoted to lieut in '29, and being imprisoned on one occasion by the revolting troops. ii. 571–2; iii. 78–84, 99. In '30 he was also com. at Mont. for a short time, ii. 608, and was recommended for promotion to be capt. of the S.F. comp. In '31 he was granted the use of a part of Simí rancho. iii. 656; but marching with a small part of his comp. to support Gov. Victoria, was killed in the fight near Los Angeles in Dec. of the same year. iii. 205–9, 214, 374, 650. Pacheco was a brave and skilful officer, intelligent, courteous, popular, and of unblemished character, a man against whom nothing was ever said, except that some Cal. officers complained of his too rapid promotion as a newcomer. In '29 he married Ramona, daughter of Joaquin Carrillo of S. Diego, being put under arrest for failure to comply with some formalities of military law. The widow married Capt. John Wilson of S. Luis Obispo, and still lives in '85. There were two sons b. in '30, '31, both of whom in '38 were sent to Honolulu to be educated, iv. 103, and remained there several years. Of one of them, Mariano, I have no later record than that he was a clerk for Wm H. Davis at S.F. in '43–4. The other son, Romualdo, born about a month before his father's death, after his return from Sandw. Isl. spent some years on the *Sterling* and other vessels as supercargo's clerk, but in '48 settled on his mother's land in S. Luis Ob. From '53 he was almost constantly in office, holding the positions of assemblyman, state senator, county judge, county treasurer, brigadier-gen. of militia, lieut-governor, and acting governor; denied seat in congress '76; elected in '78 and '80, serving out both terms. In '78–82 he was a stock-broker in S.F.; and has since lived in Mexico and Texas to '85. His wife was Mary McIntire, married in '63, and there was one surviving child in '82. In respect of official positions, Gov. Pacheco has been more prominent since '48 than any other native Californian; and his record as a citizen, in respect of character, attainments, and social standing, has been a good one.

Pacheco (Salvador), son of Ignacio, b. S.F. '34, who still lived in Marin co. '80; wife Vicenta Saiz; 4 children. P. (Salvio), soldier of Mont. comp. from about 1810, and corporal of the S.F. comp. '20–4, and perhaps to '29, being corp. of the escolta at S. José in '24. ii. 599; sec. of the S. José ayunt. '27, '29, '32, '34, and alcalde in '28. ii. 605, 730; suplente of the dip. '28–9, '35, '43. iii. '42–3, 111, 291, 293; iv. 361; alcalde '32. iii. 729; in '37–44 grantee of Monte del Diablo rancho. iii. 712; iv. 672; capt. of militia '37. iii. 732; surveyor of pueblo lands '38; iii. 730; grantee of Pozitos and partido elector in '39. iii. 712, 731; juez de paz '43. iv. 685–6, 362; suplente of the superior court '45. iv. 532; síndico '46. v. 662; accused of revolutionary intrigues '48. v. 663. In '41 he is named on the S. José padron as 48 years old, nat. of Cal., wife Juana Flores, child. Fernando b. '18, Padro Ign. '23, Salvador '24, Manuela '27, Concepcion '29. Don Salvio spent his life from '44 on the Mont. Diablo rancho on which the town of Pacheco bears his name, and died in '76 at the age of 83. P. (Silveria), owner of a house at S. José '46. v. 378. P. (Tomás), soldier of the S.F. comp. '23–32; in '34 elected regidor at S. José. iii. 730; in '37 alférez of militia. iii. 732; in '39 regidor. iii. 731; in '41 juez de paz. iv. 684; sec. of the juzgado '43. iv. 685; grantee of Potrero de los Cerritos '44. iv. 672.

Pacífico, Ind., executed at Purísima '24. Packard (Albert), 1845, nat. of R. I., trader and lawyer, who came from Mazatlan. iv. 587; trading at Mont. and S.F. '46–8; still a resident of Sta B. in '76, having been city attorney and held other local offices. P. (Henry), 1847, sergt Co. A, Morm. Bat. v. 495; in '81 at Springfield, Utah. P. (P. W.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. P. (Thos), 1846, doubtful name at Sta B. Packwood (Elisha), 1848, nat. of Va, who came overl. to Or. in '45 and by sea to Cal.; a miner '48–9, and trader at Mormon Isl. and Coloma, going east '49 and returning in '50; a stock-raiser till the floods of '61–2, then went to Or., where he died in '76. A son, Parrington P., was in the mines with his father, marrying Matilda Wardle while in Cal. P. (Sam. T.), 1847, a cousin of Elisha, in Sta Clara Co. '48, and prob. the P. named at N. Helv. '47. Pacomio (José), leader of neophytes in the revolt of '24. ii. 527, 532; in '36 a carpenter at Mont., age 40, wife María Guevia (?); also com. de policía. iii. 675.

Paddock (Joseph), 1830, mr of the *Whaleman*. iii. 149. Padilla (Juan), occupant of Chupadero rancho, Mont., 1795. i. 683. P. (Juan de Dios), trader at Los Ang. '39, age 40; also called captain. iii. 637. P. (Juan Nepomuceno), Mex. barber; at S. José '43. iv. 356; in '44–5 kept a saloon at S.F., was lieut of defensores, alcalde, and grantee of Roblar de la Miseria and Tamales ranchos. iv. 666–7, 673–4. In '46 he was in com. of a party of Californians north of the bay at the time of the Bear revolt. v. 160–4, 680; in '55 a resid. of Los Ang., age 31. P. (Julian), defender of Apalátegui at Los Ang. '35. iii. 285; accused of passing counterfeit coin. iii. 674; at Los Ang. '46. P. (Macedonio), 1842, Mex. lieut in the batallon fijo '42–5, remaining in Cal. after Micheltorena's departure. iv. 289, 513; v. 41. P. (Mariano), nat. of Cal., b. about '10; at S. José '50–5. P. (Vicente), soldier of S.F. comp. '27–9; at S. José '45–71.

Padrés (José María), 1830, nat. of Puebla; in '25 lieut of engineers and sec. of the com. gen. at Loreto; acting com. and sub-gefe político after Echeandía's departure for Cal. In '30, having been promoted to lieut-col, he came to Cal. as ayudante inspector of the troops. ii. 607, 674; iii. 46, 52, 57, 190. In '31 he acted also as inspector of customs; as fiscal in the Rubio case; was the instigator of Echeandía's secularization decree; and was arbitrarily sent to Mex. by Gov. Victoria. iii. 184–5, 192–3, 197, 304–5, 376; iv. 160. In Mex. he devised the H. and P. colonization scheme, and returned to Cal. in '34 with the appointment of director of the colony in addition to his former position as inspector, which latter he soon resigned. In '35 with his associate Híjar he was sent to Mex. by Figueroa to be tried on a charge of revolutionary plots. iii. 259–69, 272–91, 383, 613, 652, 670. Nothing is known of his later career, though a man of the same name figures at Ures, Sonora, as a petty official in '44–8. Padrés was a man of remarkable energy, intelligence, and magnetism, a most radical republican in the Mexican sense of the term; and one whose influence was long felt in Cal., through his teachings to the young men who later controlled the country. So well did they learn their lesson, indeed, that in colony times they turned against their teacher when he seemed to have forgotten their claims to office. Padushkin (Yakov), 1817, Russ. lieut who visited Cal. on the *Chirikof*. ii. 216, 283, 312–14, 373, 383. Paele (Pika), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. v. 685. Paez (Juan), 1542, probable author of Cabrillo's *Relacion*, and perhaps one of the exped. i. 69.

Page (Hugh N.), 1844, com. of the U.S. *Levant* on the coast '44–6. iv. 567; v. 204, 224, 231. P. (Rich. L.), 1847, lieut on the U.S. *Independence*. P. (Thomas), 1847, sheriff in Sonoma dist. '47–8; cl. of the Cotate rancho '52. iv. 671. Paine (Henry), 1820, named by Michael White as his cousin who aided in building a schr at Sta B. iii. 140. Painter (Theodore), 1846, Co. E, Cal. Bat., enlisting at Sauzalito Oct. (v. 358). Palacio (Francisco), 1848 (?), Mex. gefe político of L. Cal. who favored the Amer. during the war, and after the treaty came to Mont., where he died in '73. Palacios (Geron. M.), 1602, capt. and cosmog. in Vizcaino's exped. i. 98. P. (Lino), owner of land at Los Ang. '48. Palani (Kesani), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. v. 678. Pallas (Cayetano), visiting padre at S. Diego 1791–1800. i. 655; perhaps a

Dominican from L. Cal. Palma, Yuma chief, 1774–82. i. 221–2, 260–1, 355–7, 361, 370.

Palmer (Amasa), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). P. (Joel), 1848, a prominent citizen and official of Or., who came with the Or. miners and spent some months on the Yuba; author of a *Journal* of the trip overland to Or. P. (John), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). P. (Sam. R.), 1847, owner of a Benicia lot. v. 672. P. (Zemira), 1847, servant to officer of the Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Palo (Luis), companion of Brooks in the mines '48; son of a Mex. official at Mont. (?). Palomares (Francisco), son of Cristóbal, b. at Sta B. 1808; from '33 a resid. of S. José, being juez de campo in that year. iii. 729; and juez de policía in '46. v. 662. In the padron of '41 he is named with his wife Margarita Pacheco, and child. Benedita b. '30, María de Jesus '31, Rosario '32, Cristóbal '36, and Felipe '39. In '77 at S. José he gave me a long *Memoria* of his adventures, chiefly as an Ind. fighter—all of them strictly true as is to be hoped. iv. 75–6; v. 313, 566. P. (Francisco G.), at S.F. '38–9; grantee of Corral de Tierra. iii. 711. P. (Ignacio), juez de campo at Los Ang. '34, and regidor '35. iii. 635; in '37–40 grantee of Azuza and S. José ranchos. iii. 633; regidor and a prisoner in '38. iii. 555, 566, 636. He was juez de campo '40, juez de paz '41, elector '43, capt. of defensores '44, and suplente of the assembly '45. iii. 637; iv. 361, 540, 632. In '46 he took part in a movement against Flores, being also elected alcalde. v. 332–3, 626. He was a prominent ranchero in these and in later years, dying at Pomona in '82, at the age of about 70. P. (Jorge), com. of a volunteer cavalry comp. at Los Ang. '46. v. 51. P. (José), soldier and sergt of the Sta B. comp. to 1806, from '10 a settler at Los Ang. ii. 117, 349; ment. in '17–19. ii. 354, 425; in '22–4 elector and member of the 1st diputacion. ii. 454, 462, 513, 559; iii. 7; síndico '26, and fiscal in the Fitch trial '30. ii. 560; iii. 142–4. P. (José), possibly same as preceding, or his son; sec. at Los Ang. '28–30. ii. 550–1; in '37 alférez, aiding Bandini in the capture of Los Ang. iii. 519. P. (José Fran.), see P. (Francisco). P. (J. M.), capt. of Los Ang. defensores '44. iv. 407. P. (Luis), soldier at Sta B. before '37. P. (Manuel), at S. José '44.

Palou (Francisco), 1773, Span. friar who was the founder of S.F. mission in 1776, and the successor of Junípero Serra as president in '84. He retired in '85 and became guardian of S. Fernando college. He is best known as the author of the *Vida de Junípero Serra* and *Noticias de las Californias*, standard works on the early mission history. He died about 1790 in Mex. See Biog. i. 473–6; notice of his works. i. 417–20; ment. i. 122–5, 154, 165, 171, 179, 184, 193–6, 198–206, 231–6, 246–7, 254, 280, 287–93, 297, 320, 382, 385–8, 398–407, 410–11, 416–17, 455, 458, 474, 476, 657; ii. 113, 571.

Panano (Geo.), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. v. 678. Panaud (Clement), 1846, Frenchman at S. Juan B. in '47, with a claim for damages by Frémont presented through the French consul. v. 615. He bought a mill in Salinas Valley from Wm Anderson, and sold it in '48 to Capt. Cooper. In '53 he was claimant for lands in Sta Clara and Mont. counties. iv. 673; v. 637. Panella (José), 1797, Span. friar who served at S. Diego, retiring in 1803. Biog. ii. 107; ment. i. 379, 382, 564, 577, 654–5; ii. 159. Panto, Ind. chief at S. Pascual, S. Diego Co., who rendered much aid to the Cal. authorities in keeping the Ind. quiet; also aiding Stockton in '46–7 with horses, etc., never paid for by the U.S. govt. His claim and that of his people to their land at S. Pascual seems, however, to have been respected by the govt and landsharks down to about the period of his death in '73. P. (José Pedro), 1810, Span. friar whose missionary service was at S. Diego, where he died in '12, being poisoned by his neophyte cook in return for cruelty. ii. 344–5, 107, 159–60, 394. Pantoja (Francisco), regidor of Los Ang. '37. iii. 509, 636; at Sta Gertrudis rancho '39, age 43. P. (Juan), 1782, an officer on the *Princesa*, whose map of S. Diego is copied in i. 455–6, 378. P. (Matias), at S. Gabriel '46.

Pardo, 1831, said to have come from N. Mex. in the Wolfskill party. iii. 387. P. (Roberto), Mex. or Ind. sergt of the Mazatlan comp. at Mont. as

early as '20; in '24 posted at Purísima. ii. 533; in '33–4 engaged in otter-hunting (?). iii. 394. From '38 or earlier he was alférez of the Sta B. comp., being acting lieut and comandante '42–5. iii. 566, 589, 630, 651; iv. 282, 641. His wife was Candelaria Cañizares. Parish (De Witt C.), 1847, in S.F. letter list. Park (James), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at Cedar Val., Utah, '81.

Park (Thomas B.), 1826, nat. of Mass., and sup. of the *Harbinger* '26–8. iii. 147, 176. From '35 he was a resident of Cal., coming prob. on the *Alert*, acting as sup., or agent, of the *California* and other vessels from '36, and succeeding Alfred Robinson in charge of the Boston firm's business. iv. 101, 117; iii. 623, 657; often named in commercial records from '39. He was naturalized in '44, aiding the Californians against Micheltorena, and acting as sup. of the *Sterling* in '44–6. iv. 568. He was a man of some education and much business ability, though thought to lack the 'push' displayed by some of his rivals, being addicted to drink and neglecting his business in the later years. He died at Sta B. about '50, leaving a wife in Mass. Parker, 1840, a clergyman on the *Alciope* for Honolulu. iv. 100; prob. B. W. Parker, a Sandw. Isl. missionary who came with a letter of introd. to Larkin. P. (Edward), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). P. (John), 1840, Engl. deserter from the *Sulphur*, who became a lumberman at S. Antonio; at Bodega '41. P. (Lewis), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. before '82. P. (Robert), 1834, at Mont.

Parker (Robert A.), 1847, nat. of Boston, and sup. of the *Mt Vernon*, introd. by Mellus to Larkin as a 'tough customer;' owner of a S.F. lot and member of the council. v. 648. In '48 he had an adobe store on Dupont St, and from July was keeper of the City Hotel. v. 680–1; being in '49–51 keeper of the famous Parker House. In '54 he lived at Crescent City, but later went to L. Cal., dying at S. Quintin in '65 at the age of 45. His widow died in S.F. '83, age 61, leaving 5 children. P. (Wm C.), 1847, asst surg. of N.Y.Vol. v. 503, 511, 513; owner of S.F. lots. v. 654; surgeon of the S.F. guards '49; also engaged in trade, and named by Colton as owner of New York of the Pacific '49. He lived in S.F. to '76, and in Oakland till '82 or later.

Parks (David), 1848, overl. immig. bound for Or., but turned from his way by reports of gold in Cal.; mined on the Yuba, gave his name to Parks Bar, and went to N. Orleans in '49 with $80,000 in gold-dust. His son David remained in Cal. and became a citizen of Marysville, as did John, who built the 1st hotel at M. P. (Wm), 1846, deserter from U.S. service, for whom Capt. Morrison offered $50 reward. P. (Wm A.), 1848, in S.F. list of letters. Parmo (Luigi), 1834, Ital. sailor at Mont., age 29. Parodi (Nicolás), 1841, Ital. sailor from Salvador on the *Jóven Carolina* as part owner of the cargo.

Parr (Charles), 1846, Engl. overl. immig. with his parents, who settled at Sta Clara in '47, and in '81 still lived as a stock farmer in Almaden township, with wife T. García, and 10 children. P. (Chas H.), 1846, brother of Chas, nat. of Iowa, overl. immig., who died in Sta Clara Co. '77; leaving a widow, Mary A. Kenny, and 2 children. P. (Jonathan), 1846, father of the preceding, who settled in Sta Clara Co., where he died in '67 at Los Gatos, leaving 6 children. P. (Wm J.), 1846, son of Jonathan; nat. of Ohio; farmer near S. José '47–76. Párraga (Francisco), 1803, com. of the *Concepcion*. ii. 19. Parreña (Santiago), 1810, agent for Bonaparte for N. Mex. and Cal.; prob. not in Cal. ii. 88.

Parrilla (Leon), 1793, lieut of the Monterey comp. '93–5, retired for incompetency. Biog. i. 634, 678. Parrish (Joseph), 1845, mid. on the U.S. *Portsmouth*, acting lieut in Co. F, Stockton's battalion, '46–7. v. 385. Parron (Fernando), 1769, Span. friar, third of the missionaries to reach Cal., and founder of S. Diego mission, where he served till his retirement in '71 on account of illness. i. 120, 128, 136–8, 164, 167, 176, 178. Parrott (Enoch G.), 1846, lieut on the U.S. *Congress* '46–8, who served in the war of '61–5 as commander; as commodore was in com. at Mare Isl. '71; rear-admiral '73; and died '79 in N.Y. A nat. of N.H., b. '15. P. (John), 1845, nat. of Va, for

many years engaged in trade on the Mex. coast, and U.S. consul at Mazatlan in '45–6, rendering valuable aid to the naval officers in matters relating to the occupation of Cal. iv. 302; v. 13. His first visit to Cal. was in connection with his grand commercial scheme which ended somewhat disastrously with the wreck of the *Star of the West*. iv. 560, 568, 587. I have many letters written by, to, and about him at that time. After the gold discovery he came with his family to S.F., where he was a shipping merchant to '59, and later a banker and capitalist down to his death in '84 at the age of 73. He was famous for his uniformly successful investments and for never taking any risks, his caution and conservatism being in marked contrast with the prevalent spirit of the times. He left a widow and several children and grandchildren. Parsons (Alonzo P.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). P. (J. H.), 1847, perhaps ditto; not on roll. Parvin (John B.), 1847, Co. A, ditto; in Nev. '74; at Monticello, Minn., '82; in N.Y. '84.

Pascal (John H.), 1848, mate of the *Rhone;* went to the mines, and later settled on a farm near Ione City, where he died in '72. Pascual (Juan), 1602, piloto in Vizcaino's exped. i. 98. P. (Mateo José), 1818, negro of Bouchard's exped.; remained in Cal. ii. 237, 241, 393. Pask (Francis G.), 1847, artificer in Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Pasos (Manuel de Dios), 1822–4, Portuguese nat. of Brazil, who in '29 lived in the Mont. dist, age 23, single, and a resid. since '24; in '36 at Sta B., a catholic hunter of 'medium' character; in '45 at Los Ang., naturalized, and 23 years a resident. ii. 478. Pastor (Ignacio), grantee of Milpitas '38. iii. 677.

Paterna (Antonio), 1771, Span. friar who served at S. Gabriel, S. Luis Ob., and Sta B., where he died in '93. Biog. i. 672; ment. i. 173, 176, 178, 181, 189, 193–6, 223, 299, 388, 411, 423, 469, 576. Patricio, a leader of the neophyte revolt '24. ii. 527. Patron (Felipe), soldier of S.F. comp. '39–42. Patry (Peter), 1845, at S. José according to testimony in later litigation.

Patterson, 1846, of P. & Foster who had a Cal. claim of $50 (v. 462); also a P. ment. at Mont. '48; and one in Ione Valley. P. (Mrs Christina), 1846, overl. immig. whose husband died on the journey; at N. Helv. and in S. Joaq. Val. '47; married Ed. Robinson, and was still living in '78. P. (F. E.), 1846, at S. Diego. P. (G.), 1848, passp. from Hon. P. (Geo.), 1840, Irish sailor who left the *Columbia* at S.F., worked in the redwoods, and in '44 entered Sutter's employ. iv. 120; apparently the man named in *Yuba Co. Hist.* as having occupied a rancho on the Yuba in '45–8; mining in '48–9. Later a resid. of S.F., where in '72 he related for me his *Adventures*. P. (Mrs Isabella), 1844, overl. immig. of the Stevens party with several children, being the daughter of Hitchcock of the same party. iv. 445. In '45 she is named in the Branciforte padron as a widow, age 35; child. Isaac b. '31, Tedra (?) '32, Margaret '33, and Helen '38. A daughter, Mary, was married in Aug. '45 by Larkin to James Williams. iv. 587. P. (John Alex.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in the mines '48, and later kept a saloon at S.F. acc. to *Swan;* in '49 treasurer of the Regulators, elected to the constit. convention, and to the legislature. *Annals of S.F.;* in '50 at S. José. Swan says he died about this time. P. (John W.), 1823, nat. of Mass.; resid. of S.F. '67; died at S.F. '79 at the age of 73; arr. '23 acc. to Soc. Cal. Pion. rolls and the *Alta* of '67; perhaps a sailor who touched the coast at the date named and came back later. P. (Nath. G.), 1846, nat. of Tenn., and overl. immig., served in Cal. Bat. '46–7 (v. 358); miner in '48; in '50 kept a stable at Stockton; finally settled at Livermore, where he lived in '82 with wife Kate Simpson and 2 children, Chas T. and Susan (Mrs Davis). *Alam. Co. Hist.*, 959. P. (Wm), 1846, saloon-keeper with Thos Smith at S.F. '46–8. v. 685.

Pattie (James Ohio), 1828, a young Kentuckian trapper from N. Mex., who spent over a year in Cal., part of the time in jail at S. Diego, and has his *Personal Narrative* of adventures published a few years later. See iii. 162–72; ii. 543, 548, 551, 556, 567, 611, 616, 651; iii. 74, 82–3, 134, 139, 171; iv. 263. I have an autog. letter written by P. in Mex. '30, on his way from Cal.; and he is said to have revisited S. Diego after '50. P. (Sylvester), 1828, father of James O., who died in prison at S. Diego. iii. 162–5, 178. Patti-

son (T.), 1841, mid. on the U.S. *St Louis*. Patton (A. Gwinn), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party, who went back to Mo. in '42. iv. 270, 275, 342. P. (David), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247).

Paty (Henry), 1837, nat. of Mass. and merchant at Hon. from '33, of the firm Henry Paty & Co. I have his letters from '34, and he visited Boston in '34–5. In '37 he came to Cal. to sell the *Clarion*, which became the *California*. iii. 531; iv. 101, 106, 117–18. In '38–40 he came again on the *Don Quixote*, owned by his firm, commanding also the *Morse* and perhaps the *Ninfa* in 39–40. iv. 103, 105. In '41 on the way from Valparaíso to Hon. he became demented on account of the ravages of small-pox on board, and cut his own throat with a razor. The firm, after his death, consisted of his brothers John and Wm, and Eli Southworth. P. (John), 1837, brother of Henry, who came on the Haw. schr *Iolani*. iv. 104, 117–18. In '38–48 he made one or more trips each year between Cal. and Hon. as master of the *Don Quixote*, and his name often appears in commercial records, many of his original letters being in my possession. iii. 570; iv. 25, 103, 314, 375, 512, 559, 565; v. 238, 577, 579, 681, 683. Capt. P. owned land at S.F., and his firm of P. & McKinley kept a store there in '43–5; he rendered occasional aid to the govt, especially in carrying away Micheltorena and his cholos; he was often engaged in smuggling operations, but was known to everybody and liked by all. His wife Mary and daughter came to Cal., occasionally from '42. From '46 he was senior captain, or a kind of commodore, in the Hawaiian navy. After '48 Capt. P. continued his voyages, celebrating in '65 or '66 the 100th trip between Cal. and the Islands; and he died at his Hawaiian home in '68 at the age of 61. His widow visited S. Diego about '80, one of her daughters being the wife of Lieut Benson, U.S.A., and another the wife of a lieut in the navy, living at Vallejo. Capt. Paty was famous for his skill and good luck as a navigator; and few in this list have left so enviable a reputation for business integrity and kindness of heart.

Paul (John A.), 1848 (?), German broker who committed suicide at Oakland in '83. Paulding (Charles), 1833, at Sta B. P. (Joseph), 1832, nat. of Md, trapper and cabinet-maker, who came from N. Mex. in the winter of '32-3, iii. 388, 408, and distinguished himself by making the 1st two billiard-tables in Cal. He was still at Los Ang. in '35, complaining of unjust imprisonment by the alcalde. He went to N. Mex., but returned during the flush times of '48–52, and after a residence of some years in Sonora returned finally to Los Ang., where he died in '60 at the age of 50; perhaps his name should be written 'Pawlding.' Paulet (Lord Geo.), 1843, com. of H.B.M.S. *Carysfort*. iv. 564. Paulina (H.), 1848, passp. from Hon.

Payeras (Mariano), 1796, Span. friar who served chiefly at Purísima, being also president or prefect of the missionaries from 1815 to his death in '22. One of the ablest and most prominent of the Fernandinos. Biog. ii. 489-90; ment. i. 500, 577, 686; ii. 106–7, 123–4, 152, 159, 235–6, 255, 258, 265, 297, 316, 328, 330–2, 335, 338, 351, 366, 394, 397–412, 414, 416, 418, 431–8, 442, 451–2, 458–9, 461, 463–5, 479–80, 496, 562, 571, 580, 587, 591, 597, 631, 643, 655, 657; iii. 11. Paymer (Phil.), 1845, at Sutter's Fort. Payne (R. K.), 1845, immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party. In the same party was a widow Payne—daughter of Owen Sumner, with 3 children—and the two were married at Sutter's Fort in Feb. '46, prob. returning to Or. or to the east a little later in the year. iv. 572; v. 526. Payson (Sam.), 1878, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Peace (James), 1838 (?), nat. of the Orkney Isl., of Scotch and Danish parentage, who in '75–84—and finally in the *S. F. Bulletin* of July 18, '85—claims to have deserted from the H.B.Co.'s ship *Nereid* at S.F. in '18. This vessel came to the N.W. coast in '36, and to Cal. for the 1st time in '38, which I have little doubt was the date of P.'s arrival. The 1st definite record of him is when he was exiled to S. Blas in '40 and came back in '41. iv. 18, 33, 119. That he is not heard of in '38–9 is natural enough, and indeed, Brown and Weeks do mention him vaguely about those years; but that he could have lived here in '18–39 without a trace in the records is very unlikely, especially if, as he says,

he married a Valencia in '35, to say nothing of the fact that if he had had a native wife he would not have been exiled. He worked as a lumberman and mechanic, and is named in the S.F. padron of '44 as a Scotchman, age 45. For about 30 years, from '47–8, he lived on a farm at Halfmoon Bay; but since '78 has navigated S.F. Bay in a sloop, earning a living by catching fish and clams for the S. Mateo Co. market down to '85. Peacock (John), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232, 247). Peale (T. R.), 1841, naturalist in the U.S. ex. ex. iv. 241–3.

Pearce (Geo.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons. v. 341; nat. of Ky, b. '22. After his discharge he became a trader at Stockton and Sonoma in '49, also lobbyist in the 1st legislature; miner and trader in the northern counties '50–1; deputy sheriff at Sonoma '53–5; and from '55 a lawyer at Petaluma, being state senator in '63–7. He married Coulter Brown, and was still living in '80 with 3 children—prob. also in '85. Portrait in *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 48; also biog. sketch, including his recollections of S. Pascual, in *Id.*, 580–5. P. (Wm), 1844, mate on the *Sterling*, in care of the consul; d. at Mont. '45. Peard (Geo.), 1826, lieut on H. B. M. S. *Blossom*. iii. 121. Pearl (Joseph), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Pearsall (Sam. W.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Moquelumne Hill '82. Pearse (John), 1824, carpenter on the *Rover*. Pearson (David C.), 1848, at Benicia. P. (Ephraim), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). P. (Geo.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). P. (John B.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). P. (J. W.), 1848, passp. from Hon. P. (Robert H.), 1848 (?), nat. of Me, who brought the *Oregon* to Cal., and commanded many steamers down to '64; d. at S.F. '68, age 46. P. (W.), 1848, passp. from Hon. P. (W. S.), 1848, at Benicia. Pease (Sam.), 1826, sailor on the *Rover*. Peasley (Nesmith A.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. '51.

Peck (Chas L.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. at Mont. '54. P. (Chauncey L.), 1847, corp. Co. B, ditto. P. (Ed. M.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Utah '82. P. (Isaac), 1847, Co. C, ditto; reënl. P. (Sherman), 1833, trader at Hon. who visited Cal. in '33–5 as sup. of the *Volunteer* and other vessels, representing J. C. Jones. I have much of his corresp. with Cal. traders '34–8, and he may have visited Cal. on other occasions. P. (Thorit), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. as corporal. Peckham (R. F.), 1846, nat. of R. I., deserting from the whaler *Cabinet* at S.F. He worked as lumberman, soldier, farmer, clerk, miner, carpenter, and trader, changing his occupation and residence half a dozen times a year—but finding time to marry and study law—until '51, from which time to '70 he practised law at Sta Cruz and S. José, serving also as district attorney and county judge. In later years he established a woollen mill at S. José, where he still lived in '81 with wife Ann Smith, and 9 children. Portrait in *Sta Clara Co. Hist.*, 80.

Pedraza, deserter from a galleon 1791. i. 484. Pedro y Gil (Rafael), 1774, Span. guarda-almacen at S. Diego '74–81. Biog. i. 451; ment. i. 227, 253. Pedrorena (Miguel), 1837, Span. sup. of the S. Amer. brigs *Delaira* and *Juan José* '37–40, being also agent for McCall & Co. of Lima. iv. 103–4; iii. 727; also on the coast '42–3; owner of S.F. lots '45–6. iv. 659; v. 684; had a claim against the govt for $3,169; declined an appointment to present charges against Micheltorena. iv. 522. From '45 his home was at S. Diego, where he married María Ant. Estudillo, being the grantee of S. Jacinto Nuevo in '45, and his wife of El Cajon in '45. v. 619; iv. 620–1. He strongly favored the cause of the U.S. in '46–7, acting as juez de paz, as Stockton's aide, with rank of capt. in the Cal. Bat., and in '47–8 as collector of customs. v. 285, 325, 360, 385, 572, 575, 618–19. In '49 he represented S. Diego in the constit. convention, being one of the most popular and influential members of the Spanish race. He died in '50, leaving a son Miguel, and two daughters, Elena and Isabel, who inherited his large estate, and are still living, I think, in '85. Don Miguel was of a good Span. family, one of his brothers holding a high official position at Madrid; and he was himself an intelligent, scholarly man, of excellent character, who by his courteous affability made friends of all who knew him. Peed (John), 1846, sailmaker U.S.N., and acting capt. Co. G,

Stockton's naval battalion '46–7; prob. 'Reed.' Peguero (Alonso Estévan), 1602, capt. in Vizcaino's exped. i. 98. P. (Mariano), sent to Mex. for complicity in the Solis revolt '29–30. iii. 68–71, 85.

Peirce (Henry Augustus), 1828, nat. of Mass., b. 1808, who went to Honolulu in '25, and thence on the same vessel, the *Griffon*, com. by his brother, to the N.W. coast as clerk, touching at S.F. on the return in the autumn of '28. iii. 178. From that time for 14 years he was a trader at Honolulu, being a member of the firm P. & Brewer. Some of his original letters and much of the firm's corresp. are in my possession. Meanwhile he made many voyages as master to China, Kamchatka, and S. America. In '37 he went on the *Peru* from N.Y. to Honolulu, and returned via Lima and overland to Buenos Aires. In '38 he married Susan R. Thompson, whose brother Joseph P. is named in this register. In '39 he went to the Islands as part owner of the *Morse*, and in '41–2 came again to Cal. as mr and owner of the *Maryland*, going from Cal. to Mazatlan and thence overland to Vera Cruz. I have his original *Journals* of voyages in '39–42, including the visit to Cal. iv. 209, 224–5, 235, 250, 300, 348–9, 567, 640, 665. Details of Capt. P.'s subsequent adventures are too complicated for presentation here, but hardly one of the pioneers registered in this list has had so varied an experience. In '42–9 he was a Boston merchant trading with Pacific ports; and in '49 revisited Cal. on the *Montreal*, making extensive and unfortunate purchases of land at Sauzalito and the Islands, and in '50–61, resuming his business at Boston, which was nearly ruined by the war of '61–5. Most of his remaining wealth was lost in a Miss. cotton plantation in '66–7; and in '69 Peirce was made U.S. minister at the Hawaiian Isl., making the trip by rail to S.F. He held this position till '77, and after a brief term as Hawaiian minister of foreign affairs he came in '78 to S.F., where he has since resided down to '85, being in a sense the oldest living pioneer. Besides the journal mentioned, I have several MS. contributions from Mr P. named in my list of authorities. Portrait in *Contemp. Biog.*, ii. 180. His wife resides in Mass. since '70; he has a son and daughter; and is a great-grandfather. (Capt. Peirce died a few days after the above was written, in July '85.) P. (Hardy), 1838, brother of Henry A., who being mate on a Hon. vessel, died suddenly at Sta B., age 23. iv. 119, 224. P. (Marcus T.), 1828, brother of Henry A., and mr of the *Griffon*. iii. 147. P. (Wm), 1842, mate of the *Sterling* '42–4; died at Mont. '45. iv. 453.

Pelham (Matthew), 1834, a Dane at Mont. iii. 412. Pell (E. Ward), 1846 one of the Mormon colony, with wife and 2 daughters. v. 546; an elder and counseller, but excommunicated on the voyage. He lived with Robert Ridley in '46. v. 678; and in '47 he was sheriff and inspecter of hides and tallow, owning a S.F. lot. v. 648. He still lived to testify in land cases in '65. His daughter Hettie C. married John H. Brown in '46, soon leaving him and becoming apparently Mrs Green. The other daughter is mentioned as the wife of Ed. Cohea. Pellan (Antonio), neophyte alcalde at S. Diego 1799. i. 655.

Peña (Antonio), 1825, Span. artilleryman, age 50 in '28; prob. sent to Mex. in '30. iii. 51, 85. P. (Antonio), soldier of S.F. comp. '35, sergt '36, alf. '37. iii. 702. P. (Cosme), 1834, Mex. lawyer who came with the H. and P. colony with an appointment as asesor; prominent in Alvarado's revolt of '36; subsequently govt sec., and appointed prefect of the southern district in '39, but not approved in Mex. He left Cal. soon after '39. Biog. iii. 594; ment. iii. 267, 285, 415, 440, 452, 461, 469, 475, 487, 523–5, 585–9, 594, 639–40, 670, 675; iv. 72. He left 2 daughters in Cal., Cármen b. '24, and Cesaria '28. P. (Demetrio), 1840, son of Juan Felipe, with whom he came from N. Mex.; a settler in Solano Co. '41–79; wife Inés Berreyesa, and 6 surviving children in '79. P. (Eustaquio), soldier at Sta B. about '32. P. (Francisco), soldier of the 1st exped. 1769–74; ment. '75–6; killed at the Colorado pueblos '81. i. 250, 303–4, 363. P. (Gerardo), soldier of the 1st exped. '69–74. P. (José), artilleryman and teacher at S.F. '22, elector '30, teacher at Sta Clara '37–41, owner of a S.F. lot '39, grantee of Rincon de S. Francisquito '41, retired soldier as teniente de premio from '44. Possibly more than one of the name. ii. 584, 591; iii. 50, 705, 728; iv. 408, 672, 682. In '41 he is named as a Mex. teacher, age

64, in the S. José padron. His wife was Gertrudis Lorenzana, age 56; she died in '65 at the reputed age of 107 (really 80). P. (José Ant.), soldier o the 1st exped. '69–70; of the S. Juan Cap. guard '76. i. 303. P. (José German), grantee of Tzabaco rancho, Sonoma, '43; his heirs were claimants. iv. 674.

Peña (Juan Felipe), 1840, N. Mex. immigrant with wife and 6 children, who with Vaca settled in Solano Co. '41, and was the grantee of the Putah rancho in '43. iv. 672. He died in '63 at Laguna Val., age 73. P. (Luis), soldier of the 1st exped. '59–74; at Simí rancho 1802. ii. 111. P. (Manuel), soldier of the S. F. comp. '28–34; ment. in '29. iii. 111; in '41 at S. José, age 36, wife Guadalupe Mesa, child. Dolores b. '28, Inés '31, Cármen '32, Encarnacion '33, Hilaria '34, Rosario '38, Paulino '40. P. (Narciso Ant.), juez at Sta Clara '43 iv. 683, 685. P. (Ricardo), land-owner at S. Juan Cap. '41. iv. 626. P (Romualdo), musician of S.F. comp. '39. P. (Tomás), 1772, Spanish friar who founded and served long at Sta Clara, retiring in '94, holding later the office of guardian at S. Fernando college, and dying in 1806 Biog. i. 722–3; ment. i. 189, 195–6, 227, 289, 291–2, 295, 297, 304–5, 351, 388, 401–3, 474, 476, 484, 496, 511, 576, 578, 581, 631, 720; ii. 166. Peña, see also 'Piña.' Penaud, see 'Panaud.'

Pendleton, 1844, mr of the *Benj. Morgan*. P. (Geo. A.), 1847, lieut Co. D, N.Y.Vol. v. 504. In Tuolumne Co. '49–54; d. in '71 at S. Diego, where he had been county clerk for 14 years. Penhallow (Dav. P.), 1837, mr of the *Alert* '37–9. iv. 68, 101; may have visited Cal. earlier as mate or sup., since on the roll of the Soc. Cal. Pion. '22 is the date of his arrival. In '47 he writes from Honolulu. Pennie (A.), 1848, passp. from Hon. Penny (Moses H.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); went to S.C. '50. Penrose (Geo. F.), 1847, lieut Co. A, N.Y.Vol. v. 503, 511; also quartermaster; d. Mont. after '50. Peoples (Geo.), 1847, sailor on the *Ohio;* later a circus-rider; d. in Texas '67. P. (John H.), 1848, chief of a party for relief of snowed-in immig. from Or.; drowned later. Peotrowski (R. K.), 1844, doubtful date; perhaps '54; d. in France '83. Newspapers. Pepper (Thos), 1833, said to have been at S. José. *Hall; Sta Clara Co. Hist. Atlas;* doubtful. iii. 409. Pera (Alexis), 1844, of Frémont's party; did not reach Cal. iv. 437.

Peralta (Antonio María), son of Luis; in '35 at S. Mateo; in '37 alf. of militia at S.F., also elector. iii. 701, 705; in '41 named in the S. José padron (living at S. Antonio rancho), age 39, wife María Ant. García, child. Antonia María b. '32, Guadalupe '33, Fernando '34, Rita '37, Crisanto '38, Inés '40; in '46 juez of the contra costa. v. 662. In '52 he was the claimant with his 3 brothers for S. Antonio. P. (Domingo), son of Luis; in '27 síndico at S. José. ii. 605; in '33 grantee of Cañada del Corte de Madera, Sta Clara. iii. 711; for which, as for S. Ramon and his share of S. Antonio, he was claimant. iii. 713. In '41 named in S. José padron, age 47, wife —— García, child. Angela b. '25, Juan '24, María Ant. '29, Francisca '36, Ramon '38, Loreto (?) '39. His residence was at Temescal on the S. Antonio rancho. P. (Felipe), at Los Ang. '46. P. (Francisco), soldier of the S.F. comp. '38–9. P. (Gabriel), Mex. corporal of the S.F. comp., at Sta Clara and S. José; an inválido settler at S. José from '90. i. 297, 306, 312, 478. His wife was Francisca J. Valenzuela, and his daughter Gertrudis (i. 312) married Nicolás Berreyesa in '79. P. (Ignacio), son of Luis b. 1791; corp. of S.F. comp. '19–29; elector at S.F. '27, '35, '43. ii. 592; iii. 577, 704; iv. 361; juez of contra costa '39, '41. iii. 705; iv. 684; in '43 supl. of the junta. iv. 361. Named in the S. José padron '41, age 51; wife Rafaela Sanchez, child. Francisco b. '22, Miguel '25, Joaquin '27, Luis M. '31, José de Jesus '33, Juan '35, Gabriel '39, Rafael '40, Lodrivina (?) '29, María Ant. '37. He was claimant for a part of S. Antonio in '53. P. (José), at S. José '17. ii. 425; at S. Mateo '35; of S.F. militia '37; murdered '38. iii. 705. P. (Juan), named in '46. v. 162. P. (Juan José), at S. José 1783. i. 350; inválido at Branciforte '99; comisionado 1811. ii. 390. P. (Juan P.), at Los Ang. '39, age 31.

Peralta (Luis), nat. of Sonora, who probably came as a boy with Anza's exped. of 1776, enlisting in 1782, being a corp. of the S.F. comp. from '91 or earlier. and in com. of the S. José mission guard in 1799–1800. i. 494–5, 556,

598, 716. From 1801 he was a sergt, taking part in several exped. against the Ind., and from 1807 comisionado in charge of S. José pueblo. He showed good qualities as a soldier, and was several times recommended for promotion to alf., but failed to secure it. ii. 35, 126, 132, 134, 138, 370, 378, 584, 604. His wife was María Loreto Alviso, and the birth of a son Ignacio is recorded in 1791. In 1820 he obtained a grant of the S. Antonio rancho, including the sites of the later Oakland and Alameda, which was occupied by his sons perhaps before '25, the rancho buildings—the first erected in Alameda county except at Mission S. José—being at S. Antonio, later known as Brooklyn and East Oakland. ii. 375, 594, 664, 712. Peralta retained his position as comisionado till 1822, and his place on the comp. rolls as active sergt to '26, and as inválido to '41; meanwhile continuing to live at S. José and serving as elector, treasurer, and perhaps juez in '30–3. ii. 606; iii. 50, 729. In '41 he appears on the padron as 87 years old, his daughters Josefa and Guadalupe—aged 46 and 23—living with him. Other daughters were Teodora—grantee of Buacocha, Marin, '46. v. 670—and Trinidad. In '42 he divided his S. Antonio rancho between his sons Antonio M., Ignacio, Vicente, and Domingo, and died in '51 at the age of 97. The great value of the lands granted to Peralta, the claim that his daughters were entitled to a share of the property, the alleged insanity of Don Luis at the time of making his will, and various rascalities practised by the land-sharks in later years on some of the heirs, gave rise to complicated litigation which can hardly be regarded as at an end in '85. P. (Miguel), militiaman at S.F. '37. P. (Nicolás N.), at Sta Ana rancho, Los Ang. '39, age 38. The Santiago de Sta Ana rancho had been granted to a Peralta with Yorba in 1809. ii. 112, 172. P. (Pedro), soldier of the S.F. comp. 1785, married a daughter of Lieut Grijalva. ii. 104; corp. of the escolta at Sta Cruz 1797–1800; invál. corp. on the comp. rolls 1819–32. P. (Sebastian), soldier of the S.F. comp. '19–22; in '33 regidor at S. José, making an exped. against the Ind. iii. 359, 390, 394, 729; in '40 grantee of Rinconada de los Gatos and maj. at Sta Clara. iii. 712, 728; in '41 a widower, age 48; in '46 quarrel with Frémont. v. 8, 9. P. (Vicente), son of Luis, whose home was at Temescal on the subdivision of his father's rancho; sergt of militia at S.F. '37; in '41 age 29, wife Encarnacion Galindo, child Guadalupe. In '46 he was one of the Bears' prisoners at Sutter's Fort. v. 124, 128, 298. Percival (John), 1845 (?), com. of the U.S. *Constitution*. iv. 564. Perdu (Joseph L.), 1846, one of the chino prisoners wounded. v. 313–14; at Mont. '47; Cal. claim $1,305 (v. 462). Pereira (Joaquin), 1826, Portuguese age 20, on the *Jóven Angustias* stranded at Sta B. iii. 176; a vaquero in '36 and '40, when he figured as the revealer of a political plot. iii. 606.

Perez (Cornelio), son of José María, b. at Stá Cruz '11; juez de campo '42, iv. 663, and perhaps in '33; in '45 on the Branciforte padron, wife Rosario Pinto, child. José Ramon b. '37, Celedonia '39, María '41, Juan de Dios '42, Benigna '43. In '77, still at Sta Cruz, he dictated for me a brief *Memoria* chiefly relating to Ind. troubles in early times. P. (Cruz), Mex., convict released in '33. P. (Domingo), at the rancho nacional, Salinas, '36, age 27, wife Fermina Espinosa; claimant for Los Gatos '52. P. (Eulalia), nat. of Loreto, long a resid. of S. Gabriel, and famous for her reputed great age—140 years—at the time of her death in '78. The evidence respecting her age is too complicated for presentment in detail here; but 30 years at least of the reputed 140 rest on the incorrect assumption that she came with the last exped. in 1764. She really came with her husband, Antonio Guillen, a soldier of the S. Diego comp., about 1800, Guillen's name first appearing in 1803. If, as she states, she was married at 15, and her oldest child, Petra, was 11 years old on arrival at S. Diego, she was less than 30 years old in 1800. In the Loreto archives, which exist only in fragments, I have found no record of her birth; but her brother Mariano, son of Diego and Rosalía—whom she names as her parents—was baptized in 1768 and buried in 1777. The S. Diego mission records show the birth of two daughters and the burial of a son in 1810–12. There is some circumstantial confirmation of my supposition that her age was less than 30 in 1800, and therefore less than 108 at her death, and there

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revolution. iii. 457, 461, 491, 501–2, 524, 567, 572, 638; iv. 93; admin. of S. Antonio '38–41; grantee of Piedra Blanca, S. Luis Ob. '40; admin. of S. Miguel '41–3. iii. 678, 688; iv. 252, 660. He took part in the movement of '44–5 against Micheltorena. iv. 458–9, 487, 658, 682. In '46, ranking as capt. of defensores, and being juez de paz at S. Luis Ob., he was paroled with other officers, but broke his parole and supported Flores in the Natividad campaign. He was accordingly arrested by Frémont in Dec. and condemned to death, but pardoned at the intercession of his wife and children. He became a most devoted friend of Frémont, aiding him in bringing about the treaty of Cahuenga, and accompanying him on his famous ride of '47. v. 282, 321, 362–3, 374–5, 403, 443, 658–9. In '48–9 Don Jesus made some successful tours in the mines, and later lived on his S. Louis Ob. rancho with his family, being county assessor and assemblyman in '52–3. In '78 he dictated his recollections for my use, cited as *Acontecimientos*, and containing many items of valuable testimony. ii 230, 232, 339, 384, 417, 427, 446, 624. I have not heard of his death down to '85.

Pico (José María), brother of Dolores, son of Santiago Pico of Sinaloa, and founder of the family in southern Cal.; a soldier of the S. Diego comp. from 1782, corp. of the guard at S. Luis Rey from 1798, and sergt 1805–18, being retired—perhaps with brevet rank of alférez—in '18, and dying at S. Gabriel, where he had long been in com. of the escolta in '19. His wife, married in 1789, was María Eustaquia Lopez, nat. of Sonora. His 3 sons, Andrés, José Ant., and Pio, are named in this register; and there were 7 daughters, of whom Concepcion married Domingo Carrillo, Estefana and Jacinta married José Ant. Carrillo, Isidora was the wife of John Forster, Tomasa of an Alvarado, and a sixth was Feliciana. P. (Manuel), one of the grantees of Simí '42, prob. son of Javier, Miguel, or Patricio; encargado at Sta Isabel '43. iv. 620, 640. P. (Miguel), brother of José María, soldier of the Sta B. comp.; grantee of Simí rancho 1795, 1821. i. 663; ii. 566; in '32 an inválido, wife Casilda Sinoba, child. María Ignacia, Petra, Apolonia, Juan de Mata, and Mariano. The widow died in '60 at the age of 74, leaving 15 children, 116 grandchildren, and 97 great-grandchildren — 116 males, 112 females. P. (Patricio), brother of José María, one of the grantees of Simí 1795, 1821, '42. i. 663; ii. 354, 663; iv. 643.

Pico (Pio), son of José María, b. at S. Gabriel 1801, moving to S. Diego after the death of his father in '19, where he kept a small shop For mention of his early life, see ii. 168, 344, 425, 546, 559, 604. In the public records he first appears as clerk at a trial in '26. ii. 549; was a vocal of the dip. from '28. iii. 41–2; being ment. also in connection with the Fitch elopement in '29. iii 141; and getting the same year some kind of a title to the Jamul rancho. *Dept. Rec.*, vii. 61, 94; confirmed in '31. iii. 611. In '31 he was a leader of the southern opposition to Gov. Victoria. iii. 189, 197, 201, 203–4, 206; and in '32, according to the plan, should have been gov. ad. int. as senior vocal and president of the dip., but was unable to secure the place, though he is often erroneously named as gov. in that year. iii. 216–20, 224, 226, 231, 245. He was again member of the dip. '34–5, being a candidate for alcalde and chosen elector '36. iii. 246, 249–50, 275, 300, 483–4, 615; in '34–40 administrator of S. Luis Rey, having also a profitable contract to slaughter cattle on shares at S. Gabriel. iii. 349, 353, 623–4, 628; iv. 54, 61; and in '37–9 an active partisan of the south against Alvarado's govt, being more than once a prisoner, though like most others never in a fight, and playing a not very creditable part in the sectional strife. iii. 495, 499–502, 504, 506, 508–9, 516, 518, 520, 546, 548–50, 555, 558, 564–6, 578, 580, 602, 614. He was again member of the junta in '39–41, protesting against Monterey's claims as capital; also one of the terna for gov., tithe collector at Los Ang., and provisionally grantee of Temécula. iii. 584, 590, 604, 606, 612, 623, 637; iv. 193. In '41 he was the grantee of Sta Margarita and Las Flores. iv. 621, 628; in '42 supposed to be plotting in favor of England. iv. 282; in '44–5 again member of the junta, and capt. of defensores, appointed comandante de escuadron. iv. 361, 403, 407, 410–11, 425, 475. On the downfall of Micheltorena in '45, having taken some part

in the campaign, Don Pio, as president of the junta, became temporary gov. from Feb. 22d. iv. 404, 492–3, 495–9, 503–7, 509, 521, 530. His office was confirmed in Mex., and Apr. 18, '46, he took the oath as constitutional gov. For his rule of '45–6, general acts and controversy with Gen. Castro, see iv. 511–45; v. 30–53; on mission affairs, iv. 546–62; v. 758–64; Frémont affair and Bear revolt, v. 5, 138–44; on foreign intervention and McNamara project, v. 59–62, 69, 217–19; miscellaneous mention, v. 567, 570, 590, 603, 624. On the approach of the U.S. forces Pico left Cal. for Mexico. v. 261–78; but in '48 returned. v. 588–90; and has since resided at Sta Magarita—sold to John Foster in '64—and at Los Angeles down to '85, having been claimant for other ranchos, iii. 611, 633, and being still a man of some wealth. He married María Ignacia Alvarado in '34, but I find no record of children. Pio Pico is a man who has been abused far beyond his deserts; a man of ordinary intelligence and limited education; of generous, jovial disposition; reckless and indolent; with a weakness for cards and women; disposed to be fair and honorable in his transactions, but without sufficient strength of principle to keep always clear of doubtful complications or avoid being made the tool of knaves; patriotic without the ability to accomplish much for his country. In his controversy of '45–6 with Castro his conduct was foolish in the extreme; in other respects down to 1848 his record is better rather than worse than might be expected of a commonplace man in so prominent a position. Not much fault can be found with his mission policy; he did not, as has been charged, run away in '46 with large sums of money obtained by illegal sales of mission estates; he had a perfect right to favor his friends by land grants in the last days of his power, and to prefer that Cal. should fall into English rather than American possession. That he seems to have antedated some land grants after his return in '48 is the most discreditable feature of his record; yet my study of land litigation leads me to hesitate in condemning or exonerating any official or citizen, native or pioneer, on charges originating in that most unfathomable pool of corruption. In '78 Don Pio dictated for me a *Historia de California*, which in interest and accuracy compares favorably with other pioneer statements; and at the same time gave me two volumes of original *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, including several important papers.

Pico (Rafael), at Simí rancho '29–31. ii. 566; iii. 635. P. (Ramon), son of Antonio María, b. in '27; in '63–6 capt. of Co. A, 1st battalion of native Cal. cavalry, stationed for a time in Arizona. He added to my collection 3 vols of *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, containing many original papers belonging to his father, and others relating to the captain's own military career. Major José Ramon is still a resident of S.F. in '85. P. (Salomon), son of José Dolores, of whom nothing appears before '48 except that a rancho in Tuolumne was later claimed on a grant of '44 to him. iv. 674. After '49 he became a noted highwayman and murderer in the region of S. Luis Ob. and Sta B. About '57 he went to L. Cal., where in '60 he was put to death by order of the sub-gefe político Esparza. P. (Santiago), a settler at Los Ang. 1790. i. 461; at Simí rancho 1802. ii. 111. He seems to have been a soldier of the S.F. and S. Diego comp. in '76–80. It is just possible that he was the father of José María and Dolores, though I find no definite record that that Santiago ever came to Cal. P. (Vicente), at Sta B. before '37, wife Estefana García, 4 children.

Pieras (Miguel), 1771, Span. friar, founder of S. Antonio, where he served till his departure from Cal. in 1794. Biog. i. 688; ment. i. 173, 176, 188–9, 196, 255, 279, 298, 388, 469, 576. Pierce (Charles), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. before '82. P., 1795, Engl. Nootka commissioner at Mont. i. 527. P. (Harrison M.), 1843 (?), settler in Napa, who landed in Or. from a whaler in '42 acc. to Menefee and Lancey. Bidwell thinks he was in Cal. '41–2. In '68 he testified that he worked for Dr Bale in '45–8; the first definite record is his signature to the S. José call to foreigners in March '45. In '47 named as an Amer. bachelor at N. Helv.; in '48 built the first structure in Napa City, used as a saloon, and still standing in '81. He died in '70. iv. 400, 599; v. 128, 670. P. (Stephen H.), 1846, of the Mormon colony, who prob. did not come to Cal. v. 547. P. (Wm), 1845, Co. C, 1st U.S. dra-

goons (v. 336). Piercy (Sam. G.), 1847, Irishman of Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518); one of the few who did not desert for the mines; name James G. on the roll. He worked as copying clerk during the constitutional convention of '49; and after his discharge in '51 went to N.Y., but returned and lived from '53 at Oakland, where he died in '77, leaving a widow and married daughter Pierola (Arnoldo), at Mont. in '25. iii. 26. Pierre (Jean), 1806, boatswain of the *Peacock*. ii. 38.

Pike (Wm M.), 1846, of the Donner party from Tenn. He was accidentally killed before reaching the mts, leaving a widow and 2 children. The widow, Harriet F. Murphy, survived, marrying Michael Nye in '47 and dying in Or. '70. One of the daughters, Naomi L., also a survivor at the age of 3, married Dr Mitchell of Marysville in '65, and in '80 was Mrs Schenck at the Dalles, Or. The other daughter, Catherine, an infant, died at the Sierra camp. v. 531, 533–4. Pilikin (John), 1844, disabled Amer. sailor of the *Monmouth*, in care of the consul at Mont.

Piña (Blas), with Arce's party '46. v 106. P. (Joaquin), Mex corporal of artill. at S.F. from '29, when he wrote a *Diario* of an important exped. against the Ind., the original of which is in my possession; in '44 acting com. at S.F., also owner of town lands. iii. 75, 111, 113, 212, 702; iv 463, 669, 672. P.) Lázaro), Mex. artill. corporal at Mont. '29, at S. Rafael '32. iii. 76, 716; in '36 at Mont., age 39, wife Plácida Villela, child. José de Jesus b in Mont '26, German '29, Ant. A. at S.F. '31, Feliciano at Mont. '32, Francisco '33, Luis G. '35. In '37 he was corporal in the S.F cav. comp., and from '38 sergt and acting alférez, sometimes in com. at Sonoma, and the grantee of Agua Caliente in '40, besides being owner of a S.F. lot in '45. iii. 193, 583, 702, 711, 722; iv. 12, 121, 172–4, 669, 684. He is named by Revere in '45. v. 297; but soon went to Mex., where he is said to have been killed at the battle of Cerro Gordo. P. (Máximo), teacher at Los Ang. '17–18. ii. 353. P. (Pedro), Mex. soldier in the Hidalgo piquete at Mont. '36, age 28. Pinard (J. B.), 1848, Canadian farmer at S. José '58–76. Pineda (Joaquin), Mex. soldier at Mont., age 26. P. (Lorenzo), grantee of Las Uvas, Sta Clara '42. v 674 Pinkerton (James), 1845, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Pinkney (Robert F.), 1846, lieut on the U.S. *Savannah*, in com. of S. José garrison during the Sanchez campaign of '46–7; also of the U.S. ex. ex. in '41, but not in Cal. iv. 241; v. 378, 661. Pino (Miguel), 1770, 2d off. on the Spanish transports '70–3. i. 168, 208.

Pinto (Antonio), soldier of the S.F. comp. '19–22. P. (Francisco), son of Serafin, at S. José '41, age 34, wife Prudenciana Servian (.), child María Ignacia; in '46–7 kept under arrest at Mont. by Maddox for 6 months to prevent his raising a force to join Flores in the south. P. (Joaquin), resident of Branciforte '30. ii. 627. P (Juan María), soldier of the S.F comp. 1797–1800. i 499, 560; of the S.F. comp. '19–27; in '28 at Branciforte with his wife, Apolonia Mesa, and 4 child., Claudio, Clara, Cármen, and Rosario, also at B. '30–6. ii. 627; iii. 697. P. (Juana F.), married to M. A. Cordew 1776, the first marriage at S.F. i. 296. P. (Manuel), at S. José '41, age 56, wife María Anézquita, child. Paulina b. '23, María de la Cruz '25, Estévan [illegible], Miguel '33, Felipe '36. P. (Pablo), corporal of the S.F comp i. 297. P. (Rafael), son of Serafin, b. at Branciforte '18, educated at Mont., and in '35 joining Alvarado's revolt was made alférez and soon lieut of volunteers, in which capacity he served in the south '37–9, his regular appointment as alférez of the Mont. comp. coming from Mex. in '39 ii. 585; iii. 191, 491, 550, 555, 578, 587, 671; iv. 652. In '40 he was one of the officers who went to Tepic with the foreign exiles, returning in '41. iv 13, 23, 25, 28, 30. After serving as an aide to Micheltorena for a year or more he resigned; in 43–4 was a custom-house guard at Mont.; and in '45–6 was receptor of customs at S.F., refusing to join the movement against Micheltorena, and going south with Castro after the occupation of S.F. by the U.S iv 292, 377, 431, 463, 557, 670; v. 68, 135, 239, 659. After the fall of Los Ang in Aug. Pinto returned north, was paroled, and took no further part in the war, becoming a ranchero in later years; had a 'Cal. claim' of $2,464 (v. 462). His wife was

María, daughter of Juan Amesti, with whom and 4 children he lived in '78 on his rancho near Corralitos, Sta Cruz Co., a man of good reputation. His *Apuntaciones* is a valuable MS. narrative dictated for my use at that time; and he also gave me the original S.F. custom-house records in his possession since '46, a most important col. of *Doc. Hist. Cal.* P. (Serafin), resident of Branciforte '18 and earlier, to '30 and later; alcalde in '22, '27. ii. 627. His wife was Ignacia, daughter of Pedro Amador, and his children Francisco, Rafael, Ascension, Antonia, Dolores, María, Ignacia, and Cármen the wife of J. B. Bonifacio. Pio, one of the grantees of Ulistac, Sta Clara, '45. iv. 674.

Pioche (F. L. A.), 1848, Frenchman who came to S.F. from Chile, engaging in trade and becoming a millionaire, prominently connected with many great enterprises of city, state, and coast. The town of Pioche, Nev., bears his name. Becoming involved in financial troubles, he finally committed suicide in '72. Pioneer (Jacob A.), 1847, C. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Pioquinto (José Ant.), at Los Ang. '46. Piper (Asabel D.), 1847, came on the *Loo Choo* from N.Y., but not of N.Y. Vol.; owner of S.F. lot; aided O'Farrell in his survey of the town. In '52 he furnished for the *Alta* his recollections of the city in '47; went in '71 to S. Amer., where he was killed by Ind. in '73, Pistrowski, see 'Petrowski.'

Pitnak (Cárlos), 1828, mr of the *Gen. Sucre.* iii. 147; doubtful name. Pitts (Henry F.), 1844 (?), said by Hall and others to have arrived at Sta Clara in '41. I have a letter purporting to be written by him in April '40, at a quicksilver mine in Cal., doubtless an error. Swan says that Wm P., presumably the same, landed from an Amer. whaler in '44, and from that date he appears on Larkin's books. iv. 453. In '46 he was employed to carry despatches from Mont. to S. José and S.F. v. 238, 245; his receipt for $140 on July 7th appearing in the *Consulate Archives.* ii. 16. In '47–8 he worked at the quicksilver mines; also in the gold-fields '48; in '74 still prospecting for quicksilver in Mont. Co., and still living in '84. Pixton (Robert), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Sutter's employ '47–8; returned to Utah.

Place (Wm), 1833, Amer. sailor left sick at Sta B. by a whaler. iii. 409; still there in '36, age 34; and in '45 permitted to marry a neophyte. Placencia (Luis), com. de policía at Mont. iii. 675. Placiat (Antoine), 1827, mr of the *Comète.* iii. 146. Plaza (Ignacio), 1842, Mex. lieut of the batallon fijo. iv. 289. Plemmonds (David and John), 1848, came with Col Davis. *St a Clara Co. Hist.*, 660. Pliego (José), settler at S. José before 1800. i. 716. P. (Rodrigo), 1825, Mex. alférez of the Mont., Sta B., and S. Diego comp. '25–31; a bad fellow who left Cal. in '32 with Gov. Victoria. Biog. iii. 210–11; ment. ii. 572, 608; iii. 15, 50, 62, 78–9, 84, 186, 191–2, 195, 205, 608, 650, 671. Plino (Louis), 1836, French servant of Ábrego at Mont., age 38. Plummer (Henry), 1835, Engl. cooper who landed from a whaler and became an otter-hunter in the Sta B. region. iii. 413; named in a list of '36 as 38 years old and single; joined Nidever in many hunting trips down to '70. P. (Wm), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Plucois (Pedro), doubtful name in a Sta B. list of '41. Plunket (James), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Poalelcoin (John), 1841, doubtful name of a deserter from the *Juan José*, who worked as a carpenter for Stearns at Los Ang. Poenicar (José), 1806, doubtful name, mr of the *Reisos.* ii. 39. Poett (J. Henry), 1848, physician at S.F.; possibly earlier. Poinsett, 1845, perhaps one of Frémont's party. iv. 583. Polanco (José), grantee of Conejo, Sta B., soon after 1800; at Los Ang. 1804, '19; a P. owned S. José de Buenos Aires '40; and an Inés (?) P. was sent a prisoner to Mex. in '30. ii. 112, 172, 185, 349, 354, 566, 664; iii. 85, 634. Polley (James H.), 1846, boatswain on the *Dale* '46–7; went east '48 on the *Congress;* returned on the *Vincennes*, deserting for the mines '50; again in the navy '61–66, when he died. *Lancey.* Pollock (James), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518); a Scotch weaver supposed by Kooser to have died before '64. P. (James), 1846, settler in '50 with his family on the Cosumnes, where he died '72 and wife in '80. *Sac. Co. Hist.;* possibly same as preceding. P. (Lewis), 1840, one of the Graham exiles not known to have returned. iv. 18. Pollorena, ment. at Los Ang. '47. v. 396. P. (Juan), at Los Ang.

'19. ii. 355; also in '46. P. (María Ant.), at Los Ang. '48. P. (Pedro), corp. of the S. Diego comp. 1797, and in com. of S. Gabriel escolta. i. 658, 664; settled at Los Aug. 1805. ii. 310. P. (Rosalía), at Los Ang. '48.

Pombert (Louis), 1826, Canadian trapper of Jed. Smith's party, who left the party in '27, lived 18 months on Higuera's rancho, and in Apr. '29 at S. José, age 28. iii. 159–60, 176, 180. In '32 he joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221; in '34 had a wife—Filomena, daughter of Dolores Pico—and a son Juan, born in '30, a daughter Isabel being born in '35. He was a sergt in Graham's comp. supporting Alvarado '36. iii. 458, 675. His name, written generally Pombare, appears in Larkin's books to '45 and in other records to '47. His sons are said to have lived at Castroville in '77. Pomeroy (S. D.), 1848 (?), nat. of Ohio, in Sonoma Co. '55–77. Pomponio, ex-neophyte and famous outlaw captured near S. Rafael and put to death in '24. ii. 537, 597, 614. Poncabaré (Agustin), 1833, mr of the *Mariquita* '33, '35. iii. 383. Ponce de Leon (Manuel), Mex. clerk at Sta B. in '38–9 and earlier. iii. 656–7; wife Francisca Solórzano, 3 children; in '40 sec. of sub-prefect. iii. 655. Ponton (José M.), Mex. lieut sentenced to 5 years in Cal. as a convict in '36; no record of his coming. Pool (Peter), 1846, of the Mormon colony, with his mother Mary and sister Elizabeth. v. 546; living in Utah '84. Pooley, ment. at N. Helv. '47.

Pope (Wm), 1828, Amer. trapper from N. Mex. in Pattie's party, imprisoned for a time at S. Diego. iii. 163, 166–7, 178. He got a pass for Sonora from the gov. in Nov., and subsequently became a naturalized citizen, having a family at Taos. Before '40, perhaps in '36, he came back to Los Ang. with 8 members of his family and a company of 12 men. He was known in Cal. as Julian P., that being prob. the baptismal name received in N. Mex. In '41 he obtained a grant of the Tocoallomi rancho, named for him Pope Valley, Napa Co., and settled there in '42. I have the original passport of March 2, '42, under which he came north, the expenses of the journey being paid by the govt. A little later, prob. in '43, he accidentally killed himself by severing an artery with his axe. iv. 280. His widow married Elias Barnett; his son Joseph as claimant for the rancho. iv. 671; one daughter was Mrs Burton of Pope Valley; and there were 4 or five other children.

Porter (H. F.), 1841, mid. on the U.S. *St Louis*. P. (Sanford), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Porterfield (Harvey), 1845, nat. of Tenn., and overl. immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 579, 587. He worked as a carpenter at Sonoma; prob. joined the Bears in '46. v. 110; went south in Co. B, Cal. Bat., taking part in the fight at S. Pascual, and in Stockton's final campaign; and after his discharge returned to Napa Valley. He went to the mines in '48; was wrecked on Vancouver Isl. in an attempt to reach Trinity River in '49; in '50–1 a stock-raiser in Yolo; in '52 went east by Panamá, returning '53 overland with a wife, Martha Alexander; and from '56 lived in Napa Co. to '81. His wife died in '66, leaving 3 children, and his 2d wife was Mattie Galbraith.

Portilla (Pablo), 1819, Mex. capt. of the Mazatlan cavalry comp. '19–38, being stationed for the most part at S. Diego, and taking part in Ind. exped. and military trials. ii. 253–4, 340–2, 422, 451, 480, 534–6, 540, 543, 547, 549, 551, 675; iii. 62. In '31 he rendered somewhat unwilling and ineffective service against Gov. Victoria, and from that year was nominally comandante of the post at S. Diego. iii. 201, 203–4, 206, 608. As comisionado he secularized San Luis Rey in '33–5. iii. 326, 331–2, 346, 353, 613, 623–4; and in '36–8, after rendering some slight support to Chico and Gutierrez, he joined in the southern intrigues against Alvarado's govt, and finally figured as com.-gen. under Cárlos Carrillo, leaving Cal. after the final defeat of the latter in '38. iii. 440, 446, 459, 463, 515, 520–2, 528, 532–3, 548–9, 565, 568–9, 614, 648; iv. 67–8. Capt. P. was a good-natured, easy-going officer of little force or influence, but of good intentions. He went to Sonora, where he was capt. of the port at Guaymas in '46. In '49 Dr Stillman—*Overl. Monthly*, xv. 247—met him at S. Ignacio, L. Cal., in com. of party of 30 Sonorans bound for the Cal. gold mines, 75 years old, but 'hale and full of enterprise.' P. (Silvestre), brother

of Pablo, ment. in '36 in connection with a proposed Ind. exped., and as grantee of S. José del Valle rancho. iii. 612; iv. 68. Portolá (Gaspar de), 1769, capt. of dragoons in the Span. army, and gov. of the Californias 1768–70; com.-in-chief of the 1st exped. to Alta Cal., and 1st ruler of that province to July 9, 1770, rather as military commandant than as gov. His *Diario* of the exped. to S.F. and return to S. Diego in '69 is included in my list of authorities. Nine years after he left Cal. he was gov. of Puebla. i. 87, 89, 115–25, 134–6, 140–64 et seq., 172, 225, 231, 376, 486.

Posados (Pedro), prospector at S. Luis Rey '22. ii. 666. Post (Fred. L.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in '82 at S.F., a clerk in the P.O. for 20 years. P. (Gabriel B.), 1847, at Hon. from Mont. on the *Maria Helena;* member of the S.F. firm S. H. Williams & Co. '48; later G. B. Post & Co.; in '49 memb. of the town council and of the state senate. I think Post street, S.F., may have been named for him.

Potiñon, ment. at Los Ang. '36. iii. 419. Pott (Geo.), 1847, owner of S. F. lot. v. 685. Potter, 1845, doubtful member of the Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 579; perhaps John. P. (Andrew), 1848, passp. from Hon. P. (John), 1844 (?), immig. with a family accredited in newspaper sketches to this year; perhaps of '45. iv. 453. He settled in the Chico region, is noted at Sutter's Fort from June '46; and in '48 gained a fortune in the mines by the aid of Indians. Burnett's party from Or. passed his place and deemed his head somewhat turned by his good fortune. He died there about '51, and is said to have left large sums buried on his farm. His sons—one of them James, said to have been born '46 in Cal.—and daughters were living in Mendocino Co. '74. Potter (Stephen), 1832, mr of the *Wm Thompson*. iii. 384. Potts (James M.), 1847, mid. on the U.S. *Lexington*. Poulson (Oliver P.), 1846, Co. B, artill. Cal. Bat. (v. 358); prob. an overl. immig.

Powell (David), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. P. (Gilbert), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). P. (John W.), 1846, Co. E, F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); ment. in '48 at Sta Cruz. v. 642; at S. José '50. P. (Wm J.), 1846, surgeon on the U.S. *Warren;* owner of S.F. lots. v. 682. I think Powell st, S.F., was named for him. Powells (Wm E.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. at Mont. '48. Power (Edward), 1847, Co. F, ditto; d. S.F. about '50. P. (James), 1844, doubtful member of the Frémont party. iv. 437. P. (John A.), 1847, brother of E.l., sergt Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); after his discharge he became a gambler; and later a robber and a murderer known as 'Jack Powers.' His associates were chiefly Mexicans, and their depredations were for the most part in S. Luis Ob. and Sta B. counties '51–6. When the vigilantes put an end to their career of crime P. escaped to Sonora, where he was killed in '60. Poyorena, see 'Pollorena.'

Prado, ment. as a lieut '39. iii. 653; perhaps Prado Mesa. P. (Tomás), regidor at Branciforte 1802; killed at S.F. 1807. ii. 156, 192. Prat (Pedro), 1769, surgeon of the 1st exped., who died in Cal. '72–3. i. 128, 130, 136, 140, 168, 210. Pratt (Addison), 1848, clergyman who married a couple at S.F. P. (Jacob H.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Praule (Raphael), 1844, one of Frémont's men 1st and 2d visits; served in Cal. Bat. '45–7. iv. 437, 453, 583; sometimes called 'Prone;' died in the mts of N. Mex. on Frémont's next exped. of '48. Prause (Wm), 1826, mr of the *Inca*. iii. 147. Pray (John), 1846, interpreter in Marston's force '46–7. v. 380. Prendergast (John), 1848, passp. from Hon. Prentice (Chas), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). P. (Samuel), 1830, nat. of R. I. who came on the *Danube* from Lima. iii. 180. A mason by trade, but by preference a hunter; arrested for smuggling '33. iii. 393; one of the vigilantes of Los Ang. '36, being then 37 years old and single; still named as a hunter in '41, and said by Warner to have died on Sta Catalina Isl. about '65. Monenean (?) Prentis signed a doc. at Los Ang. '46. Prentiss, 1843, mate of the *Admittance*, discharged by Capt. Peterson; a nat. of Mass. Prescott, 1846, mr of the *Columbus*. Presse (Alex.), 1847, surg. of N.Y.Vol. (?); at N.Y. city '84. *S. F. Bulletin*. Prestamero (Juan), 1773, Span. friar who served as supernumerary at S. Luis Ob., and retired on account of illness in '74. i. 194, 196, 227. Preuss (Chas), 1844,

artist and draughtsman in Frémont's 2d, 3d, and 4th exped. iv. 427, 583; v. 453.

Price (John), 1833, nat. of Ky, who came with Walker's trappers from Salt Lake, remaining in Cal. as a carpenter; named in Larkin's books '34–5; killed in '37 by a fall from his horse at San José mission. iii. 388, 391, 409. P. (John M.), 1836 (?), Engl. in Mont. dist. '36–8; iv. 118; exiled with Graham in '40, but returned in '41, and in '48 was alcalde at S. Luis Ob. iv. 18, 33, 37; v. 639. Acc. to his own statement in *S. Luis Ob. Co. Hist.*, 63–9, he deserted from the *Kent* at Colima and came to Cal. in '30, going to S. Luis about '36, marrying Andrea Colona in '44, by whom he had 13 children, and serving after '48 as county judge and supervisor. Living in '83 at Pismo rancho. P. (Rodman), 1846, nat. of N.Y. and purser on the U.S. *Cyane*. He took part in the ceremonies of raising the U.S. flag at Mont. in July, and for a brief period was a kind of 2d alcalde at that town. v. 231, 287–9, 657; and in Aug. was sent south with despatches for Stockton, taking, however, no part in subsequent military operations. From Mazatlan he was sent with despatches by Mex. and Vera Cruz to Washington. In '49 he came back to S.F. as navy agent; was a member of the town council and of the constit. convention, a candidate for congress, and the owner of city property, including lots obtained in '47, which made him rich. He went east in '50, was elected to congress from N.J., and subsequently became gov. of that state, where he still lives in '85. As a member of pioneer associations, he has taken much interest in annals of the conquest; but in his testimony, as reported in various publications, the governor shows that in all the years that have passed his imagination has at least kept pace with his memory. Priest (Albert), 1848, German from Or., of the firm Priest, Lee, & Co. at Sac. '49–50. After '51 he lived chiefly in N.Y. He was an Or. immig. of '43, who shipped lumber to S.F. in '45. Prieto, 1822, contador on the S. Cárlos. ii. 458. P. (Antonio), at Los Ang. '46. Prince (Geo.), 1832, mr of the *Tranquilina*. iii. 384. P. (Geo.), 1847, Co. F., 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Prinon (Sam.), 1828, Amer. bricklayer from N. Mex., at Los Ang. '40, age 43; perhaps 'Prentice.' Prior, erroneous ment. '27. iii. 160. Prone, see 'Praule.' Prouse (Wm), 1826, mr of the *Inca*. iii. 147. P. (Wm), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469).

Prudhomme (Leon I.), 1835 (?), Fr. cooper said to have come to Los Ang., v. 413, this year in a record of '46. He married a Tapia, and in '52 was claimant for the Habra and Topanga ranchos. iii. 633–4. He died in '71, leaving a family. Prudon (Victor), 1834, Frenchman who had lived 7 years in Mex. and came to Cal. as a teacher in the colony at the age of 25. iii. 263, 412. Remaining at S. Gabriel and Los Ang., in '36 he was president of the vigilantes. iii. 418, 432; iv. 116; and in '37–8 was Gov. Alvarado's sec., being also capt. of militia. iii. 506, 523, 529. In '39–40 he lived at S.F., keeping some kind of a shop, or drinking and gambling place. v. 684; and in '41, being grantee of Bodega, he was made sec. of Com. Gen. Vallejo. iv. 204, 670. In this capacity he was sent, in '42, to Mex. in Vallejo's behalf, returning with the rank of capt. and brevet lieut-col in the regular army. iv. 281–5, 319, 563. From '43 he lived at Sonoma, being in '44–5 the grantee of Sac. Isl., and Laguna rancho, Yolo, being also mentioned in connection with various minor affairs. iv. 358, 396, 408, 445, 561, 671, 673, 678. With Vallejo, he favored the cause of the U.S. in '46, and with him was made a prisoner by the Bears. v. 41, 45, 61, 112–21, 298–9, 667; having a 'Cal. claim' of $7,390 (v. 462). He kept a store at Sonoma in '47–8 in partnership with Haan; and in '48–9 made some money in the mines. I have no later record of him than '53, when he was a witness in the Limantour case. His wife, who was separated from him about '48, was Teodocia Bojorques. Victor Prudon—Prudhomme was the original form—was a man of good education, a master of the Spanish and English languages, and an adept in the use of the graceful, flowery language that delights all of Span. race, many of Alvarado's and Vallejo's state papers being for the most part the secretary's work. He was socially an agreeable companion, of attractive personal appearance and fine manners;

impulsive and often imprudent, but never involved, so far as I know, in anything very bad or good so far as character and conduct were concerned. Prueth (Chas R.), 1831, clerk or sup. on the *Louisa*.

Pryor (Gabriel), 1840, one of the exiled foreigners, arrested in the south. iv. 14, 18. P. (Nathaniel Miguel), 1828, Kentuckian silversmith and clockmaker who had lived 4 years in N. Mex. and came to Cal. in Pattie's party. iii. 163, 168, 178; ii. 554. After his release from prison he worked at S. Luis Rey, found favor in the eyes of P. Peyri, and in '29 got a carta from Gov. Echeandía, being then 24 years old. From '30 he lived in the vicinity of Los Ang., sometimes mending clocks, but oftener engaged in otter-hunting, not always with due respect to the revenue laws. iii. 393. In '36 he obtained from the ayunt. a certificate of long residence and good character, and a few years later married a Sepúlveda who died in '40. He served against Micheltorena in '45. iv. 495; commanded a comp. of citizen artill. in June '46. v. 50; was arrested for aid to Amer. during the Flores revolt, and in '47 served as regidor. v. 626. He died in '50. A son Paul, born in '37–9, married a daughter of Juan Ávila, and died by accidental poisoning in '78. iv. 119.

Puaani (Kale), 1847, Hawaiian owner of S.F. lot. v. 685. Puga (Joaquin), sirviente at Sta Clara 1776. i. 306. Puget, 1793, officer of Vancouver's exped.; in Cal. '93–4, exploring Bodega. Puget Sound in the north bears his name. i. 513, 518, 533. Puig, 1769, sergt of Cal. volunteers in the 1st exped. i. 136, 160. Pujol (Francisco), 1795, Span. friar who served at S. Cárlos and died at S. Ant. 1801, being poisoned by the Ind. i. 576, 686; ii. 146, 149–50, 159. Pulaski (Albert), 1846, at N. Helv. occasionally '46–8. Pulis (John C.), 1847, sergt Co. F, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; owner of S.F. lots; d. at S.F. '50. Pulpule, Ind. at Sutter's '40. iv. 138. Pulsifer (David), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in '82 at Concho, Ariz. Purcell (Henry), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). P. (Matthias), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. at S.F. '50. Purdy (Sam. L.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. in L. Cal. '48. Puter (James), 1828, Amer. trapper, age 20, of Pattie's party. iii. 163, 168; nothing known of him later. Putnam, 1847, mr of the *Susan Drew*. v. 511.

Pyle (Edward), 1846, overl. immig. from Mo., who settled with his family at S. José, where he died in '75. His daughters married B. H. Gordon and J. W. Laird. His son, Edward, Jr, married Mary A. Graves of the Donner party in '47; is ment. in '48 as at N. Helv. raising recruits for service at Mazatlan (?); also as a member of the Stockton Mining Co. The same year he was murdered near S. José by Valencia, who was hanged for the crime in '49. His widow married J. T. Clark in '51, and in '80 was living at White River, Tulare Co. Another son, John F., was in S. Joaq. Co. '48; Sta Clara Co. '50–76; and in Kern Co. '79. Still another, Thomas, served in Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); settled with wife and 2 children in Nov. '46 on the Moquelumne; in '47 is ment. as visiting Sutter's Fort; and in '48 moved to Coyote Cr., Sta Clara Co., where he was murdered in '55.

Qudron (Jenckey), 1846, doubtful name, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Queen (Henry W.), 1846, lieut of marines on the U.S. *Savannah;* lieut Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 252, 247); in com. at S. Juan B., Sept. Q. (James), 1847, sergt Co. F, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; in charge of Brannan's store at Mormon Isl. 48; d. at Napa '79. Quepness (Odilon), at Soledad '26. ii. 623. Quigley, 1847, a Mormon in Kearny's return party. v. 453. Quigley (Robert), 1846, bugler Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Quijada (Felipe), soldier at Sta B. '32. Q. (Francisco), grantee of Bolsa de Chemisal, S. Luis Ob., '37. iii. 677. Quijano (Manuel), 1807, surgeon of the troops at Mont. 1807–24. ii. 88, 140, 379, 571, 607.

Quijas (José Lorenzo de la Concepcion), 1833, Mex. friar of the Zacatecanos who served at the 4 northernmost missions, and retired in '44, being vice-prefect in '43–4, perhaps in '57 a parish priest in the state of Guerrero, dying at Querétaro a little later. Padre Q. was a black sheep in the Franciscan flock, yet a good man when sober. Biog. iv. 680–1; ment. iii. 319, 354,

713, 716, 719; iv. 48, 86, 171, 195, 224, 371–3, 427, 676–7. Quilaguegui (Teodosio), Ind. grantee of Nicasio '35. iii. 712. Quimby, 1848, m^r of the *Ware*. v. 581. Quimper (Man.), 1790, alférez of the Span. navy at Mont. from Nootka. i. 444, 506; see also *Hist. N. W. Coast*. Quin (Peter), 1848, Irishman shot at Sta B. in Dec. for the murder of the Reed family at S. Miguel. v. 632, 640. Quinn (Franklin), 1846, in the Los Ang. region; at Mont. '47–8; possibly 'Gwinn' of '41. Quiñones (Manuel), Mex. tanner at Branciforte '45, age 45, wife Josefa Condesa (?), child. Benito b. Sta Cruz '27, Juan Diego '29, Mariano '33, Capistrano '34. He had been a convict of '28–34.

Quintana, com. of N. Mexicans in Castro's force '45. v. 363. Q. (Andrés), 1805, Span. friar who served at Sta Cruz until Oct. 12, '12, when he was murdered by his neophytes. Biog. ii. 387–9; ment. ii. 155, 159–60, 199, 324, 339, 394. Q. (Antonio), at Los Ang. '46. Q. (Diego), ditto. Q. (Francisco Estévan), grantee of La Vena '42. iv. 656; still at S. Luis Ob. '60. Q. (Gerónimo), grantee of S. Juan Cap. del Camote, S. Luis Ob., '46. v. 637. Q. (Pedro), from N. Mex. '43, a settler of S. Luis Ob. down to '83. Quintero (Juan), arrested at S. Juan B. '37. iii. 513. Q. (Luis), negro settler of Los Ang. 1781, sent away in '82. i. 345–6. Q. (Tomás), at Sta B. '37, wife Vicenta Valenzuela. Quintin, Ind. chief of a Marin Co. tribe for whom Pt Quintin was named; ment. in '24. ii. 538, 598. Quirado (Basilio), Los Ang. land-owner '48. Quirós (Fernando), 1775, Span. lieut on the *S. Antonio* and *S. Cárlos* '75–6; made a survey of S.F. Bay in boats '76; on the coast again in '79. i. 241, 287, 289–92, 329. Quivey (Peter), 1846, overl. immig. from Mo.; summoned as a witness in N. Helv. Nov. '46; served in Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); named at N. Helv. '47; wrote from Los Ang. in March '47 a letter published in the *Western Expositor* and Liverpool *Millennial Star*. Settled in Sta Clara Co. with family.

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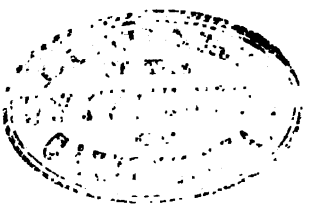

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